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THE

VERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME III

THE ELECTION OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE CHANCELLORSHIP IN 1626

HE DECLINE OF THE PLATONIST MOVEMENT

BY

JAMES BASS MULLINGER, M.A.

LATE UNIVERSITY LECTURER ON HISTORY AND LECTURER AND LIBRARIAN TO ST JOHN'S COLLEGE.

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TO

ROBERT FORSYTH SCOTT, ESQUIRE, M.A.

MASTER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE
AND
VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

DEAR MR VICE-CHANCELLOR,

It is with much pleasure that, on the completion of this Volume, I avail myself of your kind permission to dedicate it to yourself, as a grateful acknowledgement of your valuable aid in its production, and as a tribute to your own profound acquaintance with the history of the University.

Believe me, dear Mr Vice-chancellor,

Very sincerely yours,

J. BASS MULLINGER.

68 LENSFIELD ROAD, CAMBRIDGE,
February, 1911.

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PREFACE.

As more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the second volume of this work was published, I venture to offer a brief explanation of the protracted delay that has attended the appearance of the third, notwithstanding that continuous residence in the university throughout that time has greatly facilitated access to the original sources of information and especially those relating to the history of the colleges. The primary cause, I need hardly say, has been my engagements as lecturer and librarian at my own College, and also as lecturer on history to the University, on ecclesiastical history, as Birkbeck lecturer at Trinity College, and lecturer on the History of Education to the Teachers' Training College. A contributing cause has been one which could hardly be foreseen,—the publication of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As soon as, in 1885, the first volume of that monumental work appeared, and I was myself privileged to become a not infrequent contributor, I could not fail to perceive, not only that I should gain largely by awaiting the completion of the series, but that such a course was almost indispensable. My lamented friend, the Reverend J. E. B. Mayor, the late professor of Latin, was always ready, indeed, to place his invaluable collections for a Cambridge *Athenae*, at my service; but with the advance of the seventeenth century, as individualities and controversies alike multiplied, and new and important fields of literature opened up, the history of university training and culture throughout Christendom assumes a

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deeper significance and an enlarged importance; while it is no exaggeration to affirm that the intellectual and religious history of the English-speaking race, during the same century, was to a great extent the reflex of the traditions upheld at Oxford and at Cambridge, together with the resistance which they there evoked,—the annals of those two ancient seats of learning, again, receiving no little illustration from a comparison of the one with the other[1]. The value, indeed, of the employment of the comparative method in the study of history, and especially in the history of Institutions, is now so generally recognized, that altogether to abandon it would, it seemed to me, tend to deprive my labours of much of their value; and comparatively brief as is the period dealt with in the succeeding pages, it is one perhaps more eventful and fraught with instruction than any of equal duration, in our national experiences. Between the sudden fate of Buckingham, the chancellor of Cambridge, and the fall of Clarendon, the chancellor of Oxford, we are confronted, at both universities, with such a series of changes, —in the first instance so subversive, in the sequel so reactionary,—that it is, at first sight, difficult to account for their occurrence within less than half a century, in connexion with institutions distinguished alike by their reverence for the Past and by the tenacity of their traditions. As it was, an observer visiting either university in 1625 and again in 1669 but ignorant of what had occurred in the interval, might have been ready to conclude that, whatever had been the case elsewhere, her professed beliefs, learning and discipline remained much the same. Or, if change there were, it was by no means in the direction of improvement. At Cambridge, the new light which had before seemed breaking in from Bacon's *Novum Organum*, appeared to be dying out under the influence of a revived scholasticism; the cheerful confidence wherewith Joseph Mede had been able to greet

[1] As an instance of this, I may cite the evidence supplied by the sister university with regard to the work of the Commissioners in 1654, and the difficulties attendant upon the same,—an experience which, at Cambridge, receives but little illustration.

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his pupils, as he enquired *Quid dubitas?* had been exchanged, in no small measure, for despondency and dubious tones, audible even in the pulpit, as one of the most thoughtful of her teachers, himself a bishop of the restored Church, essayed the task of giving answer to the query, *What is Truth?* To infer, however, that all that had occurred in that troublous interval was really destined to remain unproductive of permanent and beneficial result, is very far from being the conclusion to which the whole narrative necessarily points; and those who may feel inclined to put aside the annals of bygone learning as devoid of much relevance to present-day questions, may do well to note that, amid the apparently ceaseless and barren controversies evoked by theological divisions during the Commonwealth, a great scholar,—perhaps the ablest whom Cambridge ever lent to Oxford,—was there to be heard pleading against all coercive discipline in secondary education, and demanding that every student in a university should be at liberty to choose such instruction as seemed best adapted to 'his individual genius and design[1].' Nor is it less certain, that, when individuality has thus been accorded due recognition, the extent to which it may, in turn, be moulded by the directive insight of the teacher, was a process distinctly apprehended and in actual operation, alike in Oxford and in Cambridge, two centuries before it was formulated by Herbart and by Herbert Spencer.

Another main fact to be borne in mind, is that the importance of the two universities at this period, in relation to the country at large, was not only unprecedented, but unsurpassed even in much later times. 'Few persons,' says Dr Venn, writing in 1897, 'have adequately realized the commanding position to which they had then attained. Absolutely,—not relatively merely,—the number of graduates in the years about 1625–30, was greater than was ever attained again till within living memory. When allowance is made for the growth of population, it must be frankly admitted that, as far as concerns the number of

[1] See *infra*, p. 446 and note.

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trained men sent out into the country, the old Universities have not yet regained the position they occupied two centuries and a half ago[1].'

Among those to whom I had occasion to acknowledge my indebtedness in my second volume, although some have passed away, their places have been filled by others; and in the access to registers and other sources of information most readily everywhere accorded me, it has been no slight additional encouragement to recognize an increasing interest in all that serves to illustrate the developement of education both in the past and in the present. The *Histories* of the Colleges, both of Oxford and of Cambridge, published by Mr F. E. Robinson[2], I have found of considerable service, and from a majority of their authors have been able to gain additional information of a kind that would hardly have been obtainable in any other quarter. In my own university, I have been especially indebted to Dr J. E. Sandys, our Public Orator, for his careful perusal of my proof-sheets and valuable criticisms thereupon, and also to Dr Peile, the late master of Christ's, and to Dr Venn, president of Caius College, for like aid. The publication of the *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College* by Dr Venn, together with his notes from the episcopal registries, especially those of Ely, Lincoln and Norwich, have also served to render available results of laborious researches which have been invaluable for my period; the first volume of the corresponding work by Dr Peile, relating to Christ's College[3], has just appeared; and it is satisfactory to learn that the second and completing volume may shortly be looked for, under the editorship of Mr J. A. Venn, M.A., of Trinity College, to whom also my acknowledgments are due, for frequent biographical in-

[1] *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. I, Introduction, xv–xxi.

[2] Now published by Hutchinson & Co., Paternoster Row.

[3] *Biographical Register of Christ's College* (1505–1905) *and of the Earlier Foundation, God's House* (1448–1505). By John Peile, Litt.D., F.B.A., late Master of the College. Vol. I. Camb. Univ. Press. 1911.

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formation,—derived from his own and his father's transcripts of the Lists of Degrees and other documents preserved in the Registry. To Dr Peile, Dr Ward, master of Peterhouse, and to the late Provost of King's,—to Thomas Thornely, esquire, fellow and lecturer of Trinity Hall, and to Dr T. A. Walker, fellow and librarian of Peterhouse,—I have throughout been under obligation, either for permission to consult original documents, or for information transcribed from the same. At Trinity College, Mr W. W. Rouse Ball and the Rev. A. H. Boughey, tutors and fellows of the society, have vouchsafed me much kind help, while to the exceptional knowledge possessed by the former of the history of the study of mathematics, both in the university and elsewhere, I have been still further indebted. To Dr C. H. Firth, professor of Modern History at Oxford, I have been under repeated obligation, not only for the guidance afforded by his articles in the *Dictionary of Biography* and his recent volumes on the Protectorate, but also for the loan of his very valuable notes on the British Museum Catalogue of the *Thomason Tracts*. To the Rev. Andrew Clark, of Lincoln College, my thanks are also due for various information, and not least for his editorial labours on Anthony Wood's *Life and Times*.

As regards the spelling of surnames, I have preferred, whenever they occur in the *Dictionary of Biography*, the form in which they are there given, in order to facilitate reference to that work.

J. B. M.

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F Subscriptions on Admission to Holy Orders during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

ERRATA.

p. 37, l. 13, Roger Andrewes (master of Jesus College, 1618–32) voted for Buckingham ; see p. 668.
p. 315, l. 1, for 'Wenmore' read 'Wenman.'
p. 316, n. 3, for '*Merton*' read '*Wadham*.'
p. 347, l. 3 from bottom, for 'nephew' read 'uncle.'
p. 668, marginal note, 'conceived his *Poem*,' for *Poem* read 'treatise.'

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CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST TO THE MEETING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

A CONTEMPORARY writer has briefly described the solemnities at Cambridge on the occasion of the late king's funeral: the assembling at nine o'clock in the morning; the Regent Walk, 'School yard,' non-Regent and Regent Houses and Great St Mary's, all hung with black, while numerous 'escutcheons and verses' appeared on the hangings; the afternoon sermon preached by Dr Collins and followed by an oration by Mr Thorndike, 'which being ended the company departed to their severall colleges[1].'

The 'verses' subsequently reappeared in a somewhat remarkable collection[2], wherein laments over the national loss were blended with effusive aspirations for the happiness of the new monarch. The volume, a small quarto of 72 pages, issued from the press of Cantrell Legge, the printer to the university, whose endeavours to extend the sphere of his activity were at this time involving the Press in a warm dispute with the Stationers' Company[3]. On the whole, the *Dolor et Solamen* may fairly be regarded as a noteworthy specimen of its kind,—a literature, which, as illustrative of contemporary history, has scarcely received the attention it

[1] Baker MS. xiv 69.

[2] *Cantabrigiensium Dolor et Solamen seu Decessio beatissimi Jacobi pacifici et Successio augustissimi Regis Caroli Magnae Britanniae Galliae et Hiberniae Monarchae.* Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, etc. 4to.

[3] Bowes (R.), *Notes on the University Printers*, p. 297.

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merits; and, amid all the customary forced metaphors and stereotyped classical allusions, there is clearly discernible a genuine sense that both the universities and the Church had lost a patron and defender who had discerned more clearly than most of his predecessors what it was that learning and orthodoxy chiefly needed at his hands. Foremost among the contributors appears the name of James Stuart, fourth duke of Lennox, who had succeeded to the title in the preceding year and was at this time a resident member of Trinity College. The conspicuous place assigned to the youthful peer's contribution is to be referred to the fact that he was related by blood to James himself, who had been by "Scots custom" his guardian during his minority. Among the sixty-five compositions which follow, the order is determined mainly by heraldic rules of precedence or by academic status. The verses themselves, regarded as specimens of Greek or Latin composition, might well have been consigned to obscurity, but they occasionally afford suggestive illustration of the point of view of some notable contributor; and among this number the tribute by Andrew Downes, the regius professor of Greek, and that by Samuel Collins, the regius professor of divinity, call more especially for a passing notice.

The position of Downes, in the earlier half of the year 1625, was of a kind which too frequently confronts us in the history of institutions, when it devolves upon a present generation to assess the claims arising out of services rendered to its predecessor. Five years had passed since the occasion when the Greek professor (as we last saw him)[1], with his legs on the table, admitted young Simonds D'Ewes to the honour of an interview; and Downes, now in his seventy-seventh year, received an intimation that the resignation of his chair was expected. That he was past work was evident[2], but he pleaded that his stipend ought still to be paid him. How far that claim was reasonable it is impossible, at this distance of time, to decide, but the evidence,

[1] See Vol. II 506.

[2] 'I could draw little or nothing from Mr Downs, whose memory fails him.' Wheelock to Ussher, Ussher's *Works*, xv 281.

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as far as it goes, would seem to shew that, with ordinary prudence, he ought not to have been in necessitous circumstances. He had been fellow of St John's from 1571 to 1586, when he migrated to Trinity on his election to his professorship; his labours as one of the translators of the new version had been recognised by a prebend in the cathedral of Wells; he had filled his academic chair for nine and thirty years and had received fees from numerous pupils; and, although none could gainsay the value of his past services, his laborious method of exposition began to be regarded by the rising generation with awe rather than admiration[1]. So long however as James had lived, Downes felt secure. In 1609, he had received from the royal exchequer a grant of £50, 'of the king's free gift[2]'; and in 1621, when dedicating to his royal patron his *Praelectiones* to the *De Pace* of Demosthenes, we find him expressly stating that his obligations to Buckingham, the chief dispenser of James's favours, had been greater than those under which he lay to 'all the other magnates of the realm[3].' It is these facts which enable us to understand how it was that, alone among the contributors to the *Dolor et Solamen*, Downes could venture to extol the munificence of his former patron, as verging upon lavishness[4],—a fault which the late king's contemporaries had certainly not been accustomed to regard with much complacency; but at the time when the venerable professor sent in his verses, learning at Cambridge had hardly realised the loss it had sustained. Downes's plea for the continuance of his stipend granted, he retired to Coton, where an inscription in the little Norman church of that village records his death,—which occurred within rather more than a year subsequent to his removal thither,—and also attests his services to the university[5].

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 599.

[2] *State Papers (Dom.), James the First*, XLV, no. 56; *Warrant Book*, II 64.

[3] 'Ego plus illi, quam omnibus debeo Magnatibus.' Downes, *Praelectiones in Philippicam de Pace Demosthenis*, Epist. Dedicat.

[4] 'Forsitan immodica est largitio visa quibusdam, | Natura nimium quippe benigna erat; | .....Provexit multos: inopes ditavit amicos; | Regibus hic semper gloria summa fuit.' *Dolor*, etc., pp. 8 9. 'In February 1611,' says Gardiner, 'James had granted to six favourites, four of whom were of Scottish birth, no less a sum than 34,000*l.*' *Hist. of England*, II 111.

[5] Baker-Mayor, II 599.

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The contribution of Collins, one of the ablest members of the university at this period, was of a more ambitious character. As provost of King's as well as professor, he may have considered that he lay under a twofold obligation to assume a prominent place among the mourners, and it is certain that a tribute of special merit was looked for at his hands. Collins was already distinguished by his moderation amid the strife of parties, his refined and graceful wit, which often glanced and by no means innocuously at his antagonists, and by his love of the society of scholars such as Sir Henry Wotton (his brother provost at Eton), John Williams and Gerard Vossius. It was an impulsive, impetuous, self-reliant spirit, somewhat too disdainful of the dull and the pedantic, and ever reverting to his loved classics for solace and inspiration, but at the same time regarding with scarcely less admiration the new philosophy of Bacon. How, not a few might wonder, would Collins discharge the task of rendering homage to the late monarch? Although his composition is by far the longest in the collection, he would seem in a manner to have evaded the obligation which he could not shirk, by taking refuge in a detailed enumeration of the most important experiences in the late monarch's whole career. A remarkable effusion wanting alike in concinnity and real pathos, and otherwise notable merely as a specimen of the strained ingenuity then so prevalent and abounding in recondite allusion and ambiguous expression, to the wonder of the simple and the delectation of the initiated, but offering one passage of real value for our special purpose (p. 66),—the lines wherein the writer dilates on the genuine enthusiasm which prompted James's visits to the university[1]. We learn from Collins, what is nowhere else as explicitly intimated, that James had so greatly delighted in his Cambridge visits that he found a difficulty in bringing them to a close,—so completely had the royal pedant found himself at home at the disputations, the banquets and the plays, surrounded by the adulation, the learning, the wit

[1] 'Ut nostris dignatus adesse penatibus hospes | Dignatus leve proh verbum! gavisus et ardens | Et nulla vel saepe dolis revocabilis Aula. | Hic moriar: hic (inquit) amamus mutua amamurque.' *Dolor*, etc., p. 66.

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and the youthful exuberance which ran riot on those occasions!

A more formal tribute to the late monarch was paid by the passing of a grace ordaining that, in the morning of the fourth Sunday in Lent *for ever*, there should be a solemn sermon with praise to God for the perfect and happy state of the late King James, and in commemoration of the 'innumerable benefits' which the university enjoyed from his benignity[1]. On James Ussher, of Trinity College, Dublin, now archbishop of Armagh, it devolved to be the first to preach this sermon; and his text on the occasion, his biographer tells us, was afterwards 'much observed,' it being taken from Samuel (1 xii 25),—'But if ye still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both you and your king[2].' Not less ominous had appeared to be the incident, that when the new king was proclaimed at the market-cross in Cambridge, although the season was cold and backward, the voice of the crier was followed by a peal of thunder in the air[3]. The various aspects of the times were indeed such as justly to give rise to gloomy anticipations on the part of the more observant minds in the university. But, for the present, hope and loyal feeling prevailed; and the great majority turned to hail with enthusiasm the accession of the new monarch. His youth—he was but twenty-four—pleaded strongly in his behalf; even his taciturnity and reserved demeanour, when contrasted with his father's loquacity and vanity, inspired the belief that he was endowed with a sounder judgement and a more kingly discretion; while with many a grave divine and ardent theologian, his recent abandonment of the Spanish alliance encouraged the hope that in him a foremost champion of the interests of Protestantism throughout Europe might be destined to appear. Another and more remote occurrence can hardly also but have been present to their minds. Thirteen years before, when Charles was in his twelfth year, it had been sought to bring about

[1] 'qui innumeris et in aeternum recolendis beneficiis academiam beaverit.' *Lib. Grat.* Z p. 105. *Stat. Acad. Univ.* (1785), p. 376.

[2] Bernard (Nich.), *Funeral Sermon for Usher* (Apr. 17, 1656), p. 86. Lond. 1656.

[3] Ellis's *Letters* (series iii) 244.

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his election as chancellor of the university in succession to the earl of Salisbury. The endeavour was defeated and every effort was afterwards used to consign it to oblivion; but it none the less remained as a significant episode in the history of the office, and stands in immediate connexion with the highly important contest which will shortly claim our consideration.

The earl of Northampton had, as we have already seen, been elected on the occasion above referred to, and the belief was fairly general that a judicious choice had been made; for the new chancellor was not only, to use Hacket's expression, 'superlatively learned,' but also enormously wealthy. In the interval, however, between the nomination and the election, an untoward incident took place. A report was spread, probably only too true, that the lord privy-seal was really 'a papist at heart,' and Charles was nominated in opposition, Northampton's election being thus carried over the young prince's head. The new chancellor's first letter, written while he was still ignorant of the fact that a royal rival had been nominated against him, gives expression to something like surprise that in his old age, when even his person was scarcely known to the university[1], and when the Latin in which he had there been wont to converse had failed from his memory[2], he should have been chosen for such an honour. He claims their indulgence if, notwithstanding, he still ventures to 'stammer forth' his acknowledgments in that tongue,—his letter really being couched in a Latin style of exceptional elegance. And after intimating, in courtly phrase, his acceptance of the proffered honour, he congratulates the university that both they and he will be privileged to live under the protection of the great Maecenas and Solomon of the age, the eminent promoter of sound learning and patron of its professors. Charles's nomination, however, had been made not only unknown to

[1] —'me vix ex vultu agnitum, in ipso aetatis meae flexu vel potius crepusculo, cancellarium elegeritis.' *Cantab. Univ. Transactions*, ed. Heywood and Wright, II 238.

[2] —'illius etiam penitus oblitus linguae qua matris academiae praecepta olim audire eamque colloqui et affari solebam.' *Ibid.*

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Northampton but also to the king, and to both the disclosure came as an unpleasant surprise. For a brief period, the whole university, says Hacket, 'was under as black a cloud of displeasure as ever I knew in any time[1],' an assertion corroborated by that of John Chamberlain of Trinity College, who states that 'the king was much displeased that his son should be put in balance with any of his subjects[2].' The letter which Northampton now wrote, couched not in Latin but in plain and forcible English, affords, accordingly, unmistakeable evidence of his chagrin at being thus obviously placed in a false position. 'I must,' he writes, 'beseech you all, that insteed of sendinge up your officers and ministers about the manner of investinge me, you will vouchsafe to make another orderly election of an other, *congregatis vobis cum meo spiritu*, that my heart shall be no less dedicated and devoted to you all and every one of you (though I rest your ffellowe regent), then yf I had beine setled in the state of your high chancellour[3].' The heads, sorely discomfited at this double miscarriage, decided to send John Williams, at this time one of the proctors, to the king at Greenwich. Williams had already made a favorable impression on James by a sermon preached before him in the preceding year[4], and by his adroit representations he now managed so far to mitigate his displeasure, that, although still refusing to allow Charles to be nominated for the chancellorship, the king consented to come to the aid of the university by commanding Northampton to withdraw his resignation. Still smarting, however, under his recent experience, Northampton was not to be easily prevailed upon; nor was it perhaps without a certain cynical satisfaction that he wrote as follows to the vice-chancellor. 'After

[1] *Scrinia Reserata: a Memorial offered to the great Learnings of John Williams, D.D., etc.* By John Hacket, late Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. In the Savoy, 1692. i 21 [referred to in subsequent notes simply as 'Hacket'].

[2] MS. Sloane, no. 4173, p. 245; Heywood and Wright, ii 240.

[3] Heywood and Wright, ii 243.

[4] In a letter to his friend and patron, Sir John Wynne, Williams speaks with complacency of the signs of the royal approval which he had succeeded in eliciting and speculates on the possible results: 'I had,' he writes, 'a great deal of Court holie water, if I can make myselfe any good there bye.' 22 Nov. 1611. *Cumb. Ant. Comm.* ii 37.

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CAP. I. longe suite on my knees, I prevayled so farr with my gracious and deere master, that he lefte me to my selfe, who held it best for my selfe, never to *appeere in the world with any marke that was sett on with so pestilent a prejudice*[1].' Then royalty, in turn, addressed itself to the university: 'wee would not,' said the letter, 'have you to misconceave of us that we are offended for that which hath passed about the election of your new chancellour.' James, indeed, prefers to believe that the nomination of 'the Duke of Yorke' was attributable not to 'the body of the university' 'but to some of thathe factious humour, whose conditions are alwaies apt to interrupt unity and uniformity[2]'; while he pronounces the original election of Northampton to have been highly commendable—'whether you looke to his birth, his education in that university, his greate learninge, his continuall favouringe of all learned men and of all thinges that tende to the furtherance of learninge or good of the churche.' But unfortunately the earl himself could not now be moved to accept the tarnished honour:—'wee cann,' says the king, 'by no persuasion or intreaty move him to imbrace it.' The only course left open was, accordingly, in the royal opinion, a new election—'wherin wee require you to proceede speedily and freely; and, on whomsoever your choyce shall light, wee shall use our authority to cause him to accept it[3].' It seems probable that the king and the peer were acting in concert; for, following closely upon this letter, came another, also in English, from Northampton himself, conveying his acquiescence in the course which James suggested and intimating his readiness again to be nominated. *Amantium irae amoris integratio!* His heart, he affirms, had been won by the university at his first election and now returns to that body, 'to be so fastened by the bindinge knott of your inestimable love,' that 'duringe the tyme of my lyfe' it 'shall never part agayne[4].' But although Northampton may have felt that the solution of the difficulty held out by the royal

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 244–5.

[2] So Chamberlain,—'that it was done by a few head-strong fellows that are since bound over to the council-table.' *Ibid.* II 240.

[3] *Ibid.* II 245–6.

[4] *Ibid.* II 247–9; Baker MS. IV 366.

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authority rendered it impossible for him to withhold his assent, and his re-election was carried without a dissentient voice, the extreme suavity of his language might alone suggest that it really veiled a still cherished sense of wrong; while with the death of prince Henry, towards the close of the year, the hopes of the university began again to gather round the new heir apparent. This feeling, as we have seen[1], found marked expression when in the following March Charles, along with his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, paid their visit to the university; he was not only elected 'in ordinem magistrorum,' but his portrait, now suspended in the university library, was painted in special honour of the occasion[2], while the vice-chancellor and the caput were invested by James with authority to bestow degrees on whomever they thought fit, all prohibitory statutes being suspended by the royal fiat[3]. Amid all these brilliant festivities, however, Northampton was notably absent; and when, in the following year, he died, few probably were surprised to learn that Cambridge, in Hacket's homely phrase, 'was never the better for him by the wealth of a barley-corn.' His nephew, Thomas Howard, first earl of Suffolk and the lord of Audley End, who had also been educated at St John's and was the inheritor of a portion of his uncle's wealth, succeeded him in the chancellorship, and his profuse hospitality on the occasion of the royal visit in 1615[4] may, not improbably, have been dictated by a wish to efface the recollection of his predecessor's niggardliness; but his want of sympathy with learning, together with the incidents which marred his official career as lord high treasurer, and the difficulties in which he became involved through his marriage into the family of the Riches, did much to diminish his prestige with the university; while, on the other hand, the increased popularity which greeted Charles on his return from Spain now made him the darling of the nation. Nowhere throughout England had greater enthusiasm been displayed than at Cambridge on

[1] Vol. II 514.
[2] See label on portrait. Cooper, *Add. and Corrections*, p. 322.
[3] Cooper, *Annals*, III 56.
[4] Vol. II 518.

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that occasion. On Charles's arrival, along with Buckingham, at Royston, where James was then keeping court, a deputation at once set out to convey the congratulations of the university. The bells were rung; 'a gratulatory sermon' was preached at St Mary's and an oration delivered in the afternoon[1]; each college listened to a speech, had its extra dish at supper, and squibs and a bonfire in the court at night[2]. At Royston, the deputation presented a 'book of verses[3],' wherein, in a variety of metres, the loyal Latinists of the university, and especially those of King's and Trinity, vied with each other in the ardour of their congratulations, and employed their utmost ingenuity in extolling the bold emprise and heroic virtues of the two 'Smiths.' Seldom, even among the poets of the Augustan age, had the incense of flattery risen in denser fumes. Spain, according to one Trinity versifier, had at first imagined herself honoured by the presence of some celestial deity, but on discovering who her august visitor really was, became filled with even yet greater admiration and rapture. Love, sang a bard of Peterhouse, had impelled Charles forth on his outward journey; a mightier devotion, devotion to the Faith, had summoned him back. Samuel Collins, here, as ever, most prolific and exuberant, exulted in the thought that the 'Jesuit scum' had little cause for rejoicing, and that the nation's hope had returned undefiled by Circæan enchantments. More than one contributor, in allusion to the crowning honour that had just descended on Buckingham by his investiture with the long dormant ducal title, thought it a happy conceit to suggest that one who had so ably *led* his prince, himself well deserved to be created *Dux*. Jerome Beale of Pembroke, the vice-chancellor, inaugurated and closed the series with two brief effusions, the first addressed to James, the last to Charles both alike expressive of the academic sense of the

[1] By George Herbert; see his *Remains*, p. 224; also Bowes, *Catalogue*, p. 13.

[2] Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, iv. 923; Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 160-1.

[3] *Gratulatio Academiae Cantabrigiensis de Serenissimi Principis Reditu ex Hispaniis exoptatissimo: quam Augustissimo Regi Jacobo Celsissimoque Principi Carolo ardentissimi sui Voti Testimonium esse voluit.* Ex Officina Cantrelli Legge, Almae Matris Cantabrigiae Typographi, 1623. 4to.

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unworthiness of the offering thus laid at the royal feet[1]. The foregoing incidents serve to bring home to us the real sympathy between the Crown and the great majority of the university at the time when Charles ascended the throne and the personal goodwill with which he himself was regarded by the academic community. The hopes of both Oxford and Cambridge may, indeed, be said to have almost centered in the new monarch, while their fears undoubtedly pointed to parliament,—where dissatisfaction at the tendencies observable alike in the Church and the universities was already taking shape. 'They talk,' wrote Joseph Mede at Christ's College, 'of divers bills in the parliament house, as against the universities, pluralities of benefices, about disposition of prebends to such as want other preferment,...against Montagu and his late book[2].' Before, however, the month had passed away, he had to report the dreaded approach of the plague; and in August the entire university dispersed in alarm. By September, he was left almost alone in college; endeavouring, as steward, to supply the table with eggs, apple-pies and custards, 'for want of other fare.' 'We cannot have leave,' he writes, 'scarce to take the aire. We have but one master of art in our colledg, and this week he was punisht 10[d] for giving the porter's boy a box on the eare because he would not let him out at the gates[3].' It was not until December 1625 that the university was able to reassemble.

The one man on whose advocacy, after that of Buckingham himself, the academic body most relied at this crisis, was John Williams. The career of that young Welshman, since his election to his fellowship at St John's[4], had been

[1] 'Jam Tagus aurato volvit se plenius amne, | Dum putat in vultu numen inesse tuo. | Neptunum Phoebumque alii dixere vocantes, | Nec deerat qui te credidit esse Jovem | At postquam magni genitum te stirpe Jacobi | Accepere, stupent et magis inde rogant. | Ergo tibi tanti est Hispanica regna videre?' (*Gratulatio*, p. 33). 'Ire jubet te magnus amor majorque redire, | Nam fuit is tantum virginis iste Del' (*Ib.* p. 11). 'Regum deliciae cupidinesque | Firmus judicii manes fideque, | Nec quicquid Jesuita faex propinet, | Circaeo redis impiatus auro' (*Ib.* p. 18).—'Academia supplicat | Deo ut Redux Dux Carolus sit, Dux Comes. | Ita erunt bonae Smithi utrique fortunae fabri.' (*Ib.* p. 15).

[2] Birch's *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 39.

[3] *Ibid.* I 47; Heywood and Wright, II 331. See *infra*, p. 25.

[4] See Vol. II 505.

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one of continuous advancement. Lord Ellesmere, the eminent jurist (better known as Sir Thomas Egerton) who preceded Bacon in the chancellorship, and who during the last six years of his life had held office as chancellor of the university of Oxford, was induced to make Williams his chaplain; and when he died in 1617, the latter soon found himself one of the royal chaplains and in 1618 accompanied James to Scotland. In 1619 he was installed in the deanery of Salisbury; and from thence in 1620 was transferred to the deanery of Westminster, and in the following year he appeared as the last in the long succession of ecclesiastical dignitaries who also held the lord keepership, succeeding at nearly the same time to that office and to the bishopric of Lincoln[1]. Ellesmere had bequeathed to his chaplain the manuscripts of his more important legal treatises,—'valuable as the Sibylline Prophecies,' says Williams' biographer[2],—and it is probable that during the lord keeper's brief occupancy of the woolsack they largely aided him in the discharge of his duties. In the university itself, he had by this time succeeded in creating an impression of exceptional ability to steer through opposing currents. He had remonstrated

[1] In order to vindicate Williams' motives in holding these three important offices conjointly, his biographer advances the following considerations: (i) the deanery of Westminster afforded a far more favourable arena for the exertion of his influence whether as a statesman or a patron of learning, but, according to Williams' own statement, the emoluments of the deanery of Salisbury had been 'nothing inferior in value' (Hacket, i 41); during his tenure of this post 'the number of the prebends to the universities' (from Westminster School) 'was added for the most part to those that were transplanted in the foregoing elections' (*Ibid* i 45). (ii) the Lord Keepership itself, although proper's worth £2780 a year, was reduced by the diversion of the 'casual fines' and the 'greater writs' to about one half that amount (p. 52), and inasmuch as Bacon's venal administration of the office had been a public scandal, James was determined that 'his new officer' should be one who had 'a hand clean from corruption and taking gifts' (p. 54). (iii) the revenue of the bishopric of Lincoln, although 'the largest diocese in the land,' 'was not great,' Williams being even able to demonstrate that it would be to the interest of the Crown that he should retain his deanship also, for 'here he had some supplies to his housekeeping from the College in bread and beer, corn and fuel; of which if he should be deprived, he must be fore'd to call for a diet, which would cost the King 1000*l. per annum*, or crave for some addition in lieu thereof, out of the King's own means, as all his foregoers in that office had done' (p. 62). 'Since the forced surrender by bishop Holbeach' (in 1552) 'of large possessions, the see of Lincoln had been very inadequately endowed.' Beddham (B. H.), *Notices of Archbp. Williams*, p. 13. [2] Hacket, i 30.

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against the suspension of the laws against James's Catholic subjects as illegal; he had protested against the journey to Spain; and he now protested with equal earnestness against the projected hostilities with that great power. On him it had devolved to watch by the royal death-bed, to close the monarch's eyes, to preach his funeral sermon; and, keenly alive to the feelings uppermost in the public mind, he had on that occasion availed himself of the opportunity to seek to allay the suspicions then rife with regard to James's sincerity as a professed Protestant. The late king, he solemnly assured his audience, 'did never, out of deep and just reason of State, and the bitter necessities of Christendom in these latter times, give way to any the least connivance in the world towards the person of a papist[1].'

It was at James's suggestion[2] that Williams had first sought the favour of Buckingham; and the deanery of Westminster had been bestowed on him in recognition of the important part which he had played in bringing about the marriage of the favorite with the lady Catherine Manners. But before James's death, a coolness had sprung up between Buckingham and the lord keeper. We have already seen how the unfortunate John Knight of Oxford, the too ingenuous assertor of the doctrines of Pareus, fell the victim of his temerity[3]. It was Williams who had released him from his fatal imprisonment, and he had done so at the intercession of the earl of Oxford,—the uncompromising opponent of the Spanish match who atoned for his outspoken opposition by a term of confinement in the Tower. Buckingham's subsequent hostility to Oxford appears to have extended itself, in some measure, to Williams. But Oxford was now dead; the project of the Spanish match was at an end; and the letter is still extant, written not many days before James's death[4], in which the lord keeper, relying upon his reputation as one well versed in state affairs, ventured upon

[1] *Great Britains Salomon: A Sermon*, etc., p. 49.
[2] Hacket, I 41.
[3] See Vol. II 566.
[4] For important correction of this date as assigned by Hacket and also in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* (III 71), see Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, V 312, n. 1.

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the somewhat perilous experiment of presuming to advise Buckingham with regard to his official career. The duke was apparently intent on combining two highly important offices of state in his own person. The marquess of Hamilton, steward of the household, was just dead, and Buckingham proposed to be his successor; but he was already lord high admiral, and when Williams learned that his patron was proposing to continue to hold that office also, he ventured to address to him what was little less than a remonstrance. He depicted the inconveniences attaching to the command of the navy in language which was evidently meant to give the proud minister a distaste for the office,—if he faithfully discharged its duties he must abandon court life; if he shirked them and stayed at court it would be to be 'laden with ignominye.' The stewardship of the household, on the other hand, would not only 'keep him in all changes and alterations of yeares nere the Kinge,' but also 'give him the opportunitye to gratifie all the Court.' 'Be upon earthe,' he writes, 'as your pietye will one day make you in heaven, an everlastinge favouritt[1].' It was singular advice, when we observe that it emanated from one who was himself at this very time both lord chancellor and bishop of an important diocese, and how far it was taken by Buckingham in good part is not very clear[2], but shortly after, the relations between the favorite and his would-be adviser were subjected to a further strain which resulted in a permanent rupture.

By no one was Williams's career, at this time, watched with keener interest than by his Cambridge contemporary above named,—the eminent Joseph Mede. The latter was but four years the lord keeper's junior, and the intimate relations that then existed between Christ's College and

[1] *Cornb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* III 72.

[2] Mede's correspondent (probably Dr Meddus), writing ten months later (28 Jan. 1622), assigns the advice given on this subject by Williams as the occasion of 'the loss of his lord keeper's place,' and Gardiner (*Hist. of England*, V 311) inclines to accept it as an adequate explanation. The letter, however, in which Williams tendered his unpalatable counsel, as printed in Ellis (*Orig. Letters*, series 3, IV 191), seems hardly in itself to have been sufficient to give such dire offence, and Mede's correspondent alleges also 'some things that passed at the last sitting of parliament' (*Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 73).

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St John's would incline us to surmise ...t from the time of his entering the university, Mede ..... have been familiar with the name of the brilliant young Welshman on the sister foundation. Conspicuous, alike, for their common attachment to their university, their relations to it were singularly dissimilar. The one, watchful of its interests from afar, the other, living, labouring and dying within its precincts; the one the benefactor, the other the teacher; the one the politician, the other the theologian; but each, after his manner, unrivalled among his contemporaries in the influence he exerted,—the one on its institutions, the other on its thought.

It was in 1602, the year in which Perkins died, that Mede entered Christ's College. He was an Essex lad, but had received his education at the grammar school at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, where, as the story is told, he had managed to acquire a Hebrew grammar and had persisted in making himself familiar with the elements of the language in spite of the earnest dissuasives of his master. At Christ's College he found himself in a more congenial atmosphere. The society was still under the potent influence of Perkins's example and teaching, though somewhat oppressed by Valentine Cary's arbitrary rule and pronounced leanings towards Romanism, which led him to inculcate the necessity of confession and the efficacy of prayers for the dead[1]. But with Cary's resignation of the mastership in 1622 it had begun steadily to advance both in numbers and reputation. Thomas Bainbrigg, his successor, a Westmorland man, notwithstanding his want of impartiality in promoting his own relatives[2], appears to have been successful as an administrator, and the society advanced under his rule. Among the thirteen fellows on the foundation, there may be named at least three, besides Joseph Mede, who attained to considerable distinction. These

[1] The facts connected with Cary's administration at Christ's have received additional illustration since the publication of the second volume of my History, in Dr Peile's *Hist. of Christ's College*, pp. 122-4.

[2] —'so addicted to his kindred.' See Baker MS. xxxii 382-4. Dr Peile's estimate is that of 'a strict disciplinarian,' and 'a slow methodical man, who did his work to the best of his ability,' *u.s.* p. 131.

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were Mede's intimate personal friend, William Chappell, afterwards bishop of Cork, an able disputant in the schools and one whose reputation for learning was scarcely inferior to that of Mede himself[1],—Robert Gell, whose known devotion to astrological studies in no way impaired the reputation in which he was held by his contemporaries[2], and whose elaborate suggestions, put forth in 1659, for a revision of the Authorised Version afford a noteworthy illustration of the standard of biblical criticism in his day,—and Michael Honywood, afterwards dean of Lincoln, whose memory survives as that of a discerning benefactor of both his college and his cathedral, and whose industry as a collector of our early national literature and the productions of our early English press might compare with that of Parker himself[3]. Our interest in the society at this period culminates as we note among the signatures of those admitted in 1625 the name of John Milton, a pensioner, with Chappell for his tutor.

But of all the members on the foundation, there can be little doubt that, down to his death in 1638, Joseph Mede possessed the most widespread influence and enjoyed the highest reputation both in the university and without. The range of his acquirements was such that it might serve to represent not inadequately the collective stock of the academic learning of his day. He was well skilled both in the technical logic and in the so-called philosophy of the schools; he knew what little was then known in Cambridge that really belonged to what we now term mathematics[4]; he was

[1] '...justly esteemed a rich magazine of rational learning.' See *Life of Mede* prefixed to third edition of his Works (ed. Worthington), Lond. 1672, p. v. This *Life* is evidently by Worthington himself whose initials 'J. W.' are appended. Both Mede and Chappell, when junior fellows, had been arraigned for 'skoffing at the Dean in Hall.' Peile, *u.s.* p. 127.

[2] Mr Ball observes in relation to Henry Briggs, lecturer and examiner in mathematics at St John's at the close of the sixteenth century, and afterwards Gresham professor, that 'almost alone among his contemporaries he declared that astrology was at best a delusion, even if it were not, as was too frequently the case, a mere cloak for knavery.' *Hist. of the Study of Mathematics at Cambridge*, p. 28.

[3] See the interesting account of his life by the late Canon Venables in *D. N. B.*

[4] His knowledge of mathematics represented no advance upon that of the preceding generation (see Vol. II 402). Mr Ball (*u.s.* p. 33) considers that the first thirty years of the seventeenth century were almost a blank in the history of science in the university.

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an excellent modern linguist and his knowledge of both history and chronology was regarded by those who knew him as unrivalled[1]; he was a profound theologian, and his treatise *de Sanctitate Relativa* was so highly approved by bishop Andrewes that he would fain have made the author his domestic chaplain; his reputation for anatomical knowledge was such that whenever any special illustration of the science was given at Caius College he was generally invited to be present; his acquaintance with the text of Homer was regarded as unsurpassed in the university; while his industry in philological researches led him to compile a large quarto volume, in which, with sadly perverted ingenuity, a vast array of Greek, Latin, and English words were traced back to their supposed Hebrew roots[2]. In addition to these varied acquirements, he appears to have possessed, what was indeed by no means uncommon in his day,—an excellent practical knowledge of botany: 'oftentimes,' says his biographer, 'when he and others were walking in the fields or in the colledge-garden, he would take occasion to speak of the beauty, signatures, useful vertues, and properties of the plants then in view; for he was a curious florist and accurate herbalist, thoroughly versed in the book of Nature[3].'

Mede's merits as a student might, however, have failed to earn for him the substantial recognition of a fellowship, if the arbitrary spirit of Valentine Cary had prevailed. In the master's opinion, 'he looked too much towards Geneva,'—a suspicion which appears to have had no better ground than Mede's habitual tolerance, within certain limits, in matters of doctrinal belief, and the modesty with which he maintained his own views. Otherwise his sympathies were undoubtedly those of the moderate Anglican in questions both of belief and discipline. He systematically condemned the intolerance of Cartwright and his followers, 'for hereby,' he

[1] 'I have found that M. Medes friends, who have been acquainted with the course of his studies, would give him the bell for this' [*i.e.* history] 'as herein outstripping all others.' Twisse (W.), Preface to Mede's *Key of the Revelation*, fol. A 4.

[2] On the importance erroneously attached to Hebrew at this time, see vol. II 418-9.

[3] *Life* (*u. s.*), p. v.

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observed, 'as they did the Common Enemy no small credit and service, so they likewise weakened the true interest and hazarded the safety of the Protestant Reformed religion[1].' In opposition to those theories that afterwards developed into Congregationalism, he compiled a pamphlet to prove the existence of Churches among the primitive Christians and the respect in which they were held. In a sermon at the university church (afterwards printed),—on 'The Reverence to be used in God's House,'—he advocated views which Laud himself must have regarded with satisfaction; while he adduced, from the practice of the Abyssinian Christians, evidence which contrasted strongly with the laxity and levity that too often marred the religious services of his own day[2]. Of Joseph Mede it may, indeed, be affirmed that he was intolerant only of intolerance; and in a long life largely given, on the one hand, to the examination of the evidence on which the traditional learning of his age rested, and on the other, to adding to its stores, he was guided and stimulated by the unalterable belief that, to quote his own language, 'truth could never be prejudiced by the discovery of truth.'

But great as was his receptivity and excellent as was his judgement, the tutor of Christ's College was not less distinguished by the originality of his mind and the ability to impart what he had acquired. The limited number of pupils assigned to each college tutor in those days enabled him to bestow on them an amount of individual attention which stands in singular contrast to the very slight supervision exercised by the so-called 'tutor' at Cambridge in later generations. He was thus enabled to form an estimate of each pupil's capacities and aptitudes such as few tutors have now the opportunity of gaining, even if the range of their own attainments enabled them to do so. And it was

[1] *Ibid.* p. xxvii.

[2] '... nor is it lawfull for us in the Church to laugh, to walk up and down, or to speak of secular matters; no nor to spit, hauk or hem in the Church,' etc. Thus Zaga Zabo of the Abyssine Christians, whereof he was a bishop.' *The Reverence of God's House. A Sermon preached at St Maries in Cambridge, before the Universitie on St Matthies Day, Anno* 163[illegible]. By Joseph Mede B.D. and late Fellow of Christs Colledge in Cambridge. Lond. 1638.

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Mede's special merit that he endeavoured not simply to test the acquirements but also to acquaint himself with the individuality of his pupils. What the ablest teachers, from Plato down to Pestalozzi, have aimed at, was equally his aim,—to discern the special powers of each learner and to advise and direct him accordingly. As soon as the elements of Latin, logic, and philosophy had been mastered, Mede appears to have in a great measure discarded the system of class-tuition, preferring to leave each pupil to work independently and to propound to him his particular difficulties. 'In the evening,' the narrator tells us, 'they all came to his chamber to satisfie him that they had performed the task he had set them. The first question which he used to propound to every one in his order was,—*Quid dubitas?* What doubts have you met in your studies to-day? For he supposed that to doubt nothing and to understand nothing were verifiable alike. Their doubts being propounded, he resolved their *Quaere's*, and so set them upon clear ground to proceed more distinctly. And then having by prayer commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing, he dismissed them to their lodgings[1].'

It can be no matter for surprise that a society whose younger members were instructed with such rare discrimination and so much intelligence gradually assumed a foremost place among the Cambridge colleges with respect to the number of able men whom it sent forth. In 1626 Thomas Fuller was a bachelor at Queens', and continued from that time throughout his life to be a watchful observer of events and changes at Cambridge. Some seventeen years after Mede's death, the historian of his university, struck by the long array of illustrious names which Christ's College numbered among its *alumni*, exclaimed: 'It may without flattery be said of this house, "many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all[2]."'

Our impression of Mede's activity of mind as phenomenal is further increased when we note, that this assiduous devotion to his duties as an instructor, superadded to his widely

[1] *Life* (u. s.), p. iv.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 183.

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varied studies, was still far from completely absorbing either his time or his energies. He was steward of his college, an office then supervised by a weekly audit, and in this capacity his services were highly valued; while his general ability as an administrator may be inferred from the fact that he was twice invited, through the influence of his friend, Ussher, to assume the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin[1]. Nor did his reluctance to quit his college and his university arise from that forgetfulness of the world without and that indifference to the ordinary affairs of life which not unfrequently steal over the studious recluse. His keen interest in political events both in England and abroad might compare with that of a secretary of state; and in order to obtain intelligence which should be at once early and trustworthy, he subsidized regular correspondents, 'as numbering,' says his biographer, 'the affairs of Christendom among his best concernments, and the gaining a more particular acquaintance therewith (by helping to maintain correspondencies amongst learned and wise men in distant countries) amongst the best uses he could make of that estate which God had given him[2].' The intelligence thus obtained was frequently transmitted by Meade to his distinguished relative, Sir Martin Stuteville, who resided at Dalham in Suffolk and whom he occasionally visited; and the letters themselves, along with others from his own pen, are still preserved in the Harleian collection at the British Museum, and afford invaluable aid to the historian of the period. It was in this manner that a quiet Cambridge college became for a time a notable centre of political intelligence; and the university itself, long after Williams' fall from office, was raised almost to a level with

[1] The first time he was actually appointed but declined the office, and William Bedell (afterwards the eminent bishop of Kilmore) was chosen to fill the post. On the second occasion, in 1634, his fellow-collegian, William Chappell, was ultimately appointed by Laud, although, like Meade, he appears to have sought to evade the honour. In both cases the disturbed condition of Ireland probably acted as a deterrent. Chappell, according to his own statement, was appointed in order to reform the college, and though elected 21 Aug. 1634, was not sworn in until 5 June 1637. He immediately became the object of fierce attack alike from Catholic and Puritan:—'Ruunt, facto agmine, | In me profana turba, Roma, Gevennaque.' See his *Vita* (written by himself) in Leland-Hearne, v 263.

[2] *Life* (u. s.), p. xvi.

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Oxford, notwithstandi the [illegible] he frequent presence of Laud or his [illegible] ies secured, in this respect, to that city[1].

It is probable, however, that it was neither as the scholar of deep and varied attainments, nor as the able and successful teacher, nor again as the best informed resident in the university in relation to political movements without, that the name of Joseph Mede most impressed itself on the minds of his contemporaries. The work which won for him his widest fame and was regarded as his most enduring monument, was his *Clavis Apocalyptica*. Originally written and published in Latin, the work first appeared in 1627. But in 1642 we find the publication of a translation, with considerable additions, receiving the sanction of the Long Parliament. This translation had been executed by Richard More, one of the members of that body and afterwards distinguished as an active supporter of the parliamentary party in the Civil War; while the approval of the House had been obtained on the recommendation of Arthur Jackson, a London clergyman, and afterwards a member of the Savoy Conference, who had been appointed to report on the merits of the work[2]. Jackson had been educated at Cambridge, having quitted Trinity College in 1619, taking with him the reputation of an exemplary and hard-working student. While resident, he can hardly have failed to have heard something about the great *savant* of Christ's College, whose fame was even then considerable, and it is possible that his estimate of the merits of the treatise was not altogether unbiassed by what he already knew of the author. His verdict was highly favorable. He not only reported that More's translation was a faithful one, but also expressed his opinion that the

[1] The originals of these letters are in the Harleian collection, nos. 389, 390; I am indebted to the careful collation of those printed in the *Court and Times of Charles the First* (2 vols., 1849), with the originals, made by Dr Peile, for some useful material and corrections.

[2] 'That M. Jackson minister of St Michael in Wood street, London, be desired to peruse M. More his translation of M. Mede his book on the *Revelation* this day presented to the said Committee to be licensed, and to report to the said Committee his opinion therein, and concerning the printing thereof.' *Order of Committee of House of Commons*, 21 Feb. 164½.

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CHAP. V. book itself,—*The Key of the Revelation*,—gave 'much light for the understanding of many obscure passages in that sweet and comfortable Prophesie.' 'And though,' he added, 'Mr Mede's opinion concerning the thousand years of the seventh trumpet be singular from that which hath been most generally received by expositors of best esteem, and I conceive hath no just ground; yet he therein delivers his judgement with such modesty and moderation that I think the printing of it will not be perillous: and therefore conceive that the publishing of this translation is a good work, and may, with God's blessing, yield much comfort to many[1].' Mede's latest biographer claims for him the merit of perceiving that 'a thorough determination of the structural character of the Apocalypse must be a preliminary to any sound interpretation of it.' Mede, he says, 'decides that its visions form a connected and chronological sequence; the key to the discrimination of an earlier and later chain of events he finds in *Rev.* xvii 18; he makes no claim to write history in advance by help of prophecies which remain for fulfilment[2].'

To the theological scholar of the present day there is something sadly grotesque in the bald literalness with which Mede endeavours to reduce the glowing rhapsody of the vision in Patmos to coherence and intelligibility. He devised an elaborate diagram in order to bring home to the comprehension of his readers the mechanical process involved in the opening of the Seven Seals. Singularly enough, his conception of the 'seven-sealed volume' was at first that of a clasped quarto, of the kind common in the libraries of his day, the clasps being seven in number and each bearing its special seal. To do him justice, however, he did not adopt this form of representation without considerable misgiving; to use his own expression, he had 'often beat and hammered upon it,' sometimes surmising that 'the Seals were not written by characters in letters, but being painted by certain shapes, lay hid under some covers of the seals; which being opened,

[1] *The Key of the Revelation, searced and demonstrated out of the naturall and proper Characters of the Visions*, etc., London, 1650 (Jackson's *imprimatur* is prefixed to title-page).

[2] See article by Dr Alexander Gordon in *D. N. B.*

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each of them in its order, appeared not to be read but to be beheld and viewed'; ultimately however concluding that both the written text and the representations 'were to be joyned together, and that we must say, that indeed the prophesies were described and pourtrayed in the volume, whether by signes and shapes or letters, but that these were no otherwise exhibited to John and other beholders of this celestial theater, then by a foreign representation, supplying the room of a rehearsall, *not much unlike to our academicall interludes, where the prompters stand near the actors with their books in their hands.*' This latter hypothesis was not, however, adopted by Mede without some misgiving, and he was still pondering the question when he received from a certain 'Master Haydock, a learned gentleman,' a letter suggesting another mode of delineation less open to objection. Bearing in mind the fact, which Mede, singularly enough, had altogether overlooked, that 'books' in the days of St John the Divine differed considerably, as regarded their exterior, from the volumes which, in the first half of the seventeenth century, were issuing from the University Press, Haydock ventured to suggest that a series of parchment rolls, or, as Mede terms it, a 'seal-bearing sylender,'—each roll or leaf having its separate band and seal,—would more accurately represent the 'book' in *Revelation*. It is creditable to Mede's candour, that although he admitted that it 'had never entered into his thoughts before,' he at once pronounced Haydock's idea 'most ingenious.' Nor was Richard More, the translator, any less pleased. 'The form of the seven-sealed book,' he solemnly observes, 'ought to be such as might satisfie the Lamb's intention, which had an eye unto *prius* and *posterius*, in regard of the sequel of the ensuing History: for that part which belongs to the first seal ought to be viewed before the second or the rest be opened. Whereas in the form of the modern books, untill all the seaven Seals be opened, no use can be made of any part or leaf in the book. But in the form of the roll, when every leaf hath its severall label inserted in its proper distance, with a seal and severall impression of emblematicall signi-

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CHAP. I. ture, each severall leaf being taken and unsealed in order, the severall matter therein contained will appear, and no more of any of the rest till they be opened in order.'

In the diagram inserted in the translation published after Mede's death, we accordingly find the drawing of his conjectural 'volume' relegated to a comparatively obscure corner, while 'Mr Haydock his book,' both sealed and opened, appears prominently at the head and foot of the design.

Although, in his application of the prophecies, Mede may be acquitted of any attempt to 'write history *in advance*,' his construction of recent and contemporary events probably gave encouragement to such endeavour on the part of others. He found no difficulty in identifying the Osmanli, whose mighty sway under Amurath IV then extended from the Tigris to Gibraltar, with Gog and Magog. He considered himself singularly happy in the invention of a diagram shewing that pontifical Rome, as it stood in his day, represented just about a tenth of the ancient imperial city, and might therefore seem to be expressly referred to in the prophecy that the 'tenth part' of Babylon should be destroyed. And he pronounced the 'discovery' of the meaning of the number of the Beast put forth by a certain 'Mr Potter,' an 'unfolding of the greatest mystery that had been discovered since the beginning of the world[1].' The millennium, he thought, was identical with the day of judgement itself, and would be ushered in by the thousand years proclaimed by the seventh trumpet.

Sanctioned, as these theories were, by a great name and argued with no little ingenuity and plausibility, they attracted an amount of attention which it would be difficult to explain, if we did not remember the fascination such speculations possessed for those numerous students of prophecy who imagined that it was possible to discern, in actual process all around them, the drama foreshadowed in the vision seen in Patmos. The *Clavis* won for its author the regard of Hartlib and the praise of nearly all learned Holland; it modified the religious belief of John Milton; and taking rank, for more than a

[1] Preface to More's translation of the *Clavis*.

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century, as a classic, it exerted an influence on theological thought which no English writer on the period appears adequately to have recognised. Able and earnest divines in long succession, the array culminating with the name of Isaac Newton, devoted to like barren and baseless speculations the years and the intellectual efforts which, more wisely bestowed, might have resulted in achievements of highest value in literature and science,—in works as deserving to be had in remembrance as were their actual labours of the oblivion which has overtaken them.

At the time, however, of Charles's accession, the theological world was stirred by questions far more practical in their bearings than the well-meant speculations of Joseph Mede; and it will be necessary now to devote somewhat lengthened consideration to a movement whereby all Cambridge became involved in a controversy which, as regards the acrimony and intensity of feeling that it excited, can be compared only with the contests of the time of Cartwright. The allusion in Mede's letter[1] to rumours of proceedings in the House of Commons 'against Montagu and his book,' had reference to a matter which interested and concerned a certain section of theologians at Cambridge very closely, and these a body distinguished both for learning and ability. The great Anglican party which had so long been seeking to steer between dislike and distrust of Jesuitism on the one hand, and of Puritanism on the other, suddenly found itself called upon to consider the advisability of taking a new departure. A notable pronouncement by James, addressed to the university of Oxford some years before, had formally designated both Jesuits and Puritans as bodies 'well knowne to be medlers in matters of State and Monarchy,' and the study of their literature had been forbidden[2]. Neither the casuistical divinity of the Order nor the dogmatic teaching of the followers of Cartwright and Perkins was to be allowed henceforth to occupy the time of the theological student, who was enjoined to restrict his reading to 'the Scriptures, then

[1] *Supra*, p. 11.

[2] See Vol. II 567; Wood-Gutch, II 343.

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the Councells and ancient Fathers, and then the Schoolmen[1].' Such had been the decision from which we have now to note the two opposed parties in matters of Church doctrine at Cambridge endeavouring, under the auspices of the new régime, to break away. The writer, to whom Mede refers, was Richard Montagu, fellow of King's College, now in his forty-ninth year. Educated at Eton, he had been elected to his fellowship in 1597, and by the special favour of king James had continued to hold it, not only along with a living in Essex and another in Somerset, but also with a canonry at Windsor, with the archdeaconry of Hereford, and a royal chaplaincy,—an accumulation of favours which only conspicuous merit and ability could be held even partially to justify. His knowledge of early Church history, which was really considerable, overawed the great majority of his contemporaries. With Sir Henry Savile, who had summoned him back to Eton, to aid him in his edition of Saint Chrysostom, he stood in high favour; he had even ventured to pass judgement on the merits of Isaac Casaubon's 'Exercitationes' on Baronius, and had drawn from that great but modest scholar the admission that his critic was 'really learned.' His reply to Selden's epoch-making *History of Tithes* won such approval from king James that the monarch decided that the controversy had been virtually set at rest and forbade Selden to attempt any rejoinder; while the great jurist himself had the candour to admit that his antagonist was 'well versed in ancient learning[2].' In short, although Montagu's language on certain doctrinal questions, and more

[1] 'Volumus insuper ut, ex occasione præsentium, collegiorum et aularum vestræ universitatis præsides ac rectores convenire facias, quoniam de theologiæ studio *utrique prudens academia* tam serio commendavimus ut in animos revoces; nimirum ut qui facultati illi nomina dederint sacræ imprimis paginæ inc imbant, Concilia deinde Patresque antiquos, ac domum scriptores Scholasticos evolvant, a Novatoricis sive Jesuitis sive Catharis prorsus abstinentes, quos utique rebus publicis & Monarchiam tangentibus sese immiscere constat, etc.' *Hist. Universitatis Oxon.* p. 227. I cite here Wood's original Latin version, from which it is clear that James had sent similar instructions to Cambridge, but of these I find no record.

[2] Even Anthony Wood considers (*Athenæ*, III 370) that Selden was 'effectually answered' by Montagu; but Mark Pattison's assertion (*Isaac Casaubon*[2], 376) that the former stood in about the same relation to the latter that Bentley did to Boyle is much too severe.

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especially his refusal to look upon the pope of Rome as identical with Antichrist, exposed him to the suspicion of being at heart a Romanist, his reputation was at this time scarcely rivalled at either university as that of the scholar, the dialectician and the satirist in rare combination; and while the devout were conciliated by the habitual respect with which he invariably referred to the departed Perkins, the more worldly minded could not but augur well of the man who was known to be honoured by the special friendship of Williams[1].

As Montagu himself narrates the story, the origin of this renowned controversy by no means foreshadowed the magnitude which it was destined to assume. He had gone down to his college living of Stanford Rivers in Essex, in 1623[2], for a quiet resumption of his parish duties, when he found one of his flock, a somewhat illiterate woman, in deep mental distress. Certain 'Romish Rangers' had terrified her by the assurance that the Protestant faith which she professed could only result in her spiritual ruin. Montagu assured her that there was no cause for alarm,—these emissaries were but 'scare crowes,'—and so far soothed her feelings as to believe that he had effectually composed her 'disquieted thoughts.' The priests, however, resumed their machinations, and he eventually felt himself constrained personally to challenge them to a public disputation, and he accordingly handed to his parishioner a paper wherein he called upon her tormentors to prove: 1. That the Church of Rome was either the Catholic Church or a sound member of it. 2. That the Church of England was neither. 3. That those doctrines which the Church of Rome taught, but which the Church of England repudiated, had ever been the traditional doctrine of the true Catholic Church, or ever approved at any General Council, or could be shewn to be in agreement

[1] In dedicating his *Treatise of Invocation of Saints* to the lord keeper in 1624, Montagu writes:...'your honor is he unto whom, next unto his most sacred Majestie, my most gracious soveraigne and master, I owe more than to all the world beside.'

[2] The date (1619) given in the *D. N. B.* is evidently incompatible with the internal evidence. See Montagu's *New Gagg*, pp. 2 6; also Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, v 351.

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CHAP. I. with the teaching of any one of the Fathers for 500 years after Christ. This broad challenge met with no direct response, but some eighteen months later, Montagu received a tract bearing the title, *A Gagg for the New Gospel*, in which certain doctrines, alleged to be those of the Church of England, were examined and refuted. The writer, whom Montagu stigmatises as 'a very worthless author,' seemed scarcely to deserve a reply, had not the opportunity appeared to be one not to be lost. Here were certain tenets held up to condemnation, which were asserted to be those of the English Church,—Montagu held that they were *not taught by his Church*, and that a formal disclaimer to that effect was peremptorily called for. The language in which he subsequently explained his point of view deserves to be especially noted: 'I was forced upon the controversies of these times,' he wrote, 'between the Protestant and Romish Confessionists. And because it hath bin ever truly counted a readier way for the advancement of piety rather to lessen and abate than to multiply the number of many needless contentions in the Church: therefore when I first undertooke to answer that very worthless author,.....I did it with a firmed purpose to leave all private opinions and particular positions or oppositions whatsoever, unto their own authors or abettors, either to stand or fall of themselves; and not to suffer the Church of England to be charged with the maintenance of any doctrine which was none of her own, publickely and universally resolved on. *For we are at a great disadvantage with our adversaries to have those tenents put and pressed evermore upon us, for the generall doctrine established in our Church, which are but eyther the problematicall opinions of private doctors, to be held or not held eyther way; or else the fancies many of them of factious men, disclaimed and censured by the Church, not to be held any way*[1].'

[1] *Epist. Dedic.* to the *Appello Cæsarem*, a.v. It is difficult here not to be reminded of Pascal and his fifth Provincial.—'Je croyais ne devoir prendre pour règle que l'Ecriture et la tradition de l'Eglise, mais non pas vos casuistes... Je vois bien...que tout est bien venu chez vous, *hormis les anciens Pères*.' *Lettres Provinciales*, ed. 1853, pp. 95, 103. Of the

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Such was the language in which Montagu ultimately justified his position to king Charles. For the present, he preferred to issue a lengthy pamphlet, extending to 328 quarto pages, which he apparently had not time to condense within more reasonable limits, entitled '*A New Gagg for an Old Goose*[1].' Although not free from the scurrility that characterised the controversial literature of those times, this production is justly described by Gardiner as 'a temperate exposition of the reasons which were leading an increasing body of scholars to reject the doctrines of Rome and Geneva alike[2].' It was the writer's aim to shew that the 'errors' attributed by Calvinist or Romanist to Protestantism were not errors at all, but the outcome of a deliberate suspension of judgement with respect to certain opinions,—opinions which had been raised, without adequate authority, by certain doctors of those communions to the dignity of dogmas. He accordingly brings forward a series of these doctrines, among them those of predestination, transubstantiation, the identification of the pope with Antichrist, the duty of confession to a priest[3], the intercession of angels, prayers for the souls of the departed, and seeks to prove that they are, as he above describes them, 'problematical opinions' of doctors, or the 'fancies of factious men'; but in each case it is his endeavour to shew that the Protestant divine does not seek to put aside these doctrines by a sweeping negation, but rather to relegate them to the

authors vaunted by Pascal's antagonist, Frances Suarez and Gabriel Vasquez were probably already well known to not a few Anglican divines.

[1] *A Gagg for the New Gospell? No: A* NEW GAGG *for an* OLD *Goose. Who would needes undertake to stop all Protestants mouths for ever, with* 276 *places out of their owne English* BIBLES... By Richard Mountagu. London, 1624.

[2] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, v 352.

[3] The following is a good specimen of his mode of argument: 'The words of our Bible (*Matth.* iii 5, 6) are expresse for confessing. I graunt: and for confessing of sinnes too, but not expresse for publique or private confessing; not for confessing unto *whom*, to man or unto God; not, whether in generall they confessed themselves sinners; or, descended to some particulars there more ordinary direct and enormious sinnes. These are not instanced, discerned nor determined. *Writers are divided in opinion.* You know it not: only because there was confessing of sinnes, it must needes be such confession of such sinnes as you imagined.' *A New Gagg*, p. 85.

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CHAP. I. class of opinions not necessarily included within the limits of recognised orthodoxy, and with respect to which considerable latitude should be conceded. Unfortunately this temperate and dispassionate mode of dealing with theological differences was very far from recommending itself to the great majority of divines in Cambridge. Every concession made by Montagu to the adversary, whether Calvinist or Romanist, seemed only heterodoxical or presumptuous[1], and to a large section the writer's denial of the teaching of the Church as enforcing the duty of auricular confession was especially distasteful.

The town of Ipswich was conspicuous at this period for its traditional allegiance to Reformation doctrine; and two of its resident 'lecturers' (as afternoon preachers were then termed), named Ward and Yates, proceeded to make a selection of the more obnoxious passages in the *New Gagg* and forwarded them, as subject-matter for grave complaint, to a committee of the House of Commons. Yates, as formerly a fellow of Emmanuel College, was probably familiar with Montagu's previous career. In his recently published *Modell of Divinity*[2] he had already expressed his dislike of the Arminian and popish doctrines which were spreading with such alarming rapidity; at the same time giving it as his opinion, that their success was mainly attributable to the want of systematic teaching and more especially to the disuse into which the practice of catechising had fallen,—an evil which his treatise was designed to assist in remedying. The House of Commons referred the complaint from Ipswich to archbishop Abbot, for him to take action as he might deem fit. Abbot sent for Montagu; and, without actually condemning the obnoxious volume, advised him to reconsider the views therein set forth, and to modify them according as more mature judgement might suggest. Montagu was not the man tamely to submit to counsel, when compliance involved a humiliating admission on his own part. He

[1] See Mr Hutton's able sketch of Montagu in the *D. N. B.*

[2] *A Modell of Divinitie, catechistically composed, wherein is delivered the Matter and Methode of Religion according to the Creed, Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments.* London, 1622. 4to.

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sought and obtained an interview with James, to whom he explained and justified his views. 'It pleased His Majesty,' he tells us, 'not only to grant me leave humbly to *appeale* from my defamers unto his most sacred cognisance in publicke, and to represent my just defence against their slanders and false surmises unto the world; but also to give expresse order unto Dr White[1], the reverend dean of Carlile, for the authorising and publishing thereof, after it had beene duly read over and approved by him to containe nothing in it but what was agreeable to the doctrine and discipline established in the Church of England[2].'

Such was the origin of the *Appello Cæsarem*. The Dean of Carlisle perused the manuscript and sanctioned its publication; but a few weeks later king James died, and the 'Epistle Dedicatory' was addressed to Charles instead, to whom Montagu now preferred his 'just appeal' against 'two unjust informers[3].' The crisis at which the 'Appeal' came forth, the reputation of the writer, the raciness of his style, and the genuine ability with which his whole argument was urged, invested the tractate with exceptional interest. It may indeed be fairly questioned whether in the first half of the seventeenth century,—that age of pamphleteering,—any similar production excited such ardent controversy between the opposed parties; none, certainly, stirred or affected so deeply the current of academic thought at Cambridge. But before we proceed to record the chief incidents of the remarkable contest that ensued, it will be well to note Montagu's exact standpoint and the grounds on which he justified it.

At the outset of his vindication, Montagu seeks to clear himself definitely and once for all from the charge of teaching

[1] Francis White of Caius College, M.A. 1586, already well known as one of the disputants against Fisher, the Jesuit, and as author of a treatise *The Orthodox Faith and Way to the Church*, 1617. In 1625 he was appointed senior dean of Sion College, and on 3 Dec. 1626 to the *bishopric* of Carlisle; in Usher's correspondence (*Works*, xv 369) it is stated by Dr Sam. Ward that, according to report, White had 'paid for his place.' His death, in 1638, deprived Laud of one of his most unflinching supporters.

[2] *Epist. Dedic.* to the *Appello Cæsarem*, a 3 v.

[3] *Appello Cæsarem. A just Appeale from two unjust Informers.* By Richard Mountagu. Lond. 1625.

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the doctrines of Arminius, whose writings he distinctly avers he has never even read. 'I am not,' he says, 'Arminian, Calvinist, or Lutheran, but a Christian[1].' But while taking, for his rule of faith, the Scriptures, and the Scriptures only, he emphatically declares that, as an interpreter of that rule, he accepts the teaching of the Church of England in preference to that of any foreign communion. 'And wherever,' he adds, 'our mother Church herself refrains from determining and pronouncing, I also refrain, and I accept as the bounds of my avowed faith, the consented, resolved, and subscribed Articles of the Church of England[2].' Having thus defined his general position, Montagu found no difficulty in declaring that he considered himself in no way bound to adopt any one of the theories propounded in connexion with the dark question which at that time seemed to threaten to absorb half the intellectual energies of Protestantism,—the Lapsarian controversy. But so far as the Church of England, in the 16th Article, could be held to have defined her doctrine in relation thereto, her teaching, he considered, was in strict harmony with that of the ancient Church, and all who had subscribed that Article had 'subscribed that Arminianism' which many now 'imputed as an error' unto himself[3]. Throughout his argument, Montagu finds satisfaction in tracing back his views to a distinct tradition of teaching in his own university. Bancroft, he points out, had espoused the same cause when he inveighed, at Hampton Court, against 'that desperate doctrine of predestination'; such too had been the position of Overall ('that most accomplished divine, whose memorie shall ever be pretious with all good men'), and notably on the occasion when he related to king James the substance 'of those concertations which himself had sometime had in Cambridge with some doctors there[4].'—'at which time,' says Montagu, 'that doctrine of the Church of England then quarrelled, now stiled Arminianism, accused of noveltie, slandered as pernicious by these informers

[1] *Ibid.* p. 10. Compare Fuller's language, a few years later, where, rejecting alike the designation of Lutheran, Calvinist, or Protestant, he says, 'we are *Christians*.' *Sermons* (ed. Axon), II 497.

[2] *Appello*, p. 26. [3] *Ibid.* p. 29.

[4] For Overall see Index to Vol. II.

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and their brethren, was resolved of and avowed for true, catholic, ancient and orthodox[1].' To other eminent Cambridge teachers, to Whitaker, Perkins[2], and Thomas Morton[3] (now bishop of Lichfield), whose lectures before the university the writer had probably attended, there is also frequent reference. Montagu's design in citing these authorities was sufficiently intelligible to his contemporaries: he was making a dexterous appeal to an alleged tradition of doctrine at Cambridge,—a tradition that ran altogether counter to the sympathies of the great majority in the university at the time when he wrote and which that majority would be certain to call in question and disavow, but whose disavowal would be all the more certain to cause a highly influential section of Oxford theologians to rally to his own defence[4]. CHAP. I

The several stages of the process whereby the *Appello*, having first been submitted for criticism to a committee of the House of Commons, eventually brought upon its author the censure of that assembly is a familiar story[5]. In July 1625, a special committee[6] having been appointed to examine Montagu's two treatises, he was handed over to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, not indeed as convicted of erroneous doctrine, but on the more technical charge of contempt of the House. He was, however, permitted to go free on his bond; and on the eleventh of July parliament adjourned, to reassemble in August at Oxford, the prevalence of the plague in London compelling removal from the capital. The sister university thus suddenly found itself converted into the supreme seat of legislature, while colleges and halls were occupied by members of both Houses to the displacement

The *Appello* censured by the House of Commons.

Parliament removable at Oxford Aug. 1625.

[1] *Appello*, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 89, 139, 169, 170, 173.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 131, 146, 195, 215, 290, 294, 299.

[4] Here again Montagu's language on the duty of confession is noteworthy: 'My words are, "It is confessed that private confession unto a priest is of very ancient practice in the Church; of excellent use and benefit, being discreetly handled. We refuse it to none, if men require it.... We urge and perswade it *in extremis*"' (*Ibid.* p. 299). In support of this position, which he refers to as that of 'Mother Church,' he says: 'let bishop Morton speak, and bishop Usher deliver: no Papists I know; and, I think, none in your opinion' (*Ibid.*).

[5] A story nowhere told with greater impartiality than by Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, v 361–5.

[6] The Committee by which the Petition on Recusancy had been drawn up. *Ibid.* v 355.

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alike of fellows, masters of arts, and students. The divinity school was assigned as the place of assembly for the Commons, where the Speaker occupied a chair close to that of the regius professor of divinity. 'It is observed by some,' says Anthony Wood, 'that this giving up of the divinity school unto the House of Commons, and placing the Speaker near the professor's chair, did first put them into a conceit that the determining of all points and controversies in divinity did belong to them[1].'

In this brief interval of three weeks before the re-assembling of parliament, the young monarch and his impetuous adviser found themselves under the necessity of deciding which side they would take in the Montacutian controversy, a decision, in Gardiner's opinion, 'even yet more momentous than that of the direction of the war.' Of its importance in relation to the two universities, the following outline (which is all that can here be offered) will afford sufficient proof.

When parliament met again at Oxford, Montagu was too ill to appear; but in the mean time a powerful influence had been brought to bear upon Buckingham in his favour. The party at Oxford to which he had made his tacit appeal responded to his call. To Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, who had been Laud's tutor at St John's College, to Laud himself, now bishop of St Davids, and to Howson, a former student of Christ Church but now bishop of Oxford, the merits of the *Appello* seemed greatly to transcend its defects. The three prelates, accordingly, drew up a memorial to Buckingham, in which they stated it to be their joint conviction that the Church of England was in no way bound by the decisions of the Synod of Dort, that the opinions advanced by Montagu were not contrary to the teaching of his Church, and that the writer himself was 'a right honest man[2].' But while thus giving expression to what was virtually a vindication of his treatise as a whole, they at the same time drew a scholarly and important distinction between the merits of

[1] Wood-Gutch, II 355.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, *Append.* C, VI 470; Laud's *Works*, VI 246.

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the different opinions therein propounded,—some of these, CHAP. in their judgement, being 'expressly' those of the Church of England, and such as he was, in a manner, 'bound to maintain[1]'; but others, fit only for the schools, and subject consequently to be controverted,—'to be left,' as they phrase it, 'at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, *so they keep themselves peaceable and distract not the Church*. And therefore to make any man subscribe to school opinions may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the Council of Trent[2].' Had this notable letter ended here, it might have gone down to posterity as embodying at once a temperate defence of Montagu and a seasonable expression of the principle of toleration in relation to things indifferent or to questions confessedly unsolvable. But the sting of the missive was in its tail, and, after appearing simply as apologists and pleaders for impartiality, the writers summed up in terms which were distinctly denunciatory of their opponents and have been censured as 'strangely inconsistent' with their preceding utterances. 'We cannot conceive,' they wrote, 'what use there can be of civil government in the Commonwealth, or of preaching or external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions as some which are *opposite and contrary to those delivered by Mr Montague* shall be publicly taught and maintained[3].'

In the following October the lord keeper fell. His shrewd estimate of the position had probably convinced him that both Charles and Buckingham, in the conflict in which they had become involved with the lower house, were marching on their ruin, but his relations with the all-powerful favorite were not, as yet, those of declared antagonism, and he still cherished the hope that they admitted of retrieval. On the 25th of the month, however, he was informed by Conway, the secretary of state, that he must consider his tenure of office as at an end and he was advised to retire to his diocese. At Cambridge it was believed that his courageous frankness

William dismissed from his office of keeper. 25 Oct.

[1] Fuller-Brewer, VI 468; Laud's *Works*, VI 245.
[2] *Ibid.* VI 468–9; Laud's *Works*, *Ibid.*
[3] Laud, *Works*, VI 245.

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CHAP. I.

as an adviser[1], his known reluctance to resort to base expedients of patronage[2], were the sole causes of the disfavour into which he had fallen,—a belief, it must be admitted, to which the actual evidence lends but inadequate support. Although no longer lord keeper, Williams was still dean of Westminster, and under ordinary circumstances he would, in that capacity, have been assigned a part in the ceremony of the coronation. As the time drew near, accordingly, on hearing that the preparations for the august event were already in progress, he hastened up from his palace at Buckden to London; it was only however to learn that Charles forbade him to take any share in the ceremony and that he was required 'to substitute the bishop of St Davids for his deputy[3].' It was Laud, therefore, who on the appointed day officiated in Williams' place, and his appearance was a scarcely less sinister omen than was the non-appearance of the queen in the chair set for her in the abbey. Nor did it serve greatly to mend matters, that Laud, in compiling a special service and arranging the ceremonial, did his best to invest the proceedings with peculiar interest and solemnity, so that Joseph Mede, writing to Sir Martin Stuteville, could characterise it as 'one of the most punctual coronations since the Conquest[4].' It is singular that the service which Laud prepared should eventually have found a home in the Library which his rival had built[5]; while the prebend of Buckden,

He is ordered to appoint a deputy to assist at the Coronation. The Coronation at Westminster, 2 Feb. 1625.

The special service.

[1] *Supra*, p. 11.

[2] See Hacket, i 107.

[3] *Calamy*, i 107. *Letters of Archbp. Williams* (ed. Mayor), pp. 57–68.

[4] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, i 79.

[5] The volume containing the service, used by Charles on the occasion, a 12mo. manuscript with the rubrics 'in red letters' which Prynne afterwards animadverted upon with sour dislike (*Canterburie's Doome*, p. 69), came into the possession of archbishop Sancroft; from his hands it passed into those of William Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, and one of the nonjuring bishops, and eventually became the property of Thomas Baker, who bequeathed it to the library of his college, where it is now preserved. The MS. has since been printed and edited by the Rev. Canon Wordsworth for the Henry Bradshaw Society, in a volume entitled *The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles the First* (London, 1892). Canon Wordsworth's interesting account of its history is given in pp. xvi–xviii, where, however, I venture to make one correction, viz. that it was not William Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, the owner of the volume, who with six other bishops was committed to the Tower in 1688, but William Lloyd, *bishop of St Asaph*, who had been educated at Oriel College, Oxford.

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Williams' episcopal seat, had not long been vacated by Laud.

In his dismay and despair, the late lord keeper humbled himself in the dust before both king and minister. 'I am,' he wrote to Buckingham, 'a creature of your own, struck dead onlye with your displeasure.'...'If I were guiltye of any unworthye unfaithfulnes for the time past, or not guiltye of a *resolution to doe your Grace all service for the time to com*, all considerations under Heaven could not force me to begge it so earnestlye, or to professe myselfe as I doe before God and you, your Grace his most humble, affectionate and devoted servaunt[1].' His appeal met with no response, and a month later the writer made another effort, addressing himself this time to his monarch, urging his 'griefe and necessities,'—'I am not paid,' he writes, 'that payment of my pension which shoulde paye the Creditors which lent me money to buy the same, notwithstanding your Matie hath bene gratiously pleased to order otherwise'; 'secondly, I have not yet received my writt of summons unto the Parliament denyed to noe prisoners or condemned persons in the late raigne of your blessed ffather.' He concludes with an entreaty that Charles will be pleased to restore him to favour and mitigate on his behalf 'the causeless displeasure' of Buckingham[2]. This appeal, however, seems like the former to have met with no response, and the writer now began to assume an air of resignation to his fate. In a letter to his 'friend and cozen,' Sir John Wynne, dated from Buckden on the first of the preceding December[3], he had already spoken of his late career as one of 'glorious miserye and splendid slavery' and feigned to exult in his release. To the world at large it might well seem that the star of his fortune had definitely set; but Williams was blest with a constitutional elasticity which no caprice of fortune could permanently depress.

[1] *Letters* (ed. Mayor), p. 57.

[2] 'That your Matie would be pleased to mitigatt & allay the causeless disp easure of my Lo. D. ag^t me who is soe litle satisfied with any thinge that I canne doe or suffer that I have noe means left to satisfie and appease his anger but my prayers to god and your sacred Matie' (*S. P. Dom. Charles I*, xx, no. 43).

[3] Letter to Sir John Wynne: 1 Dec. 1625. *Eur. Mag.* xxi; *Letters* (ed. Mayor), p. 35.

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CHAP. I. Cowley, who knew him in his later years, declared, when addressing him in a yet darker hour, that he

> —put ill Fortune in so good a dress
> That it outshone other men's happiness[1],

and at the present crisis this enviable characteristic came out in strong relief. To Nature, with her power to soothe and solace, and to self-estrangement, in obedience to the claims of duty and the calls of philanthropy,—the fallen statesman turned; and, making all allowance for the portraiture of a too partial biographer, it is still difficult not to infer that John Williams was on the whole a happier man. 'Every place,' we are assured, 'wherein he had a title was the better for his charity.' His diocese, his university, his college, as in the past they had been always made aware that his gain was theirs, his advancement that of their most zealous friend and helper, so now they became not less conscious that his withdrawal from political life had only served to give his sympathies fuller play. His palace at Buckden, an ancient structure, once the residence of Catherine of Aragon, which had been suffered to fall into decay, now assumed another aspect; a choice library adorned its walls[2]; the surrounding park became stocked with deer; the grounds were replanted; all the nurseries about London were 'ransacked for flowers and choice fruits.'...'Alcinous could not have lived better[3].' In founding libraries for his clergy, in establishing and organising local charities, in battling with rustic ignorance and superstition, he proved himself no unworthy successor of the great lights who had before adorned his see,—of a Remigius, a Hugh of Avalon, a Grosseteste. He was now frequently in Cambridge, where his quick and impartial discernment of merit was long after gratefully recorded by his biographer. Hacket, who had himself been a fellow and

[1] 'To the Bishop of Lincoln upon his Enlargement out of the Tower.' *Works* (ed. Grosart), I 139.

[2] Among the MSS. in St John's College Library (L 4) is: *Deux catalogues des livres Français qui se trouve au palais de Buckden, en l'evesque bibliothèque de monseigneur l'évêque de Lincoln.* Lincoln, 1634. These French books in Williams' library alone appear to have amounted to some 600 volumes, of which a large proportion relate to French history.

[3] Hacket, II 29.

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tutor, as he was afterwards a benefactor of Trinity College, avers that Williams permitted himself to be swayed 'neither by friends, nor favour, nor consanguinity,' and he has placed on record the chief names of the distinguished Trinity men who, as was his own case, had risen in the world through the warmhearted bishop's influence,—'Dr Simson, the author of the great Chronology, Dr Warr, Mr G. Herbert, Dr Meredith, Mr H. Thorndicke, Dr Creicton, Dr Fearn, Mr J. Duport, Mr A. Scattergood, Mr C. Williamson[1].' At the same time Williams' attachment to his own college remained unshaken, although the venal rule of his own cousin, Owen Gwynne, might well have alienated a less loyal son. Through his beneficence, four livings,—those of Soulderne, Freshwater, Aberdaron and St Florence,—were vested in the patronage of St John's, and lands were acquired for the endowment of new fellowships and scholarships[2]. But his noblest benefaction was in connexion with the library.

For the erection of the second court, which was completed in the year 1602, the college had been chiefly indebted to the countess of Shrewsbury[3] (the wife of the seventh earl and daughter of the celebrated Bess of Hardwicke), an episode in its architectural history which stands associated in a singular manner with the personal history of that unfortunate lady,—'justly entitled,' says Baker, 'to the foundation of the whole, what she did being wholly owing to her favour, and what she left undone being owing to her misfortunes[4].'

[1] *Ibid.* II 42. 'Here,' he ejaculates, 'are ten Nestors in one Militia, according to Agamemnon's wish.'

[2] 'The endowment (only some £40 a year) was insufficient from the first, and immediately after Williams' death the College got leave to suppress the Fellowships.' Mr R. F. Scott, Bursar, *Notes from the College Records*, Series II xiii 23.

[3] Mary, countess of Shrewsbury, was the daughter of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth and his wife the celebrated 'Bess of Hardwicke,' and her munificence to St John's may be said to mark the commencement of the long connexion between the house of Cavendish and the university of Cambridge. The countess had, at this time, been for some years confined in the Tower, along with her niece the unfortunate Arabella Stuart, and had regained her liberty only a few months, when a letter conveying the petition of the College for her aid reached her. She had been released in order that she might be present at the deathbed of the earl, her husband. Hence the allusion in the letter to 'y^r Ladyshipps great Trobles and expenses in securing y^r owne estate and fortune.' See *Camb. Ant. Soc. Comm.* I 47; Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, II 119.

[4] Baker-Mayor, I 192.

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CHAP. I. The countess, indeed, appears to have inherited the same taste for building which in her mother amounted to a passion, but, in 1611, her committal to the Tower, on suspicion of having connived at the flight of her niece, Arabella Stuart, led to a suspension of relations with the world without; and it was not until the death of the earl (who had approved and aided her designs) that it was deemed prudent to disclose the names of the benefactors. Even then their armorial bearings,—those of the houses of Talbot and Cavendish,—were not permitted to appear, a blank space over the gateway being for some time reserved 'for such arms as the college should afterwards set up there.'

From this time, however, the relations of the college with these two noble houses appear to have been those of beneficent sympathy on the one hand and cordial gratitude on the other. Early in the seventeenth century, the nephew of the countess, William Cavendish, afterwards duke of Newcastle, entered the college as a fellow-commoner; and, before the century closed, her statue, presented by the third duke (the husband of lady Margaret Cavendish), was placed in its present position over the gateway leading from the second into the third court.

The earl died in 1616, and in the same year the design was formed of building a new library in immediate connexion with the second court. The books were temporarily removed into 'one of the great chambers near the hall,' while the old library, to use Baker's expression, 'was cantoned out into tenements.' If any hopes had been entertained that the will of Gilbert Talbot would include a further benefaction to the library, they were doomed to disappointment, and a series of unsuccessful applications in other quarters met with no adequate response. In 1621 Valentine Cary, the master of Christ's, was raised to the see of Exeter, and continued for a brief period to hold the two preferments in conjunction. It is satisfactory to find that, as a former member of St John's, he continued to feel an interest in the welfare of the society, although eleven years before he had been disappointed in the election to the mastership, and, according to Williams'

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own statement, his defeat had been largely owing to the efforts of the latter[1]. But years had rolled by, and Williams, when he contrasted Gwynne's discreditable rule at St John's with Cary's elevation to the episcopal bench, may not improbably have concluded that he had done his former college small service in allowing his clannish preferences to prevail over a just regard for merit, and have felt a real desire to make some amends both to the society and to the individual. Such a supposition enables us, at least, better to understand how it was that Cary was selected by Williams as the medium of a communication to St John's, to the effect that an unknown benefactor was willing to aid them in the erection of a new library by a gift of £1200[2]. A letter of grateful acceptance, couched in courtly Latin, was forthwith addressed to Cary[3]. But immediately after its despatch, it became known that their wouldbe benefactor was Williams, to whom the library was already indebted for choice copies of the fathers and the schoolmen, and before the day had closed, a second letter to the donor himself was drawn up and transmitted. 'We, the indigent body of Johnians,' they assure him, 'desire not the erection of any proud edifice to rival the Vatican itself, but simply a modest and comely structure which will not discredit learning by its crowded condition[4].'

As, however, time went by, the limited aspirations of the writers were forgotten in actual achievement. In the course of two years the fabric was completed[5]. But it was not until four years later,—when the ceiling, the fittings and the glazing had been added and the books duly arranged in their respective presses,—that in the summer of 1628 Williams himself visited Cambridge to inspect what Hacket justly terms 'the beautiful pile[6].' Great as had been

[1] See Vol. II 475, n. 4.

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 208.

[3] *Letters of Williams* (*u. s.*), 27 May 1623, pp. 26–7.

[4] 'Nos egena Johannensium turba, non superbum aliquod aut quod Vaticanum spondent, meditamur aedificium, sed modesta saltem et decora tecta, quae literis ob angustias vere-cundiam non excutiant.' *Ibid.* 27–8.

[5] Baker-Mayor, p. 208. Williams eventually gave over £2000; Sir Ralph Hare, £192,—the College finding the rest. See the details of the building accounts, as preserved by Baker, in Willis and Clark, II 270.

[6] Hacket, II 93.

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CHAP. I. the reverse that had befallen their benefactor since first his generous design was made known, he was greeted by his college with none the less cordiality and respect. His own portrait, painted by Jackson, adorned the library walls; the letters I. L. C. S.[1] appeared conspicuously over the central gable of the great oriel window; whatever fortunes yet awaited him in life, he might feel that, in the language of those whom he had thus generously aided, the gratitude that attends the discerning patron of learning would not suffer his memory to die[2]. Yet another fifteen years passed away, and a letter from Antony Scattergood, Williams' chaplain, reminded the college that lapse of time had not lessened their patron's interest in the library or his care for its completeness[3].

In pursuing the career of Williams down to this white day in a very troublous life, we have been carried somewhat beyond the point to which we had traced the experiences of Richard Montagu. The authoritative expression of opinion on the part of the three bishops would seem to have been largely decisive with Buckingham, and his influence from this time was thrown into the scale in Montagu's favour. As the star of Montagu rose, that of Preston declined. The latter, whom we last saw installed in his lectureship at Trinity Church, had hitherto maintained his hold of the duke's regard with considerable success. The Court was scandalised, the Puritan party were elated, when the story was told, how when, after James's death, the king with

[1] i.e. *Johannes Lincolniensis, Custos Sigilli.*

[2] 'Quaecunque autem deleris non tam diuturna erunt, quam nominis tui memoria, quae ut literis et pietati semper coeva sit, fecisti publice mercedo privatim quod jam facis vota precesque nostras sursum eriget, ut D. O. M. Honorificentiam tuam in exemplum benitatis et Reip. columen charissime et diutissime servaret.' This letter is assigned by the editor (*Letters of Archbp. Williams*, p. 280) to the year 1623. After their patron's fall, the College writes: 'Interea temporis Beneficia tua gratissima memoria recolemus, et omnem felicitatem adprecabimur tibi, qui vivis, loqueris, scribis, ac lificas aeternitati.' Nov. 1626. *Ibid.* p. 39.

[3] Bishop Williams, says the letter, 'is still myndfull of the Library hee hath fownded amongst you and of the legacy he hath bequeathed vnto it. And to shew this continuance of his care and pious intentions, he hath commanded mee to write vnto you that you will send him vp the catalogue of his bookes, that hee may the better examyne and supply what hath been defalked from you.' 8 Nov. 1641. Baker-Mayor, p. 540.

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Buckingham repaired in the coach from Theobalds to Whitehall, Preston had been their companion on the journey[1]. But now, when the master of Emmanuel waited on his patron, he found him frequently closeted with Laud and could not but be aware that a change was stealing over his patron's mind,—a change which was distinctly reflected in the university. Only a year before, when Richardson the master of Trinity died, current report had marked out Preston as his successor[2], and now the latter became aware that even his tenure of his lectureship was precarious! So strongly indeed did he feel this, that he deemed it hardly prudent to resign his preachership at Lincoln's Inn,—'thinking,' says Ball, 'it might be a good reserve in case the naughty Heads[3], or factions in the Court, should fall upon him.' At his post in London, however, he exerted his great oratorical ability to the utmost, and 'wrought much upon the Parliament'; so that Buckingham, before he quite made up his mind as to the merits of the *Appello*, thought it prudent to ascertain what were Preston's views about the book. Preston, in turn, before he gave his opinion, thought it advisable to consult his old friend Davenant, now removed from the presidency of Queens' to his see of Salisbury[4]. Davenant's opinion is not on record; but we may safely assume that if Preston communicated his own views to Buckingham with half the plainness that Davenant did to Preston, it must have been perfectly clear to the duke that he must either break with the Puritan party or throw over Montagu. Before, however, he proceeded to extremities, he consulted Charles, and, at that monarch's desire, letters were forwarded to Andrewes, the bishop of Winchester, signifying to him his Majesty's

[1] *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), p. 104. Burnet, *Own Time* (ed. Airy), i 27–28. Burnet says: 'which being against the rules of the court gave great offence.'

[2] Ball speaks of Buckingham as still endeavouring 'to oblige the Puritans, by gratifying Dr Preston all the ways he could, and particularly in the colledge suite, by depriving bishop Williams of the seale and giving it to Sir Thomas Coventry, who was one of the College Councell; *yea he went so far as to nominate the doctor to be lord keeper.*' *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), p. 117; cf. Fuller-Brewer, vi 54.

[3] *Life* (*u. s.*), p. 104. Ball is here, doubtless, referring to the Caput in its collective capacity.

[4] Ball, *Life of Preston* (*u. s.*), p. 114.

pleasure, that, in conjunction with the bishops of London[1], Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and St Davids, he 'should take into consideration the business concerning Mr Montague's late book,' and that these six divines should 'deliver their opinions touching the same, for the preservation of the truth and the peace of the Church of England, together with the safety of Mr Montague's person.' In compliance with the royal mandate, the above-named bishops assembled accordingly at Winchester House, and made report as follows: 'We have met and considered, and for our particulars do think, that Mr Montagu in his book hath not affirmed any thing to be the doctrine of the Church of England but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the Church of England, as agreeable thereunto.' They moreover took upon themselves to suggest, that it would be well if further controversy on the subject were forbidden by royal command[2]. Three of the signatories, it will be observed, were the same three bishops who had, of their own accord, made formal representation on the question to Buckingham. Of the two new signatories, one was Andrewes, for whom, before the year was over, it devolved on Buckeridge to preach his funeral sermon; the other was Richard Neile, a divine of no great attainments and distinguished by his hostility to Puritans, but versed in controversy and of sound judgement. He had been educated at St John's College[3], and consequently, like Andrewes, represented Cambridge; and it can hardly be doubted that the adhesion of these two prelates added considerable force to the combined report.

Buckingham's mind was now probably fully made up, but he felt the peril of appearing to act solely on his

[1] George Montaigne of Queens' College; see Vol. II 485.

[2] Heller Brewer, VI 471; Harl. MSS. 7011, f. 104.

[3] He had been sent to St John's in 1561 by Mildred, lady Burghley, on the recommendation of Goodman, the dean of Westminster, who described him as 'a poor and fatherless child, of good hope to be learned, and to continue therein.' Le Neve, *Lives of the Bishops*, etc., p. 137. Baker thus sums up his character: 'disciplinae assertor in ecclesia et ordinis in republica, invisus proinde iis qui utrumque turbarent, gravibus ab iis calumniis oneratus, fama laesus, *habitus tantum non papista*.' Baker-Mayor, I 258. Neile, in turn, became the patron of Laud, who was largely indebted to him for preferment in the Church. See Laud's *Works* (ed. Bliss), III 134.

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personal responsibility, and held, accordingly, regular and formal conferences with some of his brother peers. Nothing indeed more forcibly brings home to us the extent to which the present controversy was agitating the public mind, than the fact that a considerable proportion of the Upper House, among whom were Pembroke, lord president of the Council, Dorset, Bridgewater, Carlisle, Warwick, Mulgrave, and the lord Say, were generally present, as deeply interested observers, at the proceedings. According to Buckingham's own statement, the project of a Conference arose out of an informal conversation on the subject between himself and Warwick[1]. On the 9th February, the proceedings were opened at York House, the mansion which Buckingham had wrested from Bacon four years before; and Montagu now found himself called upon to defend his books against the acutest criticism that his enemies were able to bring to bear upon them. Buckingham himself presided over the two formal debates which took place on the 11th and the 17th, and showed, as Gardiner admits, 'great shrewdness and ability.' Montagu's doctrinal position was impeached and defended by two eminent divines on either side, Preston and Thomas Morton being pitted against Buckeridge and Francis White, not yet promoted to his bishopric of Carlisle[2]. Preston's fame as a disputant was almost unsurpassed; and that of Morton as a controversialist had been established by the publication of his *Apologia Catholica*, some twenty years before; and since we last saw him, standing as a candidate for the headship of St John's College, his rise in the Church had been steady and continuous. Already bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, a preferment for which he had been indebted to the recommendation of Andrewes, he succeeded in a few more years to the see of Durham. Nor can it be denied that his attainments and character amply justified

[1] —'the occasion of this conference was a private accidental talk between my lord of Warwick and myself.' See 'The Sum and Substance of the Conferences at York House,' etc. Cosin's *Works*, II 40 and 67. The spectacle of a formal contest between eminent divines seems to have had considerable interest for the educated lay mind at this time. It was with very different feelings that Laud regarded the assembling of the Conference. See his Diary, *Works* (ed. Bliss), III 180.

[2] *Supra*, p. 31, n. 1.

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his rapid advancement. To scholarship of an order that won for him the high esteem of Casaubon, and a moderation in doctrinal questions which led him to decline to arbitrate between Calvinist and Remonstrant, he united a generous and unselfish nature which came home to all observers, and a charity that hoped all things[1]. Yet notwithstanding, so strong was the antipathy roused by Montagu's attitude as a polemic, that even Morton, at the commencement of the Conference, deemed it necessary to protest that 'he came not out of spleen or malice against Mr Montagu's person, intending to destroy him.' Few, however, of the readers of the *Appello* can fail to be somewhat startled when they find the verdict of this gentle prelate to be that, together with the *Gagg*, the book 'contained such gross errors, nay heresies and blasphemies, as were not to be endured in a Christian commonwealth[2].'

It was probably no slight consolation to Montagu, who was then in feeble health, to find by his side his old university friend, John Cosin, to whose pen we are indebted for the only trustworthy, albeit not altogether impartial, narrative of the Conference at York House[3]. Cosin, who was still in early manhood, had been educated at Caius College[4], where he was scholar and afterwards junior fellow. He had been intimate with Montagu at Cambridge, and on leaving the university had successively officiated as secretary and librarian to Overall (whose memory he fondly venerated), and as domestic chaplain to Neile, who bestowed on him a prebend in the cathedral at Durham. He was now archdeacon of the East Riding, was on friendly terms with Laud, and generally regarded as one of the rising leaders of the Arminian party. According to his own statement, he appeared at the Conference 'as a poor assistant commanded thither by the duke,' and took part in the concluding debate[5]. The final result of the proceedings was claimed as a triumph

[1] '—so clear and upright in his own conscience as to think every man truly conscientious that pretended to be so.' Barwick (Jo.), *Life of Morton*, p. 30.

[2] Cosin, *Works*, II 21.

[3] The corrections and additions to the manuscript of Cosin's narrative were made by Francis White.

[4] At Norwich School he had been taught by Richard Briggs, the brother of the mathematician. Venn, I 207.

[5] Cosin (*u.s.*), II 73.

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by Montagu's party[1]; for their opponents, to quote the language of Gardiner, 'failed to make their points good, as, in insisting on a complete accordance with the formulas of the Church, they, in many cases, substituted their own interpretation for the obvious meaning of the formulas themselves[2].'

But York House was very far from being the House of Commons; and Charles's second Parliament had already again referred the *Appeal* to a Committee,—the 'Committee for Religion,' as it was now termed; and, in April, that Committee's Report was presented to the House by Pym. It was a lengthy document, setting forth in detail the several doctrines with respect to which Montagu's teaching had been found erroneous. In one of the Articles, Montagu was described as having 'endeavoured to raise great factions and divisions in the Commonwealth by casting the odious and scandalous name of *Puritans*[3] upon such his Majesties loving subjects as conform themselves to the doctrines and ceremony of the Church of England.' The House made formal declaration that he had 'endeavoured to reconcile England to Rome and to alienate the King's affections from his well-affected subjects,' adjudged him to be deserving of punishment, and order was given that his book should be burnt[4].

Buckingham, however, had by this time decided to make Montagu's cause his own; and it admits of little doubt that his own impeachment, which took place about three weeks later, was largely the result of the odium he thus incurred among the great majority in the Commons. 'The duke,' wrote Dr Meddus[5] to Mede, 'is the great protector of the Montagutians; so that the business of religion is like to follow his standing or downfal[6].'

[1] 'What good they have done, I know not, but Montagu's party talk much of the success on their side.' Mede to Sir M. Stuteville, 4 Mar. 1626; *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 85.

[2] *Hist. of England*, VI 65.

[3] *i.e.* as equivalent to that of *Cathari*.

[4] *Court and Times*, etc., I 96; Rushworth, *Collections*, I 202-212; *Report of Proceedings of the House of Commons in the Case of Mr Montague*, State Papers (Dom.), Charles the First, XXV, nos. 10 and 87.

[5] Dr James Meddus, rector of St Gabriel's, Fenchurch. He was a native of Cheshire, and had studied much in the German universities.

[6] 22 May 1626: *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 105.

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The productiveness of the press under the stimulus of these events was perhaps unprecedented, and replies to the *Appello* came pouring forth thick and fast. The ablest were undoubtedly those penned by the divines who, as we have already seen[1], had so well sustained the reputation of English and, more particularly, Cambridge learning at the Synod of Dort. Montagu had satisfied himself that the decisions of that Synod implicitly contravened the teaching of the Church of England, as he interpreted it, and he had frankly avowed that he did not mean to be bound by them; and as this avowal, in turn, implied that the above divines had yielded assent to doctrines not taught by their own Church, while high dignitaries of that Church had intimated their approval of his position[2], the former could hardly remain silent. All of them again, save one, on their return from Dordrecht, had been rewarded by honours and preferment: Carleton was now bishop of Chichester; Davenant had been promoted to the see of Salisbury; Samuel Ward had been appointed lady Margaret professor; Walter Balcanquhall, of Pembroke College[3], was now dean of Rochester and by no means too modest a suitor for further advancement. The solitary exception was Thomas Goad[4] of King's College, whose transient Arminianism was generally believed to have dated only from the Synod. But although now prolocutor of the lower house of Convocation, his services had remained unrecognised. He discerned his error, and already stood ranged among the assailants of Montagu.

In a volume entitled *A Joynt Attestation*[5], these divines now retorted upon the author of the *Appello*, repudiating emphatically the assertion that the discipline of the Church of England had been impugned at Dordrecht and avowing no less emphatically that, in Montagu's pages, it was. The

[1] See Vol. II 560–3.

[2] *Supra*, p. 26.

[3] Dr Grosart, in article on 'Balcanquhall' in *D. N. B.*, makes him of Pembroke College, Oxford. But Broadgate Hall was not known under that name until 1624; and the *University Registers* (ed. Clark, II i 349) show that Balcanquhall was incorporated B.D. from Cambridge, 14 July 1617.

[4] Second son of Roger, the Provost.

[5] *A Joynt Attestation, avouring that the Discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synode of Dort.* London, 1626.

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signatures appended were those of divines who, by eminent services and high character, were entitled to be listened to with respect. Carleton, the disciple of Bernard Gilpin and the cherished friend of Camden, had long been recognised as one of the most formidable opponents of Roman aggression and was in especial repute on account of the courage with which he had maintained the doctrine of apostolical succession at the Synod; few divines were more highly esteemed at Oxford[1]. Much the same might be said of Davenant at Cambridge, where his able lectures on *Colossians*[2] were still remembered; his advancement to his bishopric had been warmly advocated by Williams,—'no professor in Europe,' says Hacket, 'did better deserve to receive the labourer's peny at the twelfth hour of the day[3].' The honour of succeeding Davenant as professor had fallen to Samuel Ward, master of Sidney, who, in addition to the service he had rendered at Dordrecht, was aided by the powerful recommendation of his predecessor. Balcanquhall, whose letters from the Synod are still preserved, might seem, to many, none the less entitled to reward as the son of one who had been distinguished by his determined resistance to the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. It was, accordingly, impossible to feign indifference at the joint manifesto of such a body, when they affirmed, with common voice, that Montagu had 'rashly and without ground cast a foule blot upon the Synode of Dort in generall, and consequently in common reputation upon all the members thereof; among whom those divines that were by his late Majesty of blessed memory sent thither and concurred in the conclusions of that nationall Synode are in speciall aymed at, as having betrayed or impeached the government of their reverend Mother[4].' The *Joynt Attestation* was preceded by a tractate from Carleton's pen,—a quarto volume of 236 pages,—in

[1] —'a person of solid judgment and various reading, a bitter enemy to the papists, and a severe Calvinist.' Wood-Bliss, *Athenae*, II 422.

[2] —'he read in the schools with much applause those excellent lectures upon the Colossians which now are printed.' Ball, *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), p. 37.

[3] *Life of Williams*, I 63.

[4] *A Joynt Attestation*, p. 2.

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CHAP. I. which he subjected Montagu's arguments to a lengthened criticism, and concluded by denouncing him as endeavouring to 'set up another schoole of divinity'; 'for,' he added, 'by that knowledge of divinity which is received amongst us and hitherto preserved, these things cannot stand[1].'

It was however not only with the representatives of the Synod of Dort and its decrees that Montagu found himself involved in conflict. Another 'miles emeritus,' as Fuller styles Carleton, appeared in the person of Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter. He had received his academic education at Trinity College at the time when Whitgift was master, and the standpoint from which he viewed the present theological controversy was little more than a reflex of Whitgift's influence. He was at this time sedulously watching over his cherished project of a theological college for the training of young clergymen in polemics, from whence they were to emerge, as he fondly hoped, accomplished athletes, able successfully to cope with all assailants of the recognised doctrine of the English Church, and more especially to oppose and denounce the tenets of 'papists and Pelagianizing Arminians and others that draw towards popery and Babylonian slavery.' The late monarch had warmly approved Sutcliffe's project, and the new foundation had received the name of 'King James's College at Chelsea.' The dean of Exeter had himself been a noted controversialist in his day. He had written *de Turco-Papismo*,—a treatise designed to set forth the close resemblance which he held to be discernible between Popery and Mahometanism; he had appeared as the antagonist of Bellarmine; he had confuted presbyterianism; he had exposed the fallacies of Cartwright. He, also, now put forth an answer to the *Appeale*,—like Carleton, a veteran angered at the mere novelty of these new ideas and the sheer presumption of their author! He denounced him as 'the reconciler of Christians and Antichrist' and 'mediatour of the Pope's Alchoran with apostolicall doctrine,' his 'moderation' as 'nothing but treason to religion,' and 'his dislike of con-

[1] *An Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late* APPEALE *holdeth the Doctrine of the Church of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England* [London, 1626], p. 236.

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troversies a liking of popery[1].' It hardly raises our estimate of the essential strength of Sutcliffe's cause, when we find him condescending to such a paltry device as to write *Mountagu's* name *Mountebank*, and referring to him under this designation throughout the pamphlet. Under the influence of yet less creditable feelings, Henry Burton of St John's College put forth his *Plea to an Appeale*[2]. At Cambridge, Burton had been the disciple of Laurence Chaderton and of Perkins, although he appears to have imbibed but little of the candid spirit or the learning of either, and was already entering upon that career of acrimonious hostility towards Neile and Laud and the entire episcopal order which subsequently involved him in a like fate with Prynne and Bastwick. Daniel Featley, a member of Magdalen College, Oxford, and recently archbishop Abbot's domestic chaplain, considered that little more was necessary than to exhibit, in a series of arid parallelisms, what appeared to be the points of divergence in the Arminian doctrines from those of the Fathers and their close resemblance to the teachings of Pelagius. His promotion to the provostship of Sutcliffe's College at Chelsea, a few years later, was probably partly in recognition of his services in this memorable controversy. The only layman who ventured to descend into the arena was also an Oxonian,—a lawyer who had been educated at Broadgate Hall,—one Francis Rous, afterwards provost of Eton and speaker of Cromwell's Barebones' parliament. He 'meant honestly,' says Fuller, in apparent wonder at his temerity, for at this time, Rous, just returned for Charles' first parliament, was a comparatively unknown man. In his *Testis Veritatis*[3], he aims at little more than an attempt to shew that the Augustinian doctrine of predestination had

Other by H Burto Daniel Featl Franc Rous

[1] *A briefe Censure upon an Appeale to Caesar*, pp. 3, 40.

[2] To be distinguished from his *Apology for an Appeale*, put forth ten years later, which filled up the measure of his offence and brought upon him his merciless punishment.

[3] *Testis Veritatis: the Doctrine of King James our late Soueraigne of famous Memory. Of the Church of England. Of the Catholicke Church. Plainely sheewed to be* ONE *in the points of Predestination, Free-Will, Certaintie of Saluation. With a Discouery of the Grounds both Naturall & Politicke of* ARMINIANISME. By F. Rous. London, 1626.

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always been that of the Church of England. This he does mainly by a series of quotations from the Fathers and recent English divines; while he stigmatises Arminianism as 'a double-faced thing,' a Spanish device for the introduction of popery and 'the destruction of England and the Low Countries.'

It was while this controversy and the ferment it engendered were at their height, that the university was still further perturbed by a mandate from the chancellor,—'It has been imposed upon me,' wrote Suffolk, 'as a task, by his sacred majesty[1], to restore the ancient discipline of that famous university in my charge.' 'The university,' he went on to say, 'representeth a body of the commonwealth, nay, every college is a little commonwealth within itself. It is no hard matter to beget a reformation, if the heads and seniors apply themselves thereto. As you tender your duty to our dread sovereign, the honor of your place and profession, and your love to me, put all your brains together and be all of one minde, as one intire man, to bring home that long banisht pilgrim, discipline, by whose absence the famous nursery of literature and good manners is in the eye of the state much declined[2].'

The writer's death, within little more than three months after the arrival of this letter in Cambridge, took place amid the disquietude occasioned by the proceedings against Buckingham in parliament, and his subsequent impeachment. In his hour of trouble, Suffolk himself had on one occasion solicited Buckingham's aid, and now the royal intervention had to be exerted to shield the once all-powerful minister. Eliot in the House openly compared him to Sejanus, although no one anticipated for him the fate of the minister of Tiberius. Such was the position of affairs, when Charles decided that Buckingham should succeed Suffolk as chancellor of the university.

Among the more recently promoted members of the episcopal bench at this time was George Montaigne, who, in

[1] The royal letter is printed in Heywood and Wright, 1 335–6.
[2] See *supra*, p. 11.

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1621, had been translated from the see of Lincoln to that of London. Since we last saw him, in the Regent Walk, presiding at the burning of the writings of Paraeus[1], his rise had been rapid and continuous. Disappointed in his competition with Davenant for the presidency of Queens'[2], he had wisely transferred his energies to a wider field; while at the same time his loyalty to the home of his university education was attested by substantial benefits which did him honour[3], and all the more so in that, by becoming the friend and adherent of Laud, he had associated himself with a party widely estranged in feeling from the prevalent traditions of that house. CHAP. I

It was on a Sunday morning[4] that Suffolk died; and on the Monday, at midday, Dr Wilson, Montaigne's chaplain, arrived in Cambridge, the bearer of a verbal message from the bishop[5], advising the election of Buckingham,—'such being his Majesty's desire and pleasure.' Letters soon followed to the same effect: one from Neile, the bishop of Durham, to Owen Gwynne, the master of St John's, another, from the same quarter, to the vice-chancellor, Dr Gostlin. In his letter to Gostlin, Neile urged acquiescence in very plain terms: 'I do conceive,' he wrote, 'that in effecting thereof we shall not only gain an honorable chancellor of the Duke, but in a sort purchase his Majestie himself our royall patron and chancellor, in that we fixe our election upon him whom himself desireth[6].' These words conveyed, concisely, the grounds on which the supporters of Buckingham's candidature probably justified to themselves their action in the matter. Even Owen Gwynne, who was Williams' cousin and had been indebted to him for the archdeaconry of

He supports Buckingham's candidature for the chancellorship.

Intimation of the royal pleasure to the same effect.

[1] See Vol. II 566–7.

[2] See *Ibid.* II 484–5; *D. N. B.* XXXIV 276. The supposition that he belonged to the Montaignes of Weston is incorrect; and Mr J. H. Gray's statement (*Hist. of the Queens' College*, p. 135) that Montaigne was 'well born' cannot be substantiated.

[3] Gray (J. H.), *Hist. of the Queens' College*, p. 136; Ball, *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), p. 36.

[4] 'Our chancellor, my lord of Suffolk, died on Sunday about two o'clock in the morning.' Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville (3 June 1626). *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 107. It is to this characteristic letter that we are mainly indebted for our knowledge of the incidents attending the election.

[5] According to Sir Benj. Rudyerd, the bishop also went himself. *State Papers (Dom.)*, XXIX 9.

[6] Cooper, *Annals*, III 186.

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Huntingdon, readily accepted the position and, along with Dr Gostlin, threw himself with his whole energy into the contest. The other Heads were forthwith summoned to a conference, and when it was found that Wren, the master of Peterhouse, Mawe, the master of Trinity, Paske, the master of Clare, and Dr Beale, the master of Pembroke, were also all strongly of opinion that Neile's advice should be acted upon, it seemed, at first, that Buckingham's election would be carried without a dissentient. 'It was in vain,' writes Mede, 'to say that Dr Wilson's bare word from his lord was no sufficient testimony of his Majesty's pleasure, nor such as might be a ground of an act of such consequence; that we should by this act prejudge the parliament; that instead of patronage we sought for, we might bring a lasting scandal, a general contempt and hatred upon the university, as men of most prostitute flattery; that it would not be safe for us to engage ourselves in public differences; that at least, to avoid the imputation of folly and temerity in the doing, it would be wisdom to wait our full time of fourteen days, and not to precipitate the election. To this last was answered, "the sooner the better, and more acceptable"; if we stayed to expect the event in parliament, it would not be worth "God a mercy!".'[1]

Among the above-mentioned supporters of Buckingham were two who were personally well known both to him and to Charles. These were Leonard Mawe, who had been promoted to the mastership of Trinity in the preceding year, and Matthew Wren, who had succeeded him at Peterhouse. They had both accompanied Charles on his visit to Spain, and together watched over the spiritual welfare of their future king,—had twice a day celebrated the English service and had vigilantly counteracted the wiles of 'Spanish priests.' Mawe indeed had not only laboured but also suffered in the royal service, having been thrown from his mule on the return journey and sustained some injury. His signal desert had been recognised by his promotion at Cambridge, and he was now determined to give proof of his gratitude. Throwing

[1] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, 1 108.

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his whole influence into the scale in Buckingham's favour, he may fairly be credited with having won for him the election. In Trinity itself, recent as was his instalment in office, he shewed no scruples and spared no pains,—'sending for the fellows,' according to Mede, 'one by one, to persuade them—some, twice over.' Most of the leading Heads gave him effective cooperation, and it was not until the Tuesday morning that any sign of opposition was discernible. But during the previous night, something of the old spirit of hostility to the *Caput* and to its dictation appears to have revived among the younger masters of arts[1], while a large section among them, sympathising strongly with the recent action of the Lower House, could not but feel that to elect as their chancellor a nobleman who was actually under impeachment would certainly be interpreted as a deliberate slight upon the great representative assembly of the nation. In the course of the day, Dr Montaigne himself arrived at Queens' College, and was not a little disconcerted to find that his beloved society was very far from sharing his views at the present crisis[2]; the duke's own secretary, Mason, and Cosin also, appeared,—the latter warmly advocating Buckingham's claims 'as the most true patron of the clergy and of scholars[3].' The second son of the late chancellor, Thomas Howard, lord Andover, newly created earl of Berkshire, had living with him, in the capacity of secretary or chaplain[4], one Granado Chester, whose brother was at this time in residence at Trinity, although his name does not appear in the list of voters. The brother, venturing upon the initiative, notwithstanding that time did not allow of his communicating with the earl, brought forward his name; and, in the course of the Tuesday, Berkshire was accepted as a candidate and an active canvas in his favour was commenced. The Wednesday passed amid a scene of

Sudden change of feeling in the university.

Granado Chester: D.D. 1632.

Robert Chester: D.D. 1636.

The Earl of Berkshire proposed.

[1] —'we say the heads in this election have no more to do than any of us; wherefore we advise what to do, and whom to set up.' Mede to Stuteville, *Court and Times of Charles the First*, 1 108-109. Mede himself, at this time, was only forty.

[2] —'found his own College most bent and resolved another way to his no small discontentment.' Gray, *Hist. of the Queens' College*, p. 148.

[3] Mede, *Ibid.* 1 109.

[4] —'who was either his chaplain or otherwise interested in him.' Rushworth, *Collections* (ed. 1721), 1 372.

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unparalleled excitement. According to Mede, the pressure put upon the constituency in Buckingham's favour was such that some, to escape doing violence to their personal convictions, got into hackney coaches and retreated beyond the reach of solicitation; while many,—'whole colleges,' if we may credit his assertion,—who had designed to support the earl, were overpersuaded and abstained from voting. They laboured also under the disadvantage of having had no time for organisation,—Berkshire's own consent not having yet been obtained,—and were, to use Mede's expression, 'a headless company' in a double sense[1]. On Thursday the election took place. Dr Mawe, untiring to the last, ordered the Trinity bell to be rung, 'as to an act'; assembled the fellows in the college hall, and there appealed to them to accompany him in a body to the schools to vote for the duke, '*that so they might win the honour to have it accounted their college act*[2].'

It is stated by Mede that the poll, when declared, gave Buckingham a majority of only *three* votes. The lists[3] that have been preserved give a majority of *six*, but these lie under a suspicion of having been tampered with[4], and Fuller asserts that Berkshire lost the election 'not for lack of voices, but fair counting them[5].' But the victory, however gained, appeared to the defeated party simply disastrous, and that not so much for their own interests as for those of the university at large. 'What will the parliament say to us?' wrote Mede; 'did not our burgesses condemn the duke in their charge given up to the Lords?'

So far as the evidence afforded by the lists can be relied upon, it would appear that of the sixteen Heads only a minority, seven in number, voted. These were Dr Mawe of Trinity, Owen Gwynne of St John's, John Gostlin of Caius, Thomas Paske of Clare, Matthew Wren of Peterhouse, Samuel

[1] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, i 110.

[2] *Ibid.* i 109.

[3] See Appendix (A).

[4] Rushworth (*ut sup.*) says, 'the Duke had but one hundred and eight and the Earl had one hundred and three.' The late A. W. Haddan (*Life of Herbert Thorndike*, p. 172) comments on the absence of Thorndike's name from the lists and observes that 'they seem incorrect.'

[5] *Worthies of England* (ed. 1840), i 511.

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CHAP. I

A majority of the Heads did not vote

Walsall of Corpus, and John Mansel of Queens'. The abstention of the remaining nine may be explained on various grounds. Dr Eden, master of Trinity Hall, Mr Malden conjectures, 'was probably in his place in Parliament[1].' Collins, provost of King's, had he followed his own inclinations, would probably have supported Buckingham, but prudence may have deterred him from openly opposing the views of the great majority of the society over which he ruled, especially when we bear in mind that his relations with that society were about this time in a state of considerable tension[2]. Bainbrigg, master of Christ's, eminent as a preacher and a severe disciplinarian, represented the prevailing tradition of his house. Roger Andrewes, master of Jesus, may have abstained out of deference for the prevailing feeling of the college. Preston of Emmanuel could hardly have opposed, with good grace, the election of one to whom, in past years, he had been under such deep personal obligation. Ward, master of Sidney, had he voted at all, would doubtless have been on the earl's side, but illness, real or feigned, prevented him[3]. Of the sympathy of Sibbes, master of St Catherine's, with the Puritan party there can be no question. Nothing however survives to explain the abstention of Barnaby Gooch, master of Magdalene; while that of Dr Beale[4], of Pembroke, is difficult to account for, especially when we bear in mind the active part which, according to Mede, he took in the canvas on behalf of the duke. Of the colleges which declared in Buckingham's favour, the lead was taken by Trinity, where 26 votes were given for, and 10 against, him[5]. Among the supporters of

Light thrown on the political sympathies of the different colleges

[1] *Hist. of Trinity Hall*, p. 136.

[2] See Austen Leigh, *Hist. of King's College*, p. 100.

[3] 'The night before the choice of our new chancellor, I was very ill, so as without hazard of my health I could not be at the choice, and so was absent. The duke carried it not above three or four voices from the earl of Berkshire; and had not neither carried it, but that the King's pleasure was signified for the duke, both by message and letter.' Ward to Ussher (6 June 1626), Ussher, *Works*, xv 336.

[4] Dr Jerome Beale, whom the editor of the *Court and Times of Charles the First* (i 107) mistakes for his younger brother, William, afterwards master of St John's.

[5] Rushworth (*n.s.*) says that 'Trinity College alone supplied the Duke with forty-three votes.' If this statement be correct, *nine* out of the names on the lists which I have been unable to identify must be assigned to Trinity.

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CAP. I. Berkshire appear Charles Chauncy and Francis Ostler (both subsequently lecturers on Greek in the college), Humphrey Tovey, and Robert Metcalfe, afterwards regius professor of Hebrew. St John's gave 12 to the duke and 6 to the earl[1]; Caius, 10 and 2. Pembroke, influenced, no doubt, by Beale, gave 6 and 1; the solitary supporter of Berkshire was however a notable exception, being no less a personage than Nicholas Felton, who had recently resigned the headship of the college for the see of Ely,—a prelate eminent alike for his learning, sound judgement, and unfeigned piety. At Peterhouse the voting was 5 for the duke and 1 for the earl; while Sidney, under Ward's influence, exactly reversed the voting at Pembroke, giving 6 to the earl and 1 to the duke. But no college shewed so little disposition to support Buckingham as Queens', where only one voter, a certain 'Ludovicus Wemes[2],' appeared on his side, while no less than 16,—among them Dr George Porter, the solitary doctor who supported Berkshire[3],—stood ranged in opposition. Emmanuel gave a scarcely less pronounced and similar response, by voting 12 and 4, Anthony Tuckney appearing

[1] Williams, who availed himself of this occasion as an opportunity for regaining Buckingham's favour, complained bitterly that he had been represented as using his influence on the other side: 'All my chaplains in Cambridge,' he wrote, 'voted with your Grace to be chancellour, of the which number Mr Roe was one, who of late rightly inform'd made the complaint unto your Grace that he was solicited to the contrary by a friend of his that had belonged unto me.' Letter to Buckingham, 3 Feb. 1625: *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, vol. xiii, no. 15. It is not improbable that these representations were the basis of the reconciliation which subsequently took place between the chancellor and his discarded friend. In the following year the two came together in the contest over the Petition of Right, when Williams pledged himself to 'be his Grace's faithful servant in the next session of parliament.' 'Blessed be God,' says Hacket, 'that they parted then in perfect charity, for they never met again.' *Life of Williams*, II 80; Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VI 277–9; 340.

[2] Possibly the same as the 'Dr Welmes' named by Mede (*Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 139) as likely to succeed as master of Benet College, on the setting aside of the election after Dr Walsall's death. See *infra*, p. 69.

[3] 'We had but one doctor in the whole town durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the duke, and that was Dr Porter, of Queens'.' *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 109. So too Rushworth: 'His chief strength consisted in the Doctors (whereof seventeen were for him, and only one against him), and in the non-regents, who are masters of arts of five years standing and upwards. Among the regents (who are masters under five years) thirty more were against him than for him, and four whole colleges were entire against the Duke.' *Collections*, I 371–3; Bennet's *Collections* (Emm. Coll.), I 182.

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in the former number. Christ's College, notwithstanding CHAP. the example set by Mede, was equally or nearly equally divided. Jesus gave 1 and 3; Magdalene and Trinity Hall each 2 for Berkshire; while no vote is recorded on the part of any member of St Catherine's.

That the contest was essentially one between the two great theological parties of the time can scarcely be doubted[1], but it may be questioned whether the motives which actuated the Puritan voter were quite as disinterested as it has been assumed. Mede, it is true, writing under pressure and when the excitement was still at its height, would lead us to conclude that the compulsion resorted to was entirely on one side, and that, had voters been left to exercise their own discretion, the earl of Berkshire would certainly have carried the day. It is, however, deserving of note, that Thomas Ball, Preston's favorite pupil and at this time fellow of Emmanuel, writing two years after the election, distinctly asserts that not a few voted for Buckingham under the influence of more disinterested feelings than those which actuated Berkshire's supporters[2]! Of the whole election it may be said, that the feeling it excited in Cambridge during its progress, and its value as an illustration of academic history, combine to make it one of the most important the university ever witnessed; while, serving as it did to accentuate the mistrust of the universities which already brooded in the minds of the great majority in the House of Commons, it was followed by results which continued to operate long after

Real nature of the contest.

[1] '...the whole party which had seen with displeasure the continued attacks of the Commons upon Montagu rallied round the Duke.' Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VI 115.

[2] Ball, apparently unaware that Buckingham was really the royal nominee, tells us that the Duke was believed by some to be declining in the royal favour and that his 'glory' was looked upon as 'departed.' He then goes on to say: 'The Earle of Berkshire, therefore...was set up against the Duke, and many voted for him *that loved greatness and were servants unto the tymes*, and it is beleeved it had been carried for him against the Duke, if the wiselom of Dr Gostlin, then vice-chancellor, and *some others who superintended the scrutiny* had not prevented it.' *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), pp. 142-3. The assertion that 'it was whispered among Berkshire's supporters that, even as it was, an impartial scrutiny would have converted their opponents' victory into a defeat' (Gardiner, VI 116), is evidently the exact contrary of what Ball intends to convey.

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those who took part in the proceedings had all vanished from the scene.

Buckingham's acknowledgements of his indebtedness both to the University and to Gostlin.

Official intimation of his election was forthwith forwarded to the new chancellor by the hands of Reading, one of the esquire bedells. In a brief letter to the vice-chancellor, Buckingham, in the first instance, contented himself with the assurance that the friendly feeling which he had always entertained towards Cambridge was now enhanced by a sense of personal indebtedness, while his obligations to Dr Gostlin himself were such as he would be 'reddie upon any occasion to acknowledge[1].' A longer letter, addressed to the vice-chancellor, heads and senate of the university, followed soon after. There was nothing, the writer assured those whom he addressed, that he held more dear than 'the good opinion of learned and honest men'; he could not however attribute the honour they had done him to any personal desert, but to the respect they bore 'the sacred memory of my dead master the King of schollers, who loved yow.' He concluded by asking their advice and suggestions, as to 'how wee may make posteritye remember yow had a thankfull chancellor and one that really loved yow and your universitye[2].'

His second letter: 4 June 1626.

Feelings of Berkshire under his defeat.

The feelings of Berkshire appear to have been rather those of gratification at having been able to run so formidable a competitor so hard, than of chagrin at defeat. He too forwarded a letter, addressed to Granado Chester[3], expressive of his sense of the kindness designed him by his supporters in proposing to confer upon him 'one of the greatest honours of this kingdome.....so often wedded by men of high places and noble families of this realm,' and concluded by assuring them that, 'as he had his first breeding to his great honour at Cambridge,' so he was still determined to 'live and dye the true servant of the university[4].'

His letter: 3 June 1626.

His subsequent relations with Oxford.

His subsequent relations, however, brought him into contact with Oxford rather than with Cambridge: for in 1628 he was appointed lord

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 190. The original of this letter (in which the day of the month is wanting) is in the University Registry.

[2] *Ibid.* III 192 3. Original in Registry. See also Rushworth, I 373; Baker MS. XLI 164.

[3] 'We were an headlesse company, and he could not direct it otherwise.' Letter from Mede, Heywood and Wright, II 345.

[4] Cooper, III 189.

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lieutenant of Oxfordshire, was subsequently elected high steward of the city, and in 1636 received the honorary degree of M.A. from the university. In marked contrast to Buckingham, he lived to approve himself a staunch supporter of the royal cause in the Civil War, to witness the Restoration, and eventually to die full of years and honours. CHAP

Irritation Parliam at Buck ham's election.

In the mean time, parliament, on hearing of the result of the election to the chancellorship, became, to use Mede's expression, 'wonderfully exasperated.' The House, resolving itself into a grand committee, briefly discussed the evidence, and then reported as its decision, that, just cause of offence having arisen, the university of Cambridge should be called upon to send a deputation duly to inform the House respecting the whole transaction. A letter to this effect was drawn up and reported by Pym and had already been twice read, when a royal message was received by the chancellor of the exchequer commanding him to signify the king's pleasure that 'the House forbear to send this letter[1].' According to one of Mede's correspondents, Charles justified his interference by pointing out that the university was entitled to elect whom it pleased[2]; and even Gardiner admits that, in having recourse to so high-handed a proceeding, parliament was 'venturing upon unsafe ground.' The spirit of the whole academic body was, indeed, evidently roused; and Dr Eden, master of Trinity Hall, had already, in his capacity of member for the university, protested against the sending of the above missive. Even Joseph Mede, notwithstanding that his sympathies were with the defeated party at the election, does not attempt to conceal his satisfaction when recording the royal interference and its result. 'So it stayed,' he writes, 'for that time, and they will (as I ever thought) find, notwithstanding their mighty threats, that they do but beat the wind and strike at sprites. Sure I am that ours fear no colours, but I may say no more[3].' The Commons, conscious Proceed of the Commo June 5–

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, I 866–7. 'The Lower house was never more violent than now against the Duke.' Letter of Edward Christian: see *Notes and Queries* (4th series), X 467.

[2] Harl. MSS. 390, fol. 73 [quoted by Gardiner, VI 116].

[3] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 110.

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Charles and the House of Commons.

that their procedure called for some explanation, now pleaded that 'in the manner of the election there were many passages likewise done in contempt of the House,' and besought Charles 'to believe that neither in this nor in any other thing, this House did or shall intend to enlarge their own power and jurisdiction to the diminution of his Majesty's right or prerogative[1].' The king perceived his advantage and with unwonted tact availed himself of it, in a reply which is noteworthy as embodying what may be termed the Stuart theory of the relations of the Crown and the universities until the downfall of the dynasty. It was couched in the following terms:

The royal theory of the relations of the Crown to the Universities: 7 June 1626.

'That the University of Cambridge and all Corporations derive their right and privilege from him; and that he hath reason to esteem the universities above any other, and is resolved to defend them against any, which either wilfully, or by chance, shall go about to infringe their liberties. Concerning the election itself, his Majesty is far from conceiving it a grievance; for he never heard that crimes objected were to be taken as proved; or that a man should lose his fame or good opinion in the world upon an accusation only.

'But whereas you say in the manner of carriage of the election there were many passages done in it to the contempt of the House: his Majesty is well pleased that you enquire and punish the offenders, if there be any that have misbehaved themselves in that respect. But for the election itself, or the form of it, his Majesty doth avow his first message[2].'

Hostile feeling in Parliament evoked against the University.

The royal reply marks the completion of the rupture between the Commons and the dominant party in the university, and for a time the Cambridge chancellor and the treatise of the Cambridge divine became the chief objects of attack in parliament. It was moved that the king's answer should forthwith be taken into consideration; while the Committee of Religion again reverted to the question of Montagu and his book. Then came a royal mandate forbidding all further discussion of these burning topics in the House. Then the House turned upon Buckingham himself, formally urging his dismissal,—for 'until this great person,' the missive said, 'be removed from intermeddling with the

The House calls for the dismissal of Buckingham.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 190. [2] *Ibid.* III 191–2.

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great affairs of State, we are out of hope of any good success[1].' Then Charles in high displeasure prorogued parliament, and for a year and nine months the voice of the national assembly was no longer heard.

The exultation of the university at its victory over the Commons was, at first, unbounded. The king had long before transmitted his thanks to the entire body for 'the honour done to a Person wee favour out of a loyall respect had unto our self,' with the assurance, that 'as we shall ever justefy Buckingham worthy of this youre election, soe shall you find the fruite of it[2].' The university, in return, enlarged upon the obligations under which it had been placed alike by king and chancellor. Charles's 'admirable goodness,' they declared, had led him 'to thank them for doing themselves a kindness[3]!' In replying to Buckingham's request that they would advise him as to the mode in which his gratitude might find the most acceptable expression, they altogether deprecated the notion,—the ducal mind alone could decide what monument of his goodwill would most fittingly shew forth the noble purpose by which he was actuated[4]! Opportunity, however, was before long afforded for a less formal exchange of views. On the 12th July, the vice-chancellor, heads, and other dignitaries set out for London for the purpose of installing the new chancellor. They rested at Ware for the night and presented themselves on the following day at York House. At the reception, the duke solemnly bound himself by oath to a twofold obligation: firstly, himself to observe and to see that others observed, the laws, privileges, and customs of the university; and secondly, faithfully to discharge the duties of his office. The proceedings, marked with much quaint

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, vi 119.

[2] *Cabala*, p. 203; Cooper, *u.s.*, III 193.

[3] 'At tua admirabilis bonitas non patitur nos gratis nobismet ipsis benefacere, sed tibi imputari vis quod nobis fecimus beneficium.' *Cabala*, p. 257.

[4] 'Ad extremum, nos ad concilium vocas, qua potissimum ratione, quo digno monumento, tuam in nos amoris memoriam posteritati consecres; verum enim vero, illustrissime Dux, indulgentissimeque Cancellarie, major est ea provincia, quam ut nos eam subeundo simus, quod tuo amori par sit monumentum, tuum potest solummodo excogitare ingenium.' *Ib.* p. 126.

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detail (faithfully recorded by Mede)[1], concluded with a banquet of ostentatious magnificence, which is said to have cost the chancellor two thousand pounds[2]. The latter ceremony was marked by an incident of some importance to the university. When the cup went round to the health of the noble host, it was noted that Preston failed to drain it, as the others had done, 'but drunk but very little, and so delivered it unto the next.' A neighbouring doctor of divinity marked the omission and openly criticised his conduct. The master of Emmanuel altogether repudiated the notion of having designed any disrespect to their new chancellor, but pleaded that he was 'not skilfull in the lawes of drinking healths.' It is to this trifling circumstance, however, that his biographer refers the subsequent breach in the relations between Buckingham and Preston. The former, he says, 'finding that he could not win Dr Preston and make him his, could not, in a way of policy, but labour and resolve to wrack and sinke him[3].'

We hear, indeed, but little of Preston after the banquet at York House. But the fact that he meditated leaving England and living in retirement at Basel, suggests the changed conditions of his career at Cambridge. At the time of the ill-fated expedition to the Isle of Rhé, he was preaching before Charles at Whitehall, and dared to predict the woes that would light on England for her desertion of the struggling cause of Protestantism abroad, in a manner which alarmed the royal advisers[4]. In the course of the ensuing week, came the news of Buckingham's ignominious retreat, and Preston, in the eyes of all London, seemed a seer[5]. Before another twelvemonth had elapsed he had passed away,—a worn-out man of forty, in whom the ardent spirit had prematurely wasted the vital powers. He bequeathed an ample endowment to his college, and it was almost with his

[1] See Append. (B): *The Manner of the Presentation of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace to the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge.*

[2] *Diary of Walter Yonge, Esq.*, p. 93.

[3] Ball, *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), pp. 143–5.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 154.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 156–9.

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last breath that he prayed that 'Emmanuel might continue a flourishing nursery of religion and learning[1].'

The year 1626, fraught with such notable experiences in the history of the university, was also marked by the loss of some of her most distinguished sons. In the month of April died Francis Bacon. True, to the last, to Cambridge and to the cause of science, he had formed the design, set forth in his last will, of founding in the university a lectureship in natural philosophy, with 'the science in general thereunto belonging[2].' A second lectureship was to be founded at Oxford. To Williams[3], on whom it would devolve as his executor to carry this design into execution, Bacon now communicated his intention. We have already noted that, in his comparative retirement at Buckden, the interest of the former in the welfare of his university had undergone no diminution, and he at once made a bold attempt to divert the entire benefaction to Cambridge,—Oxford, he urged, being already provided for in this respect by the recent benefaction of Sir William Sedley[4]. 'The two universities,' he writes, 'are the two eyes of this land, and fittest to contemplate the lustre of this bounty: these two lectures are as

[1] 'His bookes and all his furniture and goods belonging to, and in his lodgings at, Emanuel College, he gave to one of his pupils that was fellow there, whom he always greatly favoured. Some exhibitions he gave to schollars there, to be disposed of from tyme to tyme by him that was executor.' *Ibid.* p. 172. His papers were bequeathed to his intimate friend Sibbes, the master of St Catherine's Hall. Sibbes's *Works* (ed. Grosart), I li.

[2] Originally, Bacon designed that there should be *two* lectures at both universities, intending, apparently, that the subjects of the second lectureship should be left to the discretion of his executors or of the university authorities. The conditions of the natural philosophy lectureship were to be as follows:—'none shall be lecturer (if he be English) except he be master of arts of seven years standing, and that he be not professed in divinity, law, or physic, as long as he remains lecturer; and that it be without difference whether he be a stranger or English; and I wish my executors to consider of the precedent of Sir Henry Savil's lectures for their better instruction.' *Letters and Life*, VII 544-6.

[3] —'now no longer Lord Keeper,' observes Mr Spedding, 'or in favour at Court, and in a disposition towards Bacon very different from former manifestations.' *Ibid.* VII 545.

[4] A lectureship in natural philosophy had been founded by Sir William Sedley, Bart., of Hart Hall, who by his will (29 Oct. 1618) bequeathed the sum of £2000 to purchase lands for the endowment. Sir William married the only daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Savile, whose example would accordingly appear to have been operative both at Oxford and Cambridge. See *supra*, note 2, and Wood-Gutch, II ii 869 and note 3.

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CHAP. I. the two apples of these eyes. An apple when it is single is an ornament; when double, a pearl or blemish in the eye. Your lordship may therefore inform yourself if one Sidley of Kent hath not already founded in Oxford a lecture of this nature and condition. But if Oxford be in this kind an Argus, I am sure poor Cambridge is a right Polyphemus; it hath but one eye, and that not so steadily or artificially placed. But *bonum est facile sui diffusum*: your lordship being so full of goodness, will quickly find an object to pour it on. That which made me say thus much, I will say in verse, that your lordship may remember it better,—

> Sola ruinosis stat Cantabrigia pannis,
> Atque inopi lingua desertas invocat artes[1].'

Bacon, however, with all his regard for Cambridge, had the general advancement of learning yet more at heart, and appears not to have admitted the force of Williams' ingeniously urged argument. But in less than four months after the above letter was penned, he himself fell a martyr to the cause which he had so long and faithfully served, and it soon transpired that the funds resulting from the sale of his estates would not suffice to give effect to his generous designs.

When the tidings of the lord Verulam's death reached Cambridge, the sense of the loss which the university and science had sustained rose superior to considerations of court favour. The town recalled his services as lord steward; the university, his disinterested care for her interests when serving her as standing counsel and as her representative in parliament, the lustre shed upon her annals by his wide-spread fame. Already not a few at Cambridge were becoming dimly conscious that Francis Bacon had no peer among her sons. His *Essays* were universally admired, and the catalogue of Williams' French books, in his library at Buckden[2] (a collection of some 600 volumes), shews him to have been the possessor of the earliest French version[3]; while Joseph Mede,

[1] Spalding, *Letters and Life*, vii 547, where, for 'disertas,' as printed, we should probably read *desertas*.

[2] See *supra*, p. 38 n. 2.

[3] Thus, judging from the title, must have been the *Essais Moraux ... Traduits en François par le Sieur A. Gorges, Chevalier Anglois.* Jean Bill: Londres, 1619.

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in the year preceding the author's death, had forwarded to Sir Martin Stuteville a copy of the new English edition in quarto, as the most acceptable present he could offer his distinguished relative[1]. Samuel Collins, after reading the *Advancement of Learning*, declared that he 'found himself in a case to begin his studies anew and that he had lost all the time of his studying before[2].' At the very time, indeed, that court influence, as wielded by Laud, was being exerted to revive the study of Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas at both universities[3], the Baconian philosophy was rallying to a new standard some of the most original minds in Cambridge. Bacon himself, strongly as he condemned the prevailing methods of academic learning, was not unconscious of a certain appreciation as he laid at the feet of his Alma Mater each new trophy of his genius[4]; of that estrangement from the university which the singular silence of all his biographers might lead us to infer, we meet with no evidence whatever. It is as her 'son and nursling' that he presents his *Novum Organum*[5]. It is 'as a son, repaying his indebtedness as far as it is in his power,' that he forwards his *De Augmentis*; while, in presenting a copy of the same work to his own college, he writes: 'inasmuch as I imbibed my first draughts of knowledge at your sources, I have thought it

[1] 'On Saturday (unlesse you prohibit me) I will send you my Lord Bacons Essays newly enlarged both in the manner of handling and number of the heads, in a faire print in quarto.' Mede to Sir M. Stuteville, 21 May 1625. [For this extract from the Harleian MS. I am indebted to Dr Peile.] In the ninth volume of *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* (pp. 227–237) I have called attention to some of the main facts connected with the, as yet, unwritten chapter of Bacon's life, dealing with his relations with his own university.

[2] Rawley, *Life of Bacon* (ed. Spedding), p. 16.

[3] We find Nich. Ganning, fellow of Corpus, objected to as a disputant at the Commencement of 1631 on the ground that he 'railed against school divinity, whereas King James and King Charles commanded young students in divinity to begin with Lombard and Aquinas.' *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, cxcm, no. 91.

[4] See Grosart's *Herbert* (III 434-5) for letter to Bacon on the receipt of his *Instauratio*.

[5] 'Cum vester filius sim et alumnus, voluptati mihi erit partum meum nuper editum vobis in gremium dare: aliter enim velut pro expositio eum haberem.' *Letters and Life*, VII 135-6. Cf. Vol. II of this *History*, p. 573. Of the manner in which one of Bacon's autograph letters was allowed to disappear from the University Library, Bradshaw has given a pathetic account in his pamphlet, *The University Library*, p. 17.

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CHAP. I right to return to you the increment of the same[1].' How widely and how warmly these feelings were reciprocated, Cambridge herself was perhaps not fully aware until he was beyond the reach of all human sympathy, but not a few of her ablest and wisest sons now united in laying on his tomb the customary academic tribute to departed merit. Of these compositions, Rawley, his secretary (a former fellow of Corpus), appears to have become the depositary. They were all, he assures us, of more than ordinary merit, but the number was so considerable that he was fain to give only a selection when editing them for the press[2]. The volume was not printed at Cambridge, nor did the vice-chancellor, as was usual, occupy a foremost place among the contributors[3],—the majority of whom, veiled under initials, appear to have been Trinity men. But the names of Samuel Collins, George Herbert, James Duport, William Boswell[4], together with that of William Atkins, Bacon's own servant, seek no disguise; and the verses, one and all, amid much that is fantastic in conception and overstrained in expression, are animated by a common sentiment,—that of deepest admiration for his genius and confidence in the permanence of his fame. Rarely has the contemporary estimate formed by a learned community of one of its own members been better justified by the sequel!

Scarcely had the great Verulam been laid to rest in the church of his titular domain, when bishop Andrewes, his intimate friend, to whom when in perplexity he had often had recourse for advice, passed away at his palace at Southwark. Within a few weeks of the contest for the chancellorship, Dr Walsall's place at Corpus knew him no more, and a dispute that arose with respect to the choice of his successor gave occasion for Buckingham's first interference in a college

[1] *Letters and Life*, VII 438-9.

[2] 'Neque vero parca manu symbolum conjecerunt in eum musae; plurimos enim, eosque optimos versus, apud me contineo; sed quia ipse mole non delectabatur, molem haud magnam extruxi.' Of Rawley's selection, a copy (a small quarto of seventeen leaves) is in the British Museum. This was reprinted in *Harleian Misc.* (x 287-301) under the title 'Memoriae Honoratissimi Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, sacrum.'

[3] Monk, *Memoir of Duport*, *Museum Criticum*, II 676.

[4] Whether this be *Sir* William Boswell, the former fellow of Jesus College and the friend of Joseph Mede, I am unable to ascertain.

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election[1]. The death of Dr Gostlin, the vice-chancellor, and the election of John Batchcroft as his successor in the mastership of Caius, afforded a pretext for royal interference, as little justifiable as, in the former case, the chancellor's interposition had been distinctly beneficial. Charles, it would seem, had intended to recommend some other person to the fellows for their election, but was forestalled by their prompt action. On hearing however of Batchcroft's appointment, he forthwith instituted a peremptory enquiry into the circumstances under which the election had taken place. Mede, in his alarm at the precedent thus set up for an *ex post facto* interference in such important transactions, declared that it seemed likely to bring about 'the utter overthrow of all elections of masters for ever[2].' His apparent ignorance of the exercise of the royal prerogative in such elections in the preceding century is deserving of note, and would lead us to infer that, since the passing of the Elizabethan statutes, it had been very sparingly exercised[3].

CHAP.

Interference of the Crown in election to the mastership of Caius College: Oct. 1626.

[1] 'Upon the decease of Dr Walsall, Mr John Mundey, B.D., was made choice of for his successor on the 4th of August 1626; but the number of votes being equally divided between him and Dr Butts, and one of them being his own and that the casting vote, his election, upon an appeal of five fellows to the chancellor, was adjudged not to be legal, and was accordingly declared void and his name erased out of the books.' In their petition to Buckingham the fellows describe Mundey as 'a man neither in degree of schooles, nor for abilities of learning, nor for sufficiency of living equal to his competitor.' Masters-Lamb, p. 165.

[2] 'On Saturday came down Dr Mawe, with a commission from the King to the Heads, to inquire and certify him: (i) What public proof of his sufficiency in learning, by any public exercise, and of his manners, by his carriage, the new elect hath given, as is fit for a man to be in that place and rank. (ii) What he is in respect of his degrees taken in the sciences to his predecessors, the former masters of that college. (iii) Whether he was elected and qualified according to statute. The doctors have had their meetings, and are divided. The courtiers, Drs Mawe, Wren, and Beale, over-furious against him; vice-chancellor, indifferent; Collins, Mansell, Ward, Butts, eager for him. He was chosen with unanimous consent of all the fellows; one only that was absent sent, notwithstanding, his consent under his hand....According to the college statute, he is every way qualified. There are near 200 of us have given our hands we think him fit for the place, at the intreaty of the fellows.' *Court and Times of Charles the First*, I 169. 'According to the *Annals*, the opposition to Batchcroft was almost entirely the work of Robert Lane, D.D., of St John's.' Venn, *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius College*, III 86.

[3] See Vol. II 71 72. Corrie (*Historical Notices of the Interference of the Crown*, etc., pp. 51–52) altogether passes by this notable instance, and cites the Injunctions of 1629 (*infra*, p. 98) as the earliest example in Charles's reign of the 'Sovereign claiming the right of supremacy over individual corporations as well as over the university generally.'

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In the month of November, Dr Hills, the master of St Catherine's College, died suddenly[1], a death which occasioned an important change in connexion with that society, for John Hills was succeeded in the mastership by Richard Sibbes. The former, who must have found it no easy task to sustain the traditions bequeathed by Overall[2], appears to have left little mark on the history of the college[3], but under Sibbes' short but effective nine years' rule the society again revived. Sibbes, who had received his education at St John's, where he was for some time a fellow, and who, like Preston, held a lectureship at Gray's Inn,—a tribute to his high reputation as a preacher,—appears to have attracted to the little society an amount of public interest which resulted in a considerable increase in its endowments; while, in the language of his biographer, 'he procured good means and maintenance by his interest in many worthy persons for the enlargement of the college, and was a means and instrument to establish learned and religious fellows there, insomuch as, in his time, it proved a very famous society for piety and learning, both in fellows and scholars[4].'

The excitement consequent upon the election to the chancellorship had not yet died away, when both town and

[1] — 'well on Sunday and eat his meat, though troubled with a cough, died suddenly yesterday morning at Fulbourne, his parsonage.' Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville (23 Nov. 1626): *Court and Times of Charles I*, 1 173.

[2] See Vol. II 500.

[3] See the Bp. of Bristol's *History* of the college, who concludes that Hills 'could not quite be trusted with even the goods and utensils of the Lodge,' p. 93; see also p. 107.

[4] Clarke's *Lives* (ed. 1677), p. 144. The following enumeration of benefactions during Sibbes' mastership serves to illustrate the statement in the text: Dr Gostlin, in his last will (9 Oct. 1626), left the rents and profits of the Bull Inn for the founding of six scholar-ships; Mrs Julian Stafford, of Harlow, in Essex, gave, in the following year, a benefaction for 'four poor scholars students in divinity,' reserving to 'my good friend Mr Richard Sibbs, if he be living, after the decease of my said husband and myself'...'the use and occupation during his life of the house... commonly called the Chantry house.' Thomas Hobbes, of Braintree, in Essex, in 1631, left cottages and lands for a like purpose, enjoining that 'the sons of godly poor ministers, painful in the work of the Lord, shall be especially respected before others'; Emmanuel is coupled with Catherine Hall in this benefaction, but it is stipulated that 'a priority of respect in selection of the said scholars' shall be had to the latter society 'if any such shall be there to be had and elected, especially so long as my worthy friend Doctor Sibbs shall continue master of the said Hall.' See *Documents relating to St Catharine's College*, pp. 104–113; also Sibbes' *Works* (ed. Grosart), I lvi; Baker MSS. v 165.

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university were alike disquieted by the occurrence of a singular natural phenomenon. On Midsummer eve, a volume containing three pietistic treatises[1] was found in the belly of a cod fish exposed for sale in Cambridge market. One of the bedells thought the incident sufficiently remarkable to be brought under the notice of the vice-chancellor, by whom it was looked upon as of the greatest gravity, and an incident, which a century later would have been regarded with no other feeling than that of amusement, appeared to both the learned and the vulgar of Cambridge an event fraught with dismal portent. The appearance of some gigantic comet in the heavens could hardly, in fact, have been the occasion of greater dismay. Thomas Fuller, at this time a bachelor at Queens', relates the circumstances in a manner which shews that his keen sense of the ludicrous enabled him to rise superior to the superstition of his time. The book, he tells us, 'was wrapped about with canvass, and probably that voracious fish plundered both out of the pocket of some shipwrecked seaman. The wits of the university made themselves merry thereat, one making a long copy of verses thereon, whereof this distich I remember:

Portent of the 'Book Fish.'

Fuller's comment on the incident.

> If fishes thus do bring us books, then we
> May hope to equal Bodlyes library.

But whilst the youngsters disported themselves herewith, the graver sort beheld it as a sad presage[2].' Among those of 'the graver sort' was the exemplary master of Sidney, Dr Samuel Ward, who thought the prodigy worthy of being reported in all its details to his friend, archbishop Ussher. His correspondent fully shared his views. 'The accident,' wrote the chief scholar of the Ireland of those days, 'is not lightly to be passed over, which, I fear me, bringeth with it too true a prophecy of the state to come: and to you of Cambridge, as you write, it may well be a special admonition,

[1] *Vox Piscis: or the Book Fish contayning Three Treatises which were found in the Belly of a Cod-fish in Cambridge Market, on Midsummer Eve last, Anno Domini* 1626. London: printed for James Boler and Robert Milbourne 1627. 'The Preface is Dr Goads.' Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville (9 Dec. 1626): Heywood and Wright, II 351.

[2] *Worthies of England*, I 562 (quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, III 196).

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CHAP. I. which should not be neglected.' It says more for Ussher's heart than his head that he takes occasion to turn the event to profit, as suggestive of the desirability of laying aside private animosities and combining 'to promote the cause of God[1].'

In the following year, in the month of March, the chancellor visited his university. Mede, in his study at Christ's, could hear the bells pealing and 'the posts winding their horns in every street.' In the densely thronged senate house, Buckingham took his seat, attired in a master of arts' cap, gown, and hood, and admitted certain noblemen and others to a like degree. Laud was incorporated D.D. from Oxford and took the customary oath to observe the privileges of his new university, a pledge which was not forgotten by Cambridge in after years. The chancellor, according to Mede, spoke only 'two words of latine,—*placet* and *admittatur*'; and he proceeds to tell us how Buckingham dined at Trinity, 'had banquets' at King's, St John's, Clare Hall, and elsewhere; how 'he was on the top of King's College chapel, but refused to have his foote imprinted there as too high for him[2]'; how that 'he was wonderfull courteous to all scholars of any condition both in the Regent House where every one that came in had his grace's congie, and in the towne as he walked if a man did but stirre his hatt he should not loose his labour[3].'

The shape which Buckingham's munificence was to assume was now definitely arranged. For some eighty years past, the scanty stores of the university library, much diminished by pillage, and with many of the volumes which it

[1] Ussher, *Works*, xv 346. So Baker: 'This alarmed good men, and several accounts were sent of it, particularly by Dr Ward and Mr Mede in two letters to bishop Usher, who looked upon it as an admonition of providence to prepare for sufferings.' It marks the decline in superstition, when we find Baker (a century later) observing that he 'should hardly have mentioned' 'the *accident*' had it not been thought worth notice by two such great men.' Baker-Mayor, p. 218.

[2] So Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his *Diary* (27 Aug. 1627), writes:—'being come early to Cambridge, I shewed my wife divers of the colleges, and we went both up to the top of King's College Chapel, on the south side whereof, upon the leads, my wife's foot was set, and her arms cut out within the compass of the foot, in a small escutcheon.' p. 359.

[3] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, i 202, 204–5.

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still retained divested of their pictures and ornamental work, had been lying in archbishop Rotheram's building, on the first floor of the east wing of the Schools Quadrangle. The 'Old Library,' on the first floor of the south wing, had ceased to correspond to its name, being used as a lecture room and as a place for the performance of the prescribed exercises. In 1586 a grace had passed the senate empowering the vice-chancellor and proctors to restore the room to its original use, it being expressly stated that many persons were prepared to bestow large donations of books on the university, provided that the necessary arrangements were made for their reception. A considerable outlay was accordingly at once made in fitting up the room with presses and shelves. We hear, however, of no books being placed there[1], for Dr Perse's intended benefaction for the erection of a new library, as we have already seen, had lapsed, owing to the fact that the work had not been put into execution within the time required by the donor[2]. A like condition, imposed in connexion with a bequest originally intended for a distant foundation, promised however eventually to result in a great gain to Cambridge. Archbishop Bancroft, when bequeathing his valuable library, had directed that it should pass into the hands of his successors in the see of Canterbury, but it was on condition that they should successively give security for the due preservation of the collection in its entirety; otherwise, the books were to be kept back to adorn the as yet unerected walls of King James's Chelsea College[3], a design which had enlisted the primate's warmest sympathies. But the bequest to the future college was accompanied by the condition that the buildings were erected within six years, and that period had now elapsed; while Bancroft's will had directed that, as a second alternative, the books were to be transferred to the university library at Cambridge[4]. The university library now stood, accordingly, in the place of Chelsea College; and, amid the darkening aspect of political

Bequest of archbishop Bancroft: 29 Oct. 1610

[1] Willis-Clark, III 27–28.
[2] Vol. II 551.
[3] See *supra*, p. 25.
[4] A catalogue of the books is preserved in the University Library (MS. Eb. 9. 5).

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CHAP. I. affairs, it was impossible to say how long the primate himself might be able to hold his own at Lambeth and to provide for the safety of his predecessor's collection. At the same time it was evident that should Bancroft's library ever arrive,—and other like bequests, it was rumoured, might be expected,—it was especially desirable that the books should be suitably housed. But Dr Perse's munificent design had, as we have already seen[1], been completely frustrated; and the East Room on the first floor of the existing quadrangle still represented, apparently, the extent of the actually available accommodation. It was consequently with something like exultation that the lovers of books in the university now learned that the solution of their difficulties was at hand, the new chancellor having announced his intention of contributing the sum of £7000 to defray the expense of an entirely new edifice. The advocacy of Ussher had brought to accomplishment what neither lord Brooke[2] nor Robert Johnson[3] had been able to bring about; and writing from London to the master of Sidney, the archbishop of Armagh reported that he 'had dealt very effectually' with Buckingham in the matter, 'to which' he added, 'he is himself exceeding forward[4].'

In order to acquire the entire site for the new erection (which had already been decided on), it became necessary to buy out the tradesmen, mostly booksellers, who occupied the tenements situated on the north side of what was then known as Regent Walk, a short street leading directly from the west door of Great St Mary's to the central door, or porch, of the Schools Quadrangle[5]. The occupants, however, proved exorbitant in their demands, and valuable time was wasted in endeavouring to bring them to more reasonable terms. 'We talk here,' wrote Joseph Mede to Sir Martin Stuteville, 'of a magnificent new library which our great chancellor will

[1] Vol. II 551-2.
[2] Willis Clark, III 36.
[3] Vol. II 552.
[4] *Letters* (ed. Parr), no. 109.
[5] See *The Certificate made to the most illustrious Duke of Buckingham touching the houses and ground between Caius College and the Regent Walk, whereon his grace intended to raise a publick library in Cambridge*: 29 *Jan.* 162¾. Heywood and Wright, II 359.

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build'.....'All the houses between Caius College and St Mary's must be pulled down to make room. I wish he might never do worse deed; but I doubt, I doubt[1],'—and his misgivings were only too well justified. CHAP. I

In 1628 Parliament had reassembled, and Montagu and his defender, Cosin of Caius College, along with Mainwaring of Oxford,—the new assertor of the royal prerogatives,—were again reported by the Commons as offenders for the consideration of the Committee of Religion. Then came the Petition of Right, in connexion with which Williams vainly essayed the part of mediator. The prorogation of Parliament soon followed; and within another fortnight Montagu was nominated to the see of Chichester[2]. 'More obliged unto your noble self than to any one,' wrote the bishop designate to Buckingham; but, on the very day when his consecration took place at Croydon, there came the tidings of his patron's assassination at Portsmouth; the scheme of a new library for the university had again to be abandoned; and Bancroft's books did not reach Cambridge until the days of the Commonwealth.

Renewed strife in Parliament and prorogation of the House 26 June 16

Buckingham's assassination 23 Aug. 162

Although throughout the country at large the hated favorite's end was greeted with exultation, the university was almost panic-stricken at his death, for brief as had been his tenure of the chancellorship, Buckingham had already given convincing proof of his generous intentions towards Cambridge. He had presented new silver staves for the bedells[3], 'with the King's and his own arms ensculped thereon'; and, at the suggestion of Ussher, had purchased in Holland the famous collection of Oriental manuscripts (chiefly Arabic) acquired by Erpenius, who had been carried off by the plague in 1624[4]. The purchase was completed by the

His services to the university.

[1] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, i 208.

[2] Dr Walker (*Peterhouse*, p. 100) is of opinion that Peterhouse was regarded with special favour by Buckingham on account of the support which Dr Mawe had given the former in the election to the chancellorship; and he notes it as a significant fact that on Sept. 7 'two Peterhouse Fellows were consecrated to the episcopate,'—Mawe, to Bath and Wells, Walter Curle to Rochester.

[3] 'He gave the bedells their old silver staves and bestowed better and bigger on the university.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, pp. 311-2.

[4] Professor of Oriental languages at Leyden, d. 13 Nov. 1624; see *infra*, p. 93. 'To this day the people of

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CHAP. I. widowed duchess, and in 1632 the collection was handed over to the university. Other services, not formally recorded, in matters probably of greater moment, had served to create a lively feeling of gratitude; and a letter from the academic authorities, written on the eve of the chancellor's contemplated departure for Rochelle, expressed a sense of no ordinary obligation to one, to whom, in common with the entire residential body, they declared themselves indebted for priceless blessings,—the university 'peaceably governed, its privileges vindicated, the treasure, the liberty, the life itself bestowed on the Muses[1].'

The foremost defender of the Montacutians being now no more, both Charles and Laud thought they could discern a favorable opportunity for permanently discouraging such controversies in future. As Gardiner has clearly pointed out, neither the king nor the bishop had any taste for dogmatic controversy; and while the former relied on the bishop for guidance in religious questions, the latter, who in the month of July had been translated to the see of London, regarded all theological disputes with contempt, as calculated 'to distract the clergy from their real work[2].' That such disputes were a growing evil which called for rigorous repression, more than one example in both universities, of very recent occurrence, might have been cited by Laud in evidence.

Leyden cannot understand how the transaction was managed; they say that a large instalment of the purchase money had already been paid by the Corporation, but yet that by some means the manuscripts were never delivered, and that they have reason to believe that some of them are at Cambridge, and some perhaps elsewhere in England. True it is that they are all here, and we know whose liberality we have to thank for them; indeed, among them are some of the most valuable books which the library now possesses.' Henry Bradshaw, *The University Library*, p. 18. According to Sir Henry Wotton, the manuscripts were 'sent back to the Jesuites at Antwerp.' Whereof the Duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned secretary, Doctour Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five hundred pounds, a summe above their weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable being much out of his natural element.' *Life and Death of Duke of Buckingham*, in *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (ed. 1654), p. 98.

[1] See a contemporary translation of a Latin letter sent by the Senate 7 July 1628, in Cooper, *Annals*, III 202-3; Baker MS., x 360; Ussher's *Letters* (ed. Parr), nos. 98, 99, 100; Wotton's *Remains*, ed. 3, p. 233; Letters to Ussher in *Mém. et correspondance de Duplessis Mornay*, XI 143.

[2] *Hist. of England*, VII 20.

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CHAP. The father of Thomas Fuller had received his university education at Trinity College, and thither the son would also have probably gone, had it not been that, in the mean time, his maternal uncle, Davenant, had been elected president of Queens'[1]. To Queens' College, accordingly, young Fuller proceeded. Among those with whom he there became acquainted was one who especially moved him to wonder,—a wonder not unmingled with amusement[2]. This was Thomas Edwards, his senior by three years,—Milton's 'shallow Edwards,' afterwards notorious as the author of *Gangraena*. Edwards was already beginning to give evidence of that impetuous temperament which ultimately carried him altogether beyond the bounds alike of Christian charity and worldly discretion. But, for a time, his vehemence and extravagance appear to have been set down to mere youthful effervescence, while his undeniable ability was recognised by his appointment as university preacher. By a small circle of admirers, indeed, he was even looked upon as a coming leader of religious thought and styled 'the young Luther.' At length, however, his elation and vanity led him into excesses which could not be overlooked. He deemed himself one inspired, and in a sermon at St Andrew's Church inculcated doctrine which could only be regarded as subversive of all authority in matters of belief, whether spiritual, secular, or academic. He was committed to custody, and on being called upon to give an explanation of his language, ultimately made a public recantation in St Andrew's Church, at the same time endeavouring to explain away his intemperate invectives by declaring that he intended simply to dissuade from obedience to superiors when such compliance involved 'anything contrary to the Word[3].' Edwards soon after left the university and attached himself to the presbyterian body, becoming notorious as one

Thomas Fuller enters Queens' College: 9 June 1

Thomas Edwards, his fellow student. b. 1599. d. 1647.

His sermon at St Andrew's Church.

His recantation 6 April 16

[1] The father's younger son, John, entered at Sidney; but this was 7 Feb. 1623, after Davenant had succeeded to the bishopric of Salisbury. He is described as 'son of Thomas Fuller, B.D., fell. Trin., Preb. Sar.' Baker MSS. xi 356.

[2] 'I knew Mr Edwards very well, my contemporary at Queens' College, who often was transported beyond due bounds with the keenness and eagerness of his spirit, and therefore I have just cause to suspect him.' Fuller, *Appeal of Injured Innocence* (ed. 1659), pt. III 502.

[3] Heywood and Wright, II 363.

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of the most virulent and unsparing assailants of the various forms of doctrine taught among the Independents[1]. Henry Burton of St John's, whom we have already noted as one of Montagu's most violent assailants[2], chagrined at his dismissal by Charles, on the latter's accession, from the office of clerk of the closet, and still more so by the fact that the post was now filled by his personal enemy, Neile, was little mollified by his presentation to the rectory of St Matthew's, Friday Street. He availed himself of his city pulpit as vantage ground from which to assail both the episcopal order and the Anglican ritual; and in 1627 was cited before the Privy Council for his *Baiting of the Popes Bull*. He however evaded punishment, notwithstanding the marked animosity of Laud, and subsided for a short time into less dangerous speculations, after the manner of Mede, on portions of the Apocalypse[3].

At Oxford, the blatant sectarianism of Alexander Gill the younger, the teacher and friend of Milton at St Paul's School, who openly exulted over Buckingham's fate by drinking to the health of Felton along with members of his own college of Trinity, aroused the stern anger of even the tolerant Chillingworth, and marked the offender out for condign punishment which was averted only through the intercession of Laud[4]. On the continent, a notable volume had just appeared from the press at Copenhagen[5]; it was the work of a retired physician, one Caspar Bartholinus, who maintained that the study of the Scriptures themselves was

[1] For his subsequent career, see the sketch of his life by Mr Alsager Wood in *D.N.B.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 51.

[3] *The Seven Vials, or a briefe Exposition upon the* 15 *and* 16 *chapters of the Revelation*. 1628.

[4] See Masson, *Life of Milton*, I 207-13: we may conjecture that it was really at the intercession of Chillingworth, at the time a newly elected fellow of Trinity and a godson of Laud. One of the two comrades with whom Gill was drinking at the college buttery, was no less a person than John Craven, afterwards the founder of the scholarships which bear his name. See Blakiston, *Trinity College*, pp. 112-3.

[5] Bartholinus was a medical practitioner at Copenhagen who, in his old age, abandoned science for theology. His treatise, *de Studio Theologico compendiaria et genuina tamen Ratione incunda et continuando brevi Consilium* (Hafniae, 1628), is valuable for the evidence which it affords of the extent to which, in the universities ruled by the Tridentine decrees, the Scriptures themselves were at this time almost altogether neglected.

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the chief duty of the theologian; while, at nearly the same time, Jean Daillé put forth his treatise on the *Right Use of the Fathers*, altogether impugning the Anglican standpoint. CHAP. I

Such was the condition of affairs in the theological world which may be said to have ushered in the famous *Declaration*, prefixed in the Book of Common Prayer to the Thirty-nine Articles, enjoining that 'all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them; and that no man hereafter shall either print or preach to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense[1].' The DECLARATION Nov. 1628. All wrestin of the mean ing of the Articles forbidden.

In pursuance of this notable injunction, and with an obvious desire to administer its provisions with apparent impartiality, a royal proclamation, issued a few weeks later, gave orders for 'the calling in' of Montagu's *Appello*, 'as the first cause of those disputes and differences which have sithence much troubled the quiet of the Church[2].' The bishop of Chichester yielded prompt obedience. He forthwith wrote a letter to the primate, disclaiming all design of seeking to uphold Arminianism; his submission was accepted with equal promptitude; a formal grant of the royal pardon effectually shielded the author of the *Appello* from further proceedings by the Commons; and when, on its reassembling, that body proceeded to assert its right to maintain a theory of doctrine and discipline which ran counter to the *Declaration*, its dissolution forthwith put an end to its existence for The *Appello* suppressed: 17 Jan. 162 Montagu is pardoned and Parliament dissolved: 10 March 162

[1] 'By coulour of this Declaration,' says Prynne, 'and pretended amnesty of silencing both sides, the Anti-Arminian truths and received doctrines of our Church, came to be totally silenced, *suppressed in presse, pulpit, schooles, universities*, and the Arminian errors found free passage in them all without any or very little opposition.' *Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 160–1. 'How many,' asks Gardiner, 'who see it' [the Declaration] 'in the present Book of Common Prayer, are aware of its historical importance?' *Hist. of England*, VII 23.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, XIX 26; Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VII 23.

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another eleven years, and Laud, now both bishop of London and chancellor of the university of Oxford, stood master of the situation. Williams, who might have rallied the moderate party against him, was himself in disgrace, having been denounced by the Star-Chamber in 1633 on a charge of betraying State secrets entrusted to him as a privy councillor. The charge itself was frivolous; but in endeavouring to repel it, he became involved in serious difficulties, partly the result of his own rash subterfuges in order to extricate himself. For the next nine years he was in disfavour at court, and was ultimately sent to the Tower. In the mean time, Cambridge suffered not a little at the hands of his successful rival, and must have often deplored the absence of her once powerful advocate,—'as far as it is possible to argue from cause to consequence,' says Gardiner, 'if Williams had been trusted by Charles instead of Laud, there would have been no Civil War and no dethronement in the future[1].'

The point of view from which the philosopher contemplated these and similar controversies is nowhere better illustrated than in the writings of the great Verulam, who passed away when the Montacutian controversy was at its height. To us, indeed, it is better known than it was to his contemporaries, for his *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England*, as we have already noted[2], was not printed until sixteen years after the author's death. Had he lived to see the rise of the Cambridge Platonists, it is difficult not to suppose that the more rational spirit and enlightened erudition of that famous school would have drawn from him sincere, if qualified, commendation, but it may safely be asserted that on dogmatic intolerance, whether Puritan or Anglican, he looked with almost equal aversion[3].

[1] *Hist. of England*, VI 340.

[2] Vol. II 438, n. 2.

[3] It is however deserving of note that Sir Henry Wotton, the biographer of Buckingham and a writer whose genius was admired by Bacon, dying ten years later than the philosopher, and fully sharing his views on this broad question, appears nevertheless to have considered them peculiar to himself. 'On his tombstone,' says Walton, 'twas directed by him to be thus inscribed: Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus auctor: DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESIARUM SCABIES. *Nomen alias quære.*' Walton, *Lives* (ed. 1796), p. 179.

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CHAP. I.

To him it seemed that the true remedy for this ceaseless and unprofitable warfare was to be sought neither in attempts to arrive at some well-sustained logical solution of each theological difficulty nor in the authoritative suppression of all controversy whatever[1]. He looked with equal disapproval upon the *Appello Caesarem*, upon Sutcliffe's projected College, and on the *Declaration*. It was the aim of Verulam to divert men's minds from these barren logomachies to other fields of enquiry,—fields capable of bearing 'fruit'; and had his designs found effect and his influence prevailed, the foundation of the Jacksonian professorship would have been anticipated by a century and a half, and that of the Regius professorship of History by nearly a hundred years!

PETER GREVILLE, Lord Brooke: b. 1554, d. 1628.

It was in May 1568 that Fulke Greville, first lord Brooke, coming up from Shrewsbury School, matriculated as a fellow-commoner at Jesus College. As the friend of Sir Philip Sidney[2], of Sir Edward Dyer, of Spenser and Giordano Bruno, as the trusted counsellor of king James, and the patron of Speed, Camden, Overall, and Samuel Daniel, he may well be supposed to have acquired, elsewhere than at Shrewsbury and Cambridge, such an amount of discernment in liberal studies as would enable him subsequently to rise superior to the traditional university education of his day. But in the design which Greville formed towards the close of his life, of founding a historical chair in the university, there is good reason for inferring that he was especially guided by the teaching of Bacon.

Bacon's advice with respect to historical studies.

It was about the year 1595 that Brooke's cousin, young Fulke Greville, also went up to Cambridge to study, and was favoured by the earl of Essex with a letter of advice as to his work, which there is little doubt was really from the

[1] In his *De Augmentis* (written in 1623), he regards with complacency the leisure which 'the greatest wits' might henceforth look forward to, owing to 'the consumption and exhaustion of all that can be thought or said on religious questions, which have so long diverted many men's minds from the study of other arts.' *Philosophical Works*, v 110.

[2] Fulke Greville and Philip Sydney entered at Shrewsbury, each aged 10, on the same day and in the same year (17 Oct. 1564). Sir Henry Sydney, writing to his son two years later, says: 'I have received two letters from you, one written in Latine, the other in French.' *Sydney Letters* (ed. Collins), i 8.

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pen of Bacon, and it has accordingly been printed by Mr Spedding as such in his edition of Bacon's *Letters*[1]. The gist of the advice here given is, to avoid the use of abridgements (or, as Bacon terms them, 'epitomes'),—elsewhere denounced by him as 'the corruptions and moths of history[2].' 'I hold collections under heads and commonplaces,' he goes on to say, 'of far more profit and use; because they have in them a kind of observation, without the which neither long life breeds experience, nor great reading great knowledge.' Passing on to the question that naturally arises as to what authors are the most profitable for the student thus to occupy himself with, Bacon takes occasion to declare that he 'infinitely reverences' 'the judgement of the university'; but, after making this prudent reservation, he goes on to say that the text-books commonly prescribed by the teachers are by no means to be looked upon as the most profitable for the student, and for this reason, 'that all or most of grounded judgement[3] do only follow one of the three professions, divinity, law, or physic; and are strangers to the books your abridgers should read, *because they despise them.*' Passing on to the authors themselves, he thus speaks of the historians: 'Of all stories, I think Tacitus simply the best; Livy, very good. Thucydides above any of the writers of Greek matters; and the worst of these, and divers others of the ancients, to be preferred before the best of our moderns.' But 'to speak plainly of the gathering of heads or commonplaces,' he says in conclusion, 'I think first in general that *one man's notes will little profit another*, because one man's conceit doth so much differ from another's; and also *because the bare note itself is nothing so much worth as the suggestion it gives the reader*[4].'

In such phrase,—words well deserving to be inscribed in gold on the walls of every lecture-room in every university,—

[1] *Letters*, II 21-26.

[2] '... they that only study abridgements, I keep on that would visit all towns, pass through every place in post as they have no time to view as they go or make profit of their travel.' *Ibid.* II 23.

[3] Meaning, apparently, those whose judgements had been matured by a complete course of academic study.

[4] i.e. when taken in connexion with the original text.

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did Bacon sum up his advice to the Cambridge freshman of his day; and the connexion between that advice and the design, now formed by lord Brooke, of founding a lectureship in the university, becomes at once apparent when we recall that it was the son of the recipient of this letter whom Brooke adopted as his own son and heir. That the letter became an heirloom in the family, and that its contents must have been well known to lord Brooke himself, seems accordingly an almost inevitable inference, while his own personal relations to the writer are attested by the fact that it was he who in a manner stood sponsor for Bacon's *Life of Henry VII* with the Crown, and that the publication of that masterly composition was authorised on his recommendation. The 'Ordinances' which, with the assistance of his chaplain, William Burton, he now drew up for 'A Publique Lecture of Historie[1],' inoperative although they practically remained, acquire consequently a special interest as additional evidence of the spread of the Baconian influence in connexion with Cambridge studies.

Bacon's advice a probable factor in Brooke's design for a lectureship in history.

Originally, it was lord Brooke's design that the right of presentation to the new chair should remain in his family in perpetuity. To the Heads, however, this proposal appeared so objectionable that, after the founder's death, a committee was appointed by royal commission to hear the case argued. It was composed of certain of the Heads, together with lord Brooke's executors and his kinsman and successor in the title, Robert Greville. And the committee, with the sanction of lord keeper Coventry, decided to vest the presentation in the university[2]. The election was to take place every five years; and on each occasion the vacancy was to be duly published before a congregation of the regents and non-regents 'in the usuall place and forme,' when the Ordinances were to be read in their hearing by the senior proctor. A day ('after the sixt and before the tenth day') was then to be fixed by the vice-chancellor for proceeding to the election. In order that the right of choice might not become practically vested in the larger colleges which, by combination, might

The design of the foundation as subsequently modified by the Crown.

[1] See Appendix (C).

[2] See Appendix (D).

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manage to 'exclude the lesser from any possibilitie to prefer anie of theirs, though perchance more worthy,' it was provided that each college should 'depute five persons, of whom the master or head, and in his absence the vice-master or president,' was to be one, who in conjunction with certain specified members of the university 'should have their suffrages in the election.' On the appointed day, the entire body of electors was to assemble in the Regent house and make solemn oath that they would vote only for the candidate whom they regarded as most competent for the office; *ceteris paribus* the outgoing professor was to be preferred; but all candidates were to be masters of arts and of not less than five years' standing or thirty years of age. A foreigner was to be considered eligible, but no one 'in holie orders' was to be considered so,—'as well,' says the ordinance, 'because this realme affordeth manie preferements for divines, fewe or none for professors of profane learning, *the use and application whereof to the practise of life is the cheife end and scope of this foundation*: and also because this Lecture must needs hinder a divine from the studies and offices of his callinge, due to the Church.' 'Such as have travelled beyond the seas,' says a further ordinance, 'and see have added to their learning knowledge of the moderne languages and experience in foreigne parts; and likewise such as have been brought upp and exercised in publique affairs, shalbe accounted most eligible, if they be equall in the rest'.[1]

That these ordinances were the outcome of the founder's own views, admits of no question; but before, apparently, any scheme could be matured and presented for acceptance to the university, lord Brooke had sought to instal his lecturer. Cambridge, however,—at no period of its past history conspicuous for devotion to historical studies,—seemed to possess no scholar whose attainments and abilities adequately corresponded to the founder's ideal, and in default he turned to

[1] These highly characteristic ordinances (with a few omissions) will be found in Appendix (C), being printed from the copy preserved in the Rolls Office,—*State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, cxiv, no. 67.

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Leyden, at this time at the summit of her fame and outrivalling alike Padua and Paris. Preeminent for varied learning, even in Leyden, stood Gerard Vossius; and it seems not unlikely that some intimation of Brooke's design had already reached him, for only a short time before, he had dedicated his famous treatise, *de Historicis Latinis*, to Buckingham[1]. He was now solicited by Brooke to occupy the new chair at Cambridge. But Leyden, unwilling to lose so able a teacher, threw stronger inducements into the opposing scale, and Vossius elected to remain where he was[2]. Another member of the same university, a rising scholar named Isaac Dorislaus, who had been for some time settled in England, was next approached and with better success. He now appeared in Cambridge, the bearer of a letter from Charles himself, formally apprising the university of Brooke's design and intimating the royal pleasure that Dorislaus should be forthwith assigned a time and a place for the delivery of his lectures[3]. Like Erasmus, the new teacher was a foreigner; while, unlike him, he was no theologian; and both these facts would tend in those times to cause the majority of the academic body to regard him with some suspicion. The study of history itself was still held in little honour, and the few scholars by whom it was pursued in England had scarcely as yet aspired to interpret the lessons of the past in a spirit worthy of Macchiavelli or Bodin. Knolles, the author of the *Historie of the Turkes* and the translator of Bodin, and Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, had indeed furnished

Gerard Vossius on being invited to fill the chair declines the offer.

Appointment of ISAAC DORISLAUS: b. 1595, d. 1649.

Dearth of historical ability in England.

[1] 'I had a letter from Mr Vossius before Christmas, with a book of the Latin historians, which he lately set forth and dedicated to my lord the duke of Buckingham.' Ward to Ussher: Ussher, *Works*, xv 404, i 113.

[2] The List of the Fellows of Jesus College appended to Sherman's MS. *Historia Collegii Jesu* contains the following entry: '1629. Joannes Vossius LLB. Joannis Gerard: Vossii filius, mandato D^ni Regis admissus. —Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit | Nos.'— There is a letter (14 May 1629) from lord Dorchester to Buckeridge, bishop of Ely (a draft corrected by Laud), which states that Charles had promised Gerard Vossius to make his son a fellow of some college in Cambridge, and that he has sent letters to Jesus College requiring the fellows to choose John Vossius on the next vacancy, and the bishop is requested to nominate him. He is not to fail herein, because 'the honour' of his deceased friend, the late Duke of Buckingham, 'is engaged in it.' *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, CXLII, no. 81. The elder Vossius had won Laud's good opinion by his work on the Pelagian heresy.

[3] See Wren's letter, *infra*, pp. 86–88.

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admirable models of descriptive narrative not unaccompanied by indications of some critical power; while the style of Daniel, in his *History of England*, seems almost an anticipation of the age of Dryden. But even these achievements were accomplished at a distance from both the English universities, where historical studies excited but a languid interest save in so far as they served to illustrate the all-absorbing study of prophecy, itself a study pursued in a spirit not unlike, and with a learning hardly superior to, the preconceptions and the culture with which the subject had been approached by Augustine at Hippo twelve hundred years before.

Foremost among the representatives of this school at Cambridge, stood the excellent, albeit somewhat superstitious, master of Sidney College. From him Dorislaus met with a kindly welcome, was invited to make his house his home[1], and received a sympathetic support which also led, six months later, to the composition of a letter which has preserved to us some details of the circumstances under which the new lecturer commenced his labours, as regarded by a friendly and fairly impartial critic. By others, however, the advent of the foreign scholar,—'bred,' to use the expression of Fuller, 'in a popular air,'—was regarded with very different feelings; and by Matthew Wren, now master of Peterhouse and dean of Ely, with especial distrust,—distrust which was in no way diminished by the fact that the foreigner in question was married to an Englishwoman and already 'very much Anglized in language and behaviour[2].' Within ten days of the delivery of Dorislaus's first lecture, Matthew Wren, now a diligent and obsequious courtier, had communicated to Laud, in a letter[3] carefully considered and written in the neatest of hands, his impressions and misgivings with respect to the new lecturer.

[1] 'The Doctor kept with me while he was in Town.' Ward to Ussher: *Letters and Works*, xv 401. There is a pleasant postscript to Ward's letter which gives us a glimpse of the relations of some of the leaders of thought at the university at this time: 'Mr Whalley and Mr Meade are both in good health, for which friends I am beholden to your lordship, though you take Mr Bedell from me. Dr Chaderton also is in health.' *Ibid.* xv 405.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 313.

[3] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, LXXXVI, no. 87.

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'At my comming home to Cambridge, I found here one Dorislaus, a Dr of the Civill Law at Leiden, sent hither by the lord Brooke (whose domestic he now is) with his Majesties letters also to this effect, that we should assigne him a Schole, Dayes, and Houres wherein to read a History-Lecture. The Annals of Tacitus (he sayd) were by his Lord (the Founder of the Lecture) appoynted him for his Theme[1]. His first Lecture (December 7th) did passe unexcepted at by any that I could meet with. But yet I forebare not to shew the Heads in private, that it contented not me, bycause howere he highly praeferd a Monarchie before all other formes, and ours above all, yet he seemed to acknowledge no right of Kingdomes, but whereof the people's voluntary submission had been the Principium Constitutionum. The second Lecture, December 12, was stored with such dangerous passages (as they might be taken) and so appliable to the exasperations of these villainous times[2], that I could not abstayne before the Heads there present to take much offense that such a subject should be handled here, and such lessons published, and at these times, and E cathedrâ theologicâ, before all the university. The Vicechancelor came in late and heard him not: but I required him to looke to it. He presently tooke 2 Senior Doctors aside, who stood nearer and heard better than I myselfe did, and enquired of them. But they (as he told me) did somewhat blaunch it, bycause he had used some distractions towards the end which might well satistie all. Still I was urgent with the Vicechancelour to advise what were fitt to be done, and Dr Eden[3] joyning stiffely with me, at last he promised to call for the copies of his Lectures. Out of which I privately gathered the passages, which I send here to your Honr in the enclosed paper. A Congregation had been cald before, agaynst the next day, of purpose to incorporate him here a Dr with us. But that being in my power this yeare, as I am De Capite Senatus pro facultate theologiae, I made stay of that, though otherwise the gentleman (comming to me about it) gave me as much satisfaction as in such a case could be. Surely he has

CHAP. I.

[1] Here the effect of Bacon's letter to young Greville (*supra*, p. 82) appears to be clearly discernible. Ward says:—'where his author mentioning the conversion of the state of Rome from government by kings to the government by consuls (by the suggestion of Junius Brutus), he took occasion to discourse of the power of the people under the kings and afterward.' Ussher, *u.s.*, xv 403.

[2] 'When he touched upon the excesses of Tarquinius Superbus his infringing of the liberties of the people, which they enjoyed under former kings; and so, among many other things, descended to the vindicating of the Netherlanders for retaining their liberties against the violences of Spain. In conclusion, he was conceived of by some to speak too much for the defence of the liberties of the people: though he spake with great moderation, and with an exception of such monarchies as ours, where the people had surrendered their right to the king, *so that in truth there could be no just exception taken against him.*' *Ibid.*

[3] Master of Trinity Hall.

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good learning, and seemes to be very ingenuous, and not to have spoken anything malitiously, but partly out of some wrong grounds of history and politicks (as I shewed him) and cheefely out of inexperience of our State, he thought that what they heare with applause in their owne country, might as freely be spoken anywhere; for which he is now very sory that he was so foully mistaken. In the end, the Vicechancelour assembled the Heads, to whom their D^r^ manifested such ingenuous signes of his sorrowe, and professions of his readiness to give satisfaction in any kind, that it was agreed the Vicechancelour should send him to some one of our freindes among the Lords of the Counsell, with letters testifying what I have here related to your Honour, and yf need were to expect further directions. My Lord elect of Winton was then named, but since I perceive that[1] he will write to our gratious Chancelour also, bycause *we are more then afrayd that this stumble at first entrance may breake the neck of the foundation of the lecture intended by the Lord Brooke.*'.....

With an earnest request that his name may not be allowed to transpire, lest he should thereby incur 'the reproach of being a Delator,' the writer concludes his letter. The result which he affected to deprecate, but to which his interference so materially contributed, of 'breaking the neck of the foundation,' unhappily ensued. 'My lord elect of Winton,'—no other than Richard Neile of St John's College, to whom Laud had been largely indebted for his advancement,—was in full sympathy with his former chaplain, and although my lord of Durham had just been relegated to his northern see, there were not a few others besides Dr Montaigne who could well remember the burning, in the Regent Walk, of the works of Pareus[2]. It were well that the ominous precedent, established in connexion with the great teacher at Heidelberg, should not become operative against the new teacher from Leyden! In short, Wren's representations, according to Ward, had so far weighed with Bainbrigg that, in his capacity of vice-chancellor, he had forbidden Doristaus to continue his lectures; but the Caput, on being appealed to, revoked the prohibition. It was, however, renewed at Laud's instance, and this time by a royal injunction. Further representations at Court were successful in bringing about the withdrawal of

[1] Wren evidently means 'but since then I have learned that,' etc.
[2] See Vol. II 563–4.

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this prohibition also. But then, when all further difficulties had been removed, the founder himself lost heart over his project, and, chagrined with its miscarriage, penned a letter to Dorislaus, which Ward says he saw, 'to will him to be gone into his country, but he would assure him of his stipend[1].' There is good reason for supposing that Brooke still cherished the hope that Dorislaus would some day resume his lectures under happier auspices; for, by a codicil to his will, made between February and September 1628, he nominated him to be lecturer on his foundation for life[2], but we have no evidence that Dorislaus ever lectured at Cambridge again. To quote the pregnant language of Fuller, a resident in the university at the time of this episode, the unfortunate scholar, 'accused to the king, troubled at court, and, after his submission, hardly restored to his place...was himself made an history at his death, slain in Holland, when first employed ambassador from the Commonwealth unto the States of the United Provinces[3].' It has been noted, indeed, as a singular coincidence that the chancellor of the university at the time when Dorislaus read his lecture, the founder of the lectureship[4], and the lecturer himself, all alike met with a violent death at the hands of assassins[5].

CHAP

He quits Cambridge but Lord Brooke retains h in his lectureal

Although the endowment appears to have been professedly appropriated to its original purpose long after the death of both the founder and the first lecturer, the office was probably a sinecure. Carter, who attempted to trace the succession in the chair, could find, at a considerable interval, the names of only two readers, and these both in 'holie orders,' while there is nothing to shew that either of them

[1] Ussher, *Works*, xv 404.

[2] '...And I do by these presents nominate and appoint doctor Isaac Dorislaus to be the first reader of the said Lecture during his life and to have and enjoy the said annuity soe long as hee shall continue lecturer and attend the said Lecture and duely performe the same there.' *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, cxxvi, no. 78.

[3] Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 313.

[4] Lord Brooke was mortally wounded 1 Sept. 1628) by an old servantman, one Ralph Haywood, who witnessed his master's will and was incensed at the omission of his own name in it. Haywood, after the act, retired to another room and committed suicide, but his victim lingered on until the 30th of the month.

[5] Dorislaus was assassinated by a band of royalist refugees in revenge for the part which he took in the trial and condemnation of Charles I. This took place at the Hague in May 1649. Van Der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek*, IV 277-8.

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actually lectured[1]. He came to the conclusion that the endowment had lapsed, although 'by what means' he says he is unable to discover. Baker, some years before, had already pronounced it to have been 'lost by the iniquity of the times[2].'

In the mean time the university, in no slight perplexity in deciding on Buckingham's successor, appealed to royalty for guidance. 'Like a soul without a body,' wrote the vice-chancellor to Charles, 'she stirs not, till your majesty's directions breathe life again, in the choice of another.' The king responded to this appeal by recommending the election of the earl of Holland, 'lately a member of your owne body and well knowne to you all, whose hearty affection to advance religion and learninge generally in our kingdomes, and especially in the fountaynes, cannot be doubted of[3].' Henry Rich, second son of the earl of Warwick, had been created a peer in 1624. He had received his education at Emmanuel College[4], and was now in his thirty-ninth year. Not a few anticipated that he would prove able to serve the university in a manner inferior only to the intentions of his predecessor. He was high in favour at Court; had gained the goodwill of Buckingham by his pliability in connexion with the Spanish marriage; and already filled more than one high office of State. 'A very well bred man and a fine gentleman,' to quote the description of Clarendon, and noted for his gallantries; but one whose career was marred by a want of principle and a spirit of reckless self-aggrandizement which ultimately brought him to the scaffold. No opposition, however, was offered to his election. In tendering his thanks to the electors, he could not but refer to the fate of his predecessor; and, in solemn terms, which might afterwards well seem to

[1] Carter's list (*Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* p. 459) is as follows:
1. Isaac Dorislaus.
2.
3.
4. Dr George, canon of Carlisle.
5. Dr Holmes, 1736' [probably a confusion with Oxford, where, in this same year, William Holmes, dean of Exeter, succeeded to the chair of History].

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 212.

[3] *Cabala*, 388, 205; quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, III 207.

[4] Both he and his elder brother, the earl of Warwick, entered the College in 1603, and both of them interested themselves actively in the colonising of America. Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 52.

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foreshadow his own end, adverted to 'the condition of man,' CHAP. —'so frail and his time so short here[1].'

With the voice of the teacher of history silenced, and controversy in theology and doctrine placed under a ban, Laud found himself in a position to give full effect to his own views in relation to the higher learning. Those views strongly resembled, were in some respects almost identical with, the theory of education advocated by the Jesuits. Laud was unquestionably desirous to widen the field of knowledge in the universities, to render their treatment of the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium* more intelligent and thorough, and more especially to give to philology an importance and a prominence far greater than it had as yet attained to in any university in Christendom. But here, like the Jesuit, he halted. He would sanction no effort to apply the extended knowledge and the deeper insight thus acquired to the discussion of dogma, or to the existing creed and organisation of the English Church. Whatever the study of the Semitic languages might effect in rendering the Old Testament or the commentaries of the Rabbis more intelligible, the canon of Scripture, as sanctioned by the Church and reproduced in the 'Authorized Version,' must not be called in question. Whatever a more advanced criticism and a profounder scholarship might suggest towards modifying the interpretation of the New Testament, an 'assent in general' would none the less rigorously be demanded for the Articles 'established in Parliament in the 13th of Elizabeth[2].' But while Laud held that, to quote his own expressions, it was 'a divine and infallible revelation by which the originals of Scripture were first written,' he conceded that a manuscript—'the copy' as he terms it—might be by no means infallible; and he considered that 'according to art and science' each manuscript might and should 'be examined by former preceding copies, close up to the very Apostles' time[3].' And into this channel of activity it appears

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 208; *Cabala*, p. 254.

[2] *Works* (ed. 1849), VI 12.

[3] 'Conference with Fisher': *Ibid.* II 112.

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to have been his aim largely to direct the labour of the divine and scholar at the two English universities. To collate the original Hebrew text with Samaritan and Syriac versions, to ascertain with greater accuracy the genealogy of the Patriarchs, to transcribe, decipher and elucidate those numerous manuscripts both in England and abroad, of which Selden, Ussher and De Dieu had already indicated the importance, would be a bestowal of time and toil which would dignify the worker, while it could hardly fail to raise the reputation of the Church of England for scholarship and learning. In some measure, doubtless, in that Oxford which he did so much to adorn, and within the precincts of his own College with its fair gardens, the former fellow and tutor of St John's had himself realised the tranquil pleasures of a life unselfishly given to the attainment of a knowledge of the Past,—knew something of the joy which comes to the researcher as in the pages of each neglected manuscript, in dimly decipherable character and archaic diction, he descries some item of evidence that serves to amplify or qualify his impressions of a distant time,—knew how, under the influence of such experiences, the mind itself becomes more dispassionate, the judgement sounder, while traditional prejudices fade away as we mark the ebb and flow of doctrines that are no more! And if, with the recollection of what took place at Dordrecht ever present to his mind, and the denunciatory voices at Sion House still ringing in his ears, Laud came to the conclusion that it would be better both for Oxford and for Cambridge that, at least for a while, there should be less of angry controversy and more of genuine acquirement, he stood certainly not alone.

To De Dieu, who taught in the Collège Wallon at Leyden, we may fairly assign the credit of having been one of the first to break away from the fatal theory so confidently advanced by Mede,—that Hebrew was the parent tongue from whence all other languages were derived,—and to discern the family relationship of the Semitic group[1]. But both Joseph Scaliger and Casaubon, a generation before,

[1] See Vol. II 418-9.

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had clearly perceived the collateral service which a knowledge of Arabic might render to critical researches connected with the Scriptures. The former, for whom Hallam rightly claims 'the glory of having been the first real Arabic scholar' of this period, had, in his *de Emendatione Temporum* (1583), made considerable use of Arabic documents, among which were included not only versions of Aristotle's chief writings but also of the Old and New Testament. Portions of these had been given to the learned world by Erpenius, whose fine collection of Arabic manuscripts was already in Cambridge, to have been followed by matrices of all his Oriental founts had they not been intercepted by Elzevir, the printer, at Leyden[1]. James Golius, who now sat in the chair of Erpenius, was professor both of mathematics and of Arabic. He compiled a Latin-Arabic lexicon, corresponded with Descartes, and was known to a wide circle of scholars and savants throughout Europe. His brother Peter, who shared his linguistic ability, came under the influences of the Counter-Reformation and deserted the Protestant ranks for those of Catholicism. He was widely known by his translation of the *De Imitatione* into Arabic; and he also rendered valuable service as a corrector of the proof-sheets of the Bible, in the same language, which issued from the press of the Propaganda in Rome.

Erpenius: b. 1584, d. 1624.

James Golius: b. 1596, d. 1667.

Peter Golius: d. 1672.

At Cambridge, the earliest representative of these studies in the first half of the century was William Bedwell, a nephew of Thomas Bedwell, a fellow of Trinity, and well known in his day as a mathematician and engineer, and himself a scholar on the same foundation. He subsequently attracted the notice of Lancelot Andrewes, by whom he was presented to the vicarage of Tottenham High Cross. In this sphere of labour he managed to carry on his studies, mathematical as well as linguistic, became the correspondent of Casaubon and Erpenius, and compiled an Arabic lexicon.

Thomas Bedwell: d. 1608. William Bedwell: d. 1632.

His work in Arabic.

[1] —'his matrices of the Oriental tongues are bought by Elzevir the printer there; so that now you must content yourselves with his manuscripts only, which are a very rare treasure indeed, and for which your university shall rest much beholden to your chancellor.' Usher to Ward, 23 June 1626. *Works*, xv 342; Letter no. cx.

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But for our present purpose it is more important to note the emphatic testimony which he bears to the real and practical value of a knowledge of Arabic at that time. In 1612 he managed to get printed at the Plantin press at Antwerp a manuscript translation of the Epistles of St John into Arabic[1], made probably in the fourteenth century, and in his Preface 'to the pious reader' he sums up in a forcible manner the various arguments which may be urged on behalf of the study of the language. He points out the vastness of the area over which the Muhammadan faith extended in his day, so that Christianity, he observes, can scarcely claim to possess a third portion of the inhabited globe[2]. And wherever that faith was professed, from the Fortunate Islands to the Moluccas, there Arabic was both a written and a spoken language, and in religion the only one. It was used alike in the charters and diplomatic correspondence of royalty and in the deeds and contracts of noble houses and mercantile firms. It is Arabic, moreover, which, next to Greek and Latin, can boast the largest array of works of learning and of general knowledge. In medicine, again, what a throng of writers it exhibits, Rhasin[a], Abin-Sennam[3], Mesuem, Serapion[b]! What a wealth of ancient literature, moreover, lies hidden in the translations which it enshrines of numerous Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Persian, Chaldaean and Egyptian authors,—authors of whom the original texts have in many cases disappeared, or are extant only in corrupt and fragmentary condition[4]. Three hundred years before, when Clement V presided at the Council of Vienne, was it not decreed with a view to the conversion of

[1] *D. Iohannis Apostoli & Evangelistae Epistolae Catholicae omnes, Arabicae ante aliquot secula factae, ex antiquissimo MS. exemplari descriptae, et nunc demum Latinae redditae. Opera et studio Wilhelmi Bedwelli Hastingsbergensis A. Saxonis.* Raphelengii, 1612.

[2] 'Cuicunque vero Mohamedis religio patet, ubi Arabum lingua in [illegible] usu est. Hoc ipse legislator mandatis verbis sub poena capitis sanxerit. Tantum autem Mohamedis religio patet, teste Postello, ut vix tertia pars terrarum Orbis nobis Christianis reliqua sit.' *Praef.* A 2.

[3] *i.e.* 'Ibn Sínâ' or Avicenna: see Vol. I 98.

[4] Compare the language of Castell half a century later, in his *Oratio in Schodis Theologicis habita* (Londini, 1667), p. 24:—'quibus omnibus vitiis, manum adferunt medicam translationes Chaldaica, Syriaca, Samaritica, Aethiopica, *prae aliis autem Arabicarum aliqua.*'

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the Infidel that at each great *studium generale*[1] the Arabic languages should be taught? CHAP.

None of the reasons which actuated the foregoing scholars in their efforts to extend the study of Arabic can well have been absent from Laud's consideration when he established the professorship which bears his name at Oxford, and it was Bedwell's most distinguished pupil, Edward Pococke, whom he instituted to the post. But Bedwell himself died at an advanced age in 1632, and Cambridge was under the necessity of finding a teacher of Arabic for herself. Founder of the professorship of Arabic 1632.

In the month of November 1629, Holdsworth had been appointed Gresham Divinity Lecturer in London, and his lectures, although delivered in Latin, were attended by numerous auditors[2], among whom was a prosperous draper named Thomas Adams, afterwards Master of his Company and Lord Mayor. Adams had been educated at Trinity College and was now well known to the civic community of London as a staunch royalist and a man of exemplary life. While at the university he not improbably became acquainted with Abraham Wheelock, who also graduated from Trinity and had subsequently held a fellowship at Clare. The latter was at this time in circumstances which led him to endeavour to combine his tenure of the incumbency of St Sepulchre's Church with the twofold office of university librarian and university amanuensis. The office of librarian was poorly paid, for thirty-seven years were yet to elapse before the library received its first endowment at the hands of the generous Tobias Rustat; and the Registry still preserves the bond in £200 which Wheelock gave for due discharge of his duties as librarian according to the rules enacted in 1582[3]. In his performance of those duties he Sir Thos Adams: b. 1583, d. 1661. Abraham Wheelock b. 1593, d. 1653.

[1] At the Council of Vienne, in 1311, it had been decreed that Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldee should be taught by two teachers of each, at Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. See Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, vi 545; also author's *History*, i 91-95.

[2] Ward speaks of 'the great concourse of divines and other scholars, with which his lectures were attended,' a circumstance which is probably to be partly explained by the fact that in those which were afterwards published 'many of the protestant doctrines and practices are defended against the Romish Church.' *Lives*, p. 57.

[3] Luard, *Chronological List*, etc., p. 7. Wheelock's election was in 1629. His necessitous position prior

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approved himself not only a faithful but also a highly intelligent official; 'traces of Wheelock's hand,' observes Bradshaw (his distinguished successor in the post), 'are discernible almost throughout the collection as it existed in his day, and the library seems to have been both well used and well cared for during his term of office[1].' During the leisure afforded by his fellowship at Clare, Wheelock had already devoted considerable attention to the study of the Oriental languages, and more especially to Arabic, and his own position being now assured, he began to urge upon his friend Adams the desirability of instituting a chair of Arabic at Cambridge. He seems to have cherished the hope that some city company might be willing to provide the endowment; Adams, however, saw no hope of help in this direction, but he generously offered himself to provide a stipend of £40 for two or three years, on condition that Wheelock should be the first professor, and he subsequently bestowed a permanent endowment on the chair[2]. In this new capacity, Wheelock became distinguished both as a student and a teacher, and even ventured to essay a formal 'confutation of the Koran[3].' This design he was dissuaded from carrying to completion; and he next appears as engaged upon an edition of the Persian version of the Gospels, with the printing of which he was occupied at the time of his

to that time may be inferred from the fact that in 1625 we find John Gostlin, the vice-chancellor, and six of the other Heads, signing a letter to 'the Right Worshipfull the Mayor and Aldermen of Lyn' in recommendation of Wheelock 'to be Master of your Free School, a place inferiour to his merits, did not his humility and inclination to that kinde of life, move him to condescend thereunto.' It is deserving of note that the writers refer to the giving of such 'testimony' as 'an antient custom of our University.' Baker MSS. xiv 116.

[1] —'we certainly know more of the library and have more materials preserved there for its history from what remains to us of Wheelock's time and that of his immediate successor, William Moore, than we have of any subsequent period down to the last twenty years.' Bradshaw (H.), *The University Library*, p. 19.

[2] On Wheelock's appointment Adams writes, 'I wish you much joy, in the execution of that hopeful employment, that you may be deservedly honored in Cambridge and renowned in England.' Baker MSS. xiv 93; MS. Harleian 7041; *Endowments of the University of Cambridge* (1904), ed. J. Willis Clark, pp. 172–3.

[3] 'I presumed, two years since, to send Mr Hartlib a specimen of my intentions and beginnings of a confutation of the Alcoran; it was, according to my poor skill, a discovery of Mahomet's, to raze out of the faith of the Eastern people the memory of the Three Persons,' etc. Ussher, *Works*, xvi 176.

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death. And, finally, he took an active part in drawing up the plan of Walton's Polyglot, in which the correction of the Arabic and Persian texts was confided entirely to his hands, his labours being interrupted only by his death[1]. CHAP.

The distinguished antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman, whose admission at Trinity dated back to the year 1580, was now over 70, and although, according to the statement of Sir Simonds D'Ewes some years before, was then 'very aged and almost blind,' was notwithstanding deep in his labours on his famous compilation of the original sources for English Church History,—a performance which may be said to have initiated a new phase of historical study. It was owing to the difficulties which presented themselves in the interpretation of his Anglo-Saxon authorities while he was thus occupied, that Wheelock, in turn, found himself consulted by Spelman as to the possibility of founding another chair at Cambridge, for a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon[2]. Spelman's design found an influential sympathiser in Matthew Wren, by this time bishop of Norwich and dean of the Chapel Royal; his own official experience suggested a method whereby to raise the requisite funds; and eventually the lectureship was established, an endowment being provided from the stipend of the impropriate rectory of Middleton[3],—

Sir Henry Spelman b. 1562. d. 1641.

Spelman's letter to Wheelock 28 Sept. 1

Foundation of a lectureship in Anglo-Saxon. 1638.

[1] *D. N. B.* LX 443. It is to be noted that Wheelock regarded these labours as strictly obligatory on one who filled the post of University Librarian. 'I am tied' [*i.e.* bound], he wrote in 1652, 'by my places as Librarie-Keeper and Amanuensis...to promote and assist what I can the publishing of the Saxon and Oriental antiquities.' Todd, *Memoirs of Brian Walton*, I 232. In 1636, the vice-chancellor and Heads formally thanked Adams, on receiving notification of his desire to settle the professorship 'for perpetuity.' 'The worke itselfe,' they add, 'we conceive to tend not only to the advancement of good literature, by bringing to light much knowledge which is as yet lockt up in that learned tongue, but also to the service of the King and State in our commerce with those Eastern nations, and in God's good time to the enlarging of Christian religion to them who now sit in darknesse. The gentilman you have pitched uppon for your professor, Mr Abraham Wheelocke, we doe every way approve of both for his abilities and for his faithful paines and diligence in that employment.' *Ibid.* I 236 n.

[2] *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camd. Society), p. 153.

[3] Spelman's famous treatise *De non temerandis Ecclesiis* (1613) proved, we are told, highly influential in awakening the consciences of lay impropriators, so that during his residence in London, which dated from the publication of that work, 'there came to him almost every term' those anxious 'to consult with him how they might legally *restore and dispose of* their impropriations.' *Reliquiae Spelmannicae* (ed. Gibson), p. 64.

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CHAP. I. Wheelock himself being appointed the first lecturer[1]. He had however no successor; for on his death in 1653 the office was discontinued, the stipend being applied by Sir John Spelman (the eldest son of Sir Henry) in assisting William Somner, Laud's former protégé and registrar, to bring his Anglo-Saxon Dictionary to completion.

The theory which king James had first distinctly enunciated,—that every college in the university was as amenable to the royal authority as the university itself[2],—had been acted upon with increased vigour by Charles; and both Holland, as chancellor at Cambridge, and Laud, on his accession to the corresponding office at Oxford, alike used their utmost endeavours to give it practical effect. Each university now began to look upon Court influence as the most effective means of promotion not merely in the Church but in the college, and it was rarely that any academic society was inspired by such a spirit of independence as to offer to a royal mandate anything but servile acquiescence. Occasionally, indeed, it was sought to evade the recognition of such right of interference by an act of 'prenomination,' and when the mandate arrived it was met by the reply that the college authorities themselves had already elected the royal

[1] On the occasion of the election of two representatives of the University in 1640 (see *infra*, ch. III) Sir Henry was induced to become a candidate. He was beaten, however, by Henry Lucas of St John's, who as secretary to the chancellor, the earl of Holland, had probably powerful supporters. But neither candidate could claim any intimate knowledge of the University, for while Spelman's residence at Trinity had been cut short by his father's sudden death, Lucas, although resident for some time at St John's, had never matriculated. It is evident that Wheelock interested himself warmly in his patron's candidature, for in the latter part of the year we find Spelman writing to express the 'comfort' he had derived from the fact 'that so many worthy men of your University were pleased in this late election of their Burgesses for the Parliament, to cast their thoughts on me (not dreaming of it) to be one of them. Had it succeeded,' he goes on to say, 'I should to the utmost extent of these poor abilities that ruinous old age hath left unto me, endevored (as duty tied me) to have done the best service I could to the Churche, the Kyngdome, and her my ever honored and deare Mother your famouse University.'...'Your loving Frende, Henry Spelman. Barbican 9 Nov: 1640.'

[2] See Corrie (G. E.), *Brief Historical Notices of the Interference of the Crown*, etc., p. 51.

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nominee[1]; or where the kingly choice fell upon an individual not acceptable to the society, it would be represented that the fellowship in question was a supernumerary one and had lapsed with the vacancy[2]. Such resistance, however, was certainly exceptional; and it was at this juncture that the Commons, with the evident design of shielding the colleges, brought in an Act 'to prevent Corruption in Presentations and Collations to Benefices and in Elections to Headships, Fellowships, and Scholars places, in Colleges and Halls.' This Act, which was read a second time and referred to a Committee on the 23rd Feb. 1629, would doubtless have become law had it not been for the dissolution in the following March[3].

CHAP. I

On the church patronage of the university, the Crown laid an equally unsparing hand, and Laud, with his usual keenness of perception, made the afternoon lectureship at Trinity church an object of special attack. There it was that the best talent of the university found that channel for the exposition of Calvinistic doctrine and an appeal to Puritan sympathies which the pulpit of Great St Mary's no longer

Endeavours of Laud to suppress the lectureship at Trinity Church.

[1] A noteworthy instance occurred at King's College, where one 'William Fairebrother,' a scholar of Eton, recommended by the provost, Sir Henry Wotton, 'as one of the best hope and proficiencie in the sayd College both for scholarship and maners,' was accepted by 'prenomination.' In this case the college, convinced of the merits of the candidate, seems notwithstanding to have sought to guard its independence by 'prevention,' and Dr Collins, the provost of King's, thus reported the matter to Holland. *Original Letters in King's College Library*, Vol. IV (really Vol. III), no. 31. *Brief Memoranda of Business of the University of Cambridge transacted since 'my lord'* [Holland] *was Chancellor*. Aug. 1628 to 29 Oct. 1629. *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, CXIV, no. 79.

[2] Such was the case when, George Seaton's fellowship at St John's having become vacant by marriage, one Wm. Evelin obtained letters mandatory for his election. The college speak of the fellowship as an 'imaginary' one, as no longer existent, having lapsed with Seaton's marriage. '25 Aprill 1629.' Brief Memoranda, *u. s.*; Baker-Mayor, p. 496.

[3] In the treasury of St John's College are two letters written in 1641 which testify to the spirit of resistance which these mandates at length began to evoke. They are addressed, one to the earl of Holland, the other to Newcastle, and embody a direct refusal to elect certain persons who had been recommended by those noblemen. Holland had twice recommended a son of Sir John Watts; the college reply that he is but young, 'yet the beames of your favour will ripen him the sooner for the like preferment,' whereas we 'have many in the college whose fortunes were at the last gasp; and if not now releived, their hopes extinct.' Newcastle recommends one Richard Pye, while the society protest against the intrusion of 'a stranger, whome to adopt were not onely to bastard her present issue, but to dismember all succeeding hopes.' See Baker-Mayor, pp. 528 9.

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afforded them; and thither, interspersed with the graver element among the undergraduates, the townsmen from the fourteen parishes into which Cambridge was divided, assembled to listen to discourses such as few other pulpits in the kingdom could rival for eloquence and ability. The appointment to the lectureship, though but slenderly endowed, was consequently always warmly contested. When Preston, with his known leanings to Puritanism, was a candidate in 1624, no slight efforts were made to induce him to withdraw. On the one hand, he was offered the bishopric of Gloucester[1]; on the other, if we may credit Ball, it was represented to him 'that it was a lecture mainteyned by sixpences, a thinge unseemely for a master of a college and the Prince's chaplin[2].' In 1626 Preston was succeeded in the office by Sibbes, also, like Preston, one of Ussher's most distinguished disciples, but who accepted the appointment only on the special solicitation of the townsmen[3]. And now, in 1628, Sibbes was succeeded by one whom both he and Preston held in high regard,—the afterwards eminent Thomas Goodwin of St Catherine's College[4]. Buckeridge, bishop of Ely, whose sympathy with Laud in the Montagu controversy has already claimed our attention, alarmed at this growing tradition of Puritan doctrine, strongly opposed Goodwin's appointment. All his efforts, however, were in vain; and then it was that Laud sought to carry the position by what may be termed a flank movement. In 1630 he issued instructions that throughout the kingdom all afternoon sermons should be 'turned into catechising,' and in pursuance of this mandate the lectureship at Trinity church seemed threatened with extinction. Goodwin's supporters, however, parried the attack with considerable

[1] See Vol. II of author's *History*, p. 372, where for 'Chichester' read 'Gloucester.'

[2] *Life of Preston* (ed. Harcourt), pp. 28, 29.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, III 229, n. (2), where the letter to Sibbes is printed. Cooper supposes the lectureship to have 'originated' in this 'requisition'; as Dorchester's letter, however, it is expressly spoken of as having 'been held for many yeares past.' MSS. Baker, XXVII 137. Grosart (*Sibbes*, I cxi) cites a document in Rymer's *Foedera* (XIX 536) which shows that in 1633 Sibbes was presented by Laud to the vicarage of Trinity Church.

[4] Originally of Christ's College, whence he had migrated in 1619, having graduated B.A. three years before. Bp. of Bristol, *St Catharine's College*, p. 117.

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dexterity. They represented to the earl of Dorchester, secretary of state, that the university sermon was preached at the same hour on the Sunday and that there was reason to apprehend that it 'would be troubled with a greater resort than can well be permitted yf the towne sermon should be discontinued.' The university sermon was so frequently the occasion of irreverent behaviour on the part of the undergraduates that the contingency suggested must have come home very forcibly to Laud, especially intent on the restoration of order and decorum at the services of the Church; Dorchester, accordingly, received instructions to notify to the vice-chancellor that 'his Majestie being graciously pleased that the said Lecture may be continued at the accustomed hower and in manner as yt hath ben heretofore used, hath given me in charge to make knowne to you his Royal pleasure accordingly, but under this Caution that not only Divine Service but Catechising be duely read and used after that Sermon ended both in that and the rest of the Churches of the Towne; and that *the sermon doe end in convenient tyme for that purpose*, soe as no pretext be made either for the present or in future tyme *by color of the foresaid sermon to hinder either Divine Service or Catechising*, which his Majestie is resolved to have maintained[1].'

This virtual compromise of the question served to avert Laud's attack, while the townsmen's sense of the value of the lectureship and their desire to maintain it as an institution were proportionately enhanced. And we find Thomas Randolph[2], when a year or two later he was smarting under the importunities of his Cambridge duns and turned upon them with the weapons of satire, after a series of maledictions hurled at those who, as he avers, suffered him neither 'to eat, study, or pray,' could conceive no direr menace, by way of climax, than to threaten 'to put Trinity lecture down[3].' The real importance attached to the appointment is, indeed, shewn by the fact that for nearly twenty years it was held

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 230.

[2] *Infra*, p. 108.

[3] 'And if this vex 'um not, I'll grieve the town With this curse, States, put Trinity lecture down.' *Poetical Works* (ed. Hazlitt), pp. 643–6.

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by Whichcote, who was succeeded, we are told, by 'a combination of learned fellows of colleges[1].'

The dissolution of Charles's third Parliament, followed as it was by the suspension of all free debate for a period of eleven years, has been described 'as the darkest hour of Protestantism, whether in England or in the world at large.' At Cambridge it must have seemed a darkness visible, when, a few months later, the ordinary course of studies and the ardour of theological controversy were alike brought to a standstill by the recurrence of the plague. Joseph Mede, opening his very newsletters with timorous hand, punctually retailed to his distinguished kinsman in Suffolk the signs of its approach. How it raged in London, had broken out at Northampton, had reached Histon and Girton, and had already carried off Oxford's chancellor, the earl of Pembroke. The students were sent down, and on the 28th April he reports the university as being 'in a manner wholly dissolved, all meetings and exercises ceasing[2]'; while a month later, Ward, writing to Ussher, describes the 'School gates' as 'shut up' and the colleges as 'left desolate.' 'There have died,' he adds, 'of this infection, from the last of February till the 24th of April, 24 persons, and since then till May 15, thirty more, and seven more. The magistrates are careful. But the charge groweth great, both in maintaining the infected and the poor among us, which want both means and work.' Yet a month later and Mede himself had taken refuge at Dalham with his relatives, Sir Martin and Lady Stuteville, nor did he return to Cambridge until nearly the close of the year. Hobson, the carrier, discontinued his visits to London; the midsummer assizes were removed to Royston. In the town itself the distress grew so dire that Cambridge was fain to petition the Crown for aid, and a royal brief, addressed to the chief dignitaries and officials of the realm, both civil and

[1] See *Eight Letters of Tuckney and* [illegible] (ed. S. Salter), ed. 1753, p. 3 n.

[2] *Court and Times of Charles the First*, ii 75. — 'none but fellows to go forth, or any to be let in without the consent of the major part of our society, of which we have but seven at home at this instant. Only a sizer may go, with his tutor's ticket, upon an errand.' *Ib.* ii 76.

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ecclesiastical, recommended the cause of the afflicted community to their Christian charity. It pointed out how a large body of poor who had been wont to earn a livelihood 'by their commerce and trafique as well with the schollers as with the countrey' were now reduced by the departure of the university to the greatest extremities, and, owing to the universal dread of infection, were unable to obtain fresh employment elsewhere. No less than 2,800 persons, it is stated, were thus left entirely destitute. London responded to this appeal with 'a signal bounty,' which, says Fuller, 'deserves never to be forgotten.' 'Some thousands' were contributed by the metropolis; and Norwich, grateful for its own immunity from the visitation, sent a handsome sum. 'It was not till January 1630–31,' says Cooper, 'that the town was sufficiently free from the distemper to allow of a cessation of the weekly payments to the poor. Altogether 347 died of the plague and 617 of all diseases, and 839 families, consisting of 2,858 persons, were relieved by charity[1].' On the 20th of November, commons were resumed in Trinity College; and in the following year the matriculations throughout the university, which had fallen in 1630 to 75, rose to 662[2]. CHAP. Subsequent effects.

Fuller, whose keen sense of the humorous and the incongruous rarely deserts him, even in the presence of the most tragical episodes, notes how the visitation served to cheapen degrees and lower the standard of attainment. 'The corruption of the air,' he says, 'proved the generation of many doctors, graduated in a clandestine sort of way without keeping any Acts, to the great disgust of those who had fairly gotten their degrees with public pains and expense. Yea, The plague facilitates attainment the degree doctor.

[1] *Annals*, III 228. Cooper cites as his authority the *History of the Town* by John Bowtell, a Cambridge stationer who died in 1813 (see *Ibid.* IV 505–6). Dr Creighton (*Hist. of Epidemics*, I 506), who speaks of this visitation of the plague at Cambridge as 'a very small one at the most,' says that 'from first to last it produced 214 deaths, known or suspected, from plague.' He cites the 'Memoranda' of Thomas Archer, fellow of Trinity College and afterwards vicar of Houghton Conquest, who was living at the time of the visitation. As a contemporary, Archer's statement might seem to carry more weight than Bowtell's; but the former (see Life in *D. N. B.*) is supposed to have died in 1630, and the discrepancy in numbers may be accounted for by supposing that his 'Memoranda' give the total of deaths only down to the time of his own decease.

[2] See Appendix E.

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Dr Collins, being afterwards to admit an able man doctor, did (according to the pleasantness of his fancy) distinguish *inter cathedram pestilentiae et cathedram eminentiae*, leaving it to his auditors easily to apprehend his meaning therein[1].' It was while the plague was at its height that the royal influence was exerted to set aside the claims of John Milton to a fellowship at Christ's College in favour of his friend, Edward King, whose fate he subsequently immortalised in his *Lycidas*. A royal mandate extinguished his only chance, for he was now in his twenty-third year, while King was but eighteen. But whatever blame attaches to the transaction belongs rather to Milton's monarch than to his college[2]. Edward King was perhaps discerned to be the better churchman; but before ten years had passed away, an untimely fate had deprived the English Church of the services of the one, and conscientious conviction, of those of the other.

If Dr Collins had been one to whom it could afford any consolation to know that Cambridge was not the only sufferer from this visitation among the universities of Europe, he might have found it in a letter which he received, while the plague was at its height, from Peter Salmon at Padua. Salmon, a former member of Trinity College, was now resident at Padua, and he reports that the greater portion of the students at that famed centre of learning have been dispersed by the same cause. Otherwise, a pleasant letter, affording us an interesting glimpse of the Padua of those days, with its 'many faire built monasteries,' among which Santa Giustina, the house of the Benedictines, appeared to Salmon to surpass even Trinity College; while its annual revenue, he asserts, is reported to be 'very neere that of our whole university, being at least a 100 000 duckets per annum.' His chief admiration, however,

[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 317.

[2] Baker on a note to a copy of the *Justa Edouardo King naufrago*, etc. in St John's College Library) says very justly: 'If Milton had any resentment, it must have been against the King, for sending his Mandat. The College gave him no offence, nor did Mr King, whom he laments so passionately and elegantly at the conclusion of these obsequies.' As however Dr Peile points out, Milton's grievance was enhanced by the fact that King, 'who was born in Ireland but counted as a Yorkshireman,' was put 'into a *southern* fellowship.' See author's article in *D. N. B.* xxxi 128 9; Peile, *Christ's College*, p. 137.

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CHAP.

is reserved for the Schools, 'where two professors of every faculty reade at the same houre, with greate emulation one of another, contending for the greatest number of auditors.' 'The number of students,' he adds, 'is not inferiour to those of Cambridge, but promiscuously consisteinge of most nations in Christendome[1].'

Death of Hobson the carrier, 1 Jan. 16

On the first of January 1631, at the advanced age of 85, died Hobson, the carrier,—not indeed a victim of the plague itself, but his business was suspended by it, and, to use Milton's expression, 'he sickened in his vacancy.' While the name of many a Cambridge scholar has passed into oblivion, that of the honest trader has survived, immortalised by the pens of two illustrious sons of the university,—the greatest poet and perhaps the greatest wit that adorned our literature in the seventeenth century. Hobson was interred in St Benet's Church, where he had probably attended during his lifetime, as we find that he presented it with a large bible. A street in Cambridge was subsequently named after him, his portrait adorns the Guildhall; while his services to his generation have been recorded, not without exaggeration, on the Conduit which bears his name[2].

Mede's description of his return to College.

In the mean time, towards the close of 1630, Joseph Mede had returned to Cambridge. While the epidemic was at its height, he had taken refuge with his friend, Sir Martin Stuteville, at Dalham. From thence, as the alarm declined, on the 20th of October, he had stolen over to survey the melancholy and deserted condition of his beloved college. A glimpse of the internal economy of the college of those times is afforded by his plaintive description: 'I found,' he says,

[1] *King's College Letters*, Vol. IV, no. 30. 'Galileo,' observes Professor Clifford Allbutt, 'taught in Padua for twenty years, including the time when Harvey graduated there...Clinical teaching, initiated in Salerno and advanced by the *Consilia medica*, was formally established in Padua, to be pursued in Heidelberg, Leyden and Vienna.' *Harveian Oration* (1901), pp. 100-1. For the *Consilia medica* see Daremberg, *Histoire et Doctrines*, I 334.

[2] An inscription on the Conduit states that it was built at Hobson's 'sole charge'; this however is pronounced in Clark and Atkinson (p. 69) to be 'certainly incorrect'; he appears simply to have made a bequest for the maintenance of the conduit in his will. In 1855 the conduit was removed from the Market Place to the junction of Trumpington Road and Lensfield Road and occupies a site enclosed with railings immediately opposite the author's house.

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CHAP. I. 'neither scholar nor fellow returned, but Mr Tovey only, and he forced to dine and sup in chamber with Mr Power and Mr Siddall, unless he would be alone and have one of the three women to be his sizar, for there is but one scholar to attend upon them. I being not willing to live in solitude, nor to be joined with such company, after some few hours stay, turned aside to Balsham[1].' It was not until the 27th of November that he found himself reinstated in, what he terms, 'my old and wonted home,' and on turning at the close of the week to indite, as before, his customary Saturday evening letter to Dalham, noted down a formal record of the ravages of the plague in the little society,—a list which, however, comprises only servants and children: 'we are now eight fellows; Benet College, but four; scholars not so many. The most in Trinity and St John's[2].'

Such visitations, it is observable, have generally been concomitant with, and have often ushered in, a demoralised condition of the community at large, and the royal intervention was at this time demanded for the suppression of evils in comparison with which elections to fellowships and questions of dogma might well be deemed of minor importance. To not a few, it now appeared that the boldness of speculation in connexion with doctrine, which the *Declaration* had been designed to repress, was only one phase of the contempt for authority and the spirit of licence which manifested themselves in every direction. Discipline, if we may rely on the evidence afforded by college records and authoritative enactments, was at this period at an exceptionally low ebb at both universities[3], and offences were especially common of

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 387.

[2] *Ibid.* II 389.

[3] '... that the ancient discipline of the two universities famous for good literature and manners, might by some care and authoritie be restored, *which both much declined in these latter yeares as hath beene conceived.*' *State Papers Domestic Charles the First*, CLX. no. 50. Edward Hyde (earl of Clarendon) tells us that he was removed from Oxford by his father, on this very account. This was in 1625. He adds that his elder brother 'had been too much corrupted in that kind'; and for himself 'that it was a very good fortune that his father so soon removed him from the university, though he always reserved a high esteem of it.' *Life of Clarendon* (ed. 1857), I 7. We must take this statement, however, in connexion with the fact that Clarendon was entered at Magdalen soon after he was thirteen.

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CHAP. This part the result of drinki habits.

a kind which suggests the influence of drinking habits, a vice now becoming widely prevalent throughout England; and as the preacher in the church or the conventicle poured forth his denunciations, his voice was drowned by the strains, redolent of the spirit of Omar Khayyam, which rose in the adjacent brothel or tavern. A series of Ordinances given by Charles at Newmarket, on the eve of the outbreak of the plague, reveals the state of affairs at Cambridge in unmistakeable language; students often contracted marriages in the town with 'women of mean estate and of no good fame'; the frequenting of taverns was a matter of serious complaint; and even masters of arts and bachelors of law and medicine, relying on a supposed immunity from interference, resorted to such haunts 'to eat or drink or play or to take tobacco[1],' the authority of those on whom it devolved to enforce discipline being frequently met with open defiance. On the occasion of the royal visit in 1632, it was deemed necessary to enjoin that 'no tobacco be taken in the hall, nor anywhere else publiquely, and that neither at their standing in the streets nor before the Comedye beginne, nor all the tyme there, any rude or immodest exclamations be made; nor any humming, hawking, whistling, hissing, or laughing, be used, or any stamping or knocking, nor any other such uncivill or unschollarlike or boyish demeanour upon any occasion[2].' In March 1636, a 'Consistory' of the vice-chancellor and Heads issued a series of Injunctions, commanding, among other matters relating to minor morals, a reverent bearing on the part of students towards superiors; forbidding the wearing of long hair hanging over the forehead or the ears, the use of 'unseemly bands,' 'absence without college walls after eight of the clock at night,' or 'at any time to go to range abroad out of their colleges into the town or any other places in the country without leave of their tutor or the chief governers of every college.' Bedmakers under the age of fifty, 'at the least,' were not to be employed[3]. The admission of 'boys or

Ordinance of 1630.

Academ Injunctio issued on occasion the royal 22 Mar. 1

Injunctio issued in 1636 with respect t costume meetings &c.

[1] *Cabala*, p. 204; Cooper, *Annals*, III 221-2.

[2] Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, III 45 n.

[3] Cooper (from the *Stat. Academiae*, p. 487), *Annals*, III 273.

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men ignorant of letters,' on the other hand, for the discharge of such duties, was at this time systematically discouraged, as tending to deprive poor scholars of their means of livelihood[1].

It was not merely the licence which prevailed in connexion with the 'Comedye' but also the character of these compositions themselves, that brought about the discontinuance of such performances at this period. When royalty came, on the occasion above referred to, there were two comedies, one by Peter Hausted of Queens', the other by Thomas Randolph of Trinity; both of which were expressly written for the occasion, each author abandoning the customary Latin garb for plain vernacular English. Their efforts, however, met with a very dissimilar reception. Hausted was already known to his fellow-collegians and apparently not very favorably. In the preceding year he had written his *Senile Odium*, to which a special value attaches from the fact that, when printed (in 1633), it was preluded by some Latin iambics from the pen of Edward King, the 'Lycidas' of Milton. These lines are addressed to Hausted himself, 'in festivissimam ejus Comoediam,' but they clearly shew that in bringing out the play he had had to encounter a considerable amount of disfavour among the junior members of the university, and the whole drift of King's verses is to encourage his friend not to falter before the

Vanus cachinnus, aut ciconia impotens

of the undergraduates.

On what account Hausted was disliked it is difficult to say; but it is evident that when, in March 1632, his *Rival Friends* was produced, its fate was largely forestalled by his own personal unpopularity[2]. Hausted himself, when in the

[1] 'Cum contra antiqua Academiae et collegiorum statuta paucis abhinc annis intra collegiorum parietes pueri et viri litterarum rudes, et penitus inepti qui processum aliquem in studiis academicis faciant, et feminae praesertim irrepserint ad ea opera facienda quae a studiosis egenis ad eorum impensas sustentandas fieri solebant, unde et pauperibus scholaribus grave damnum, et Universitati scandalum domi, foris opprobrium, accreverint, etc.' Dyer, *Privileges*, I 318; *Stat. Acad. Cantab.* p. 482.

[2] Masson's view (*Life of Milton*, II 253) that the play was unpopular

following year his performance was printed in London, was fain to describe it as 'cried down by boys, faction, envy and confident ignorance,' and himself as the victim of 'black-mouthed calumny' and 'base aspersions and unchristianlike slanders,' although he claims that his production was 'approved by the judicious.' Randolph, on the other hand, at this time a major fellow of Trinity, who, to use his own expression, 'contented liv'd by Cham's fair stream,' was undoubtedly the superior genius. He was already intimate with Ben Jonson; and was highly popular in the university, not least on account of the time and energy he was wont to expend in bringing out comedies and drilling the performers in their respective parts. His '*Aristippus, or the Joviall Philosopher*,' which had been acted in the preceding year, was as decided a success as the *Senile Odium* had proved a failure, dexterously courting, as it did, the more frivolous element in the university, on the one hand, by satirising the existing methods of education, and, on the other, by lauding the prevailing vice of tippling. The *Jealous Lovers* appealed with no less force to the same class, by the skill with which it invested with an air of freshness the theme familiar to the students of Plautus. When printed it appeared with a dedication to Dr Comber, the master of Trinity, and with some complimentary verses from the pen of James Duport. That eminent Grecian did not hesitate, indeed, to ascribe Randolph's success to genuine merit, while he intimated that verses like those of Edward King were but a feeble and fruitless endeavour to divert the public judgement from a just award of commendation.

Hausted's description of the reception of his own comedy.

The Jealous Lovers.

On the king's return from Scotland in 1633, Randolph put forth yet another effusion, as a contributor to the volume of academic verses congratulatory on that event[1], published by the University Press. After this he becomes somewhat

Randolph's subsequent career.

because it carried a 'political moral,' seems a somewhat inadequate explanation. *Ignoramus*, for instance (see author's *History*, II 528), which carried with it a like moral, had been received with enthusiasm a few years before. Hausted's play was directed against the abuses of ecclesiastical patronage.

[1] *Rex Redux sive Musæ Cantabrigienses voti damnas de incolumitate et felici reditu Regis Caroli post receptam Coronam Comitiaque peracta in Scotia*. Ann. Dom. 1633.

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lost to view amid the dissipations of London life, and the literary intercourse of its clubs, until, with failing health and sorely harassed by creditors both at Cambridge and in Town, he was fain to take refuge in the country with his relatives and admirers; and eventually, while scarcely thirty years of age, ended his brief career at the house of his friend William Stafford of Blatherwick. Over that grave the voice of censure was silent; the marble monument to his memory in the church at Blatherwick was erected by his patron lord Hatton; the inscription which it bore was composed by his former rival Hausted; while Duport, who had been his schoolfellow at Westminster, penned an impassioned tribute to his genius, wherein extravagance of eulogy may be condoned as inspired by the partiality of friendship[1]. Hausted himself, who survived his rival only ten years, wrote no more comedies; but contented himself with the composition of hymns and sermons,—most notable among the former being his *Hymnus Tabaci*[2]; among the latter a discourse on 'The Pharisee and the Publicane,' which sets forth with grave but trenchant irony alike the prevailing foibles and the more serious derelictions of the clergy of those days. In 1642 he was created D.D. at Oxford; and three years later was to be heard of as sharing with his patron, the earl of Northampton, the rigours of the siege of Banbury Castle. But long before 'the capital of the Cavaliers[3]' succumbed in May 1646 to the parliamentary forces, Hausted was no more.

Randolph, it may be noted, has also been credited with the authorship of another comedy, the *Cornelianum Dolium*, which the title-page gives as 'auctore T. R. ingeniosissimo hujus aevi Heliconio.' The initials are, however, the only ground for attributing the play to his pen, and both the place and the time of its first performance are unknown; while the subject and the drama, alike coarse in the extreme, could only impair his reputation.

[1] See the lines, beginning *Alpha poetarum, Musarum sole voluptas*, in Duport's *Musae Subsecivae*, pp. 469–70.

[2] Lines in praise of tobacco!

[3] Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, II 484.

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CHAP

William Johnson's *Valetudinarium*.

The scene of the *Valetudinarium* of William Johnson, a fellow of Queens' College, where it was produced in February 1637, is St Bartholomew's Hospital in London; and in the library of Emmanuel College there is preserved the copy which belonged to archbishop Sancroft. The remaining comedies that here call for mention were the productions of the youthful genius of Cowley. He had entered as a scholar at Trinity in 1637; and when only in his second year of residence wrote the *Naufragium Joculare*. The play appears to have been suggested by Heywood's *English Traveller*, which, printed five years before, probably fell into Cowley's hands while he was still a schoolboy at Westminster. His own composition is certainly a poor production, the Latin diction being prosaic and the drama unpoetic; but the same cannot be said of the *Guardian*, an English play which he first wrote under pressure, for the entertainment of the Court, on the occasion of a visit to the university paid by prince Charles in the month of March 1642, and performed before him in Trinity College[1].

Abraham Cowley b. 1618. d. 1667.

His *Naufragium Joculare*.

His *Guardian* afterwards *The Cutter of Coleman Street*.

The play performed before Prince Charles 12 March 164½.

Six months later, however, an ordinance of Parliament enjoined that 'while these sad causes and set times of humiliation continue, public stage-plays shall cease and be forborne[2],'—a general edict which necessarily carried with it the discontinuance of such performances in the universities. It was not accordingly until the year 1658, that Cowley resumed his dramatic pen and recast the *Guardian*. This version of the play appeared, after the Restoration, under the far more familiar name of *The Cutter of Coleman Street* and was first performed (16 Dec. 1661) in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Pepys was one of the audience[3].

Ordinance of Parliament against stage plays.

[1] The royal visit is described in a letter from Joseph Beaumont to his father, dated 21 March 164½: Beaumont was at this time a fellow of Peterhouse (where he was afterwards master) and in the preceding year, according to his biographer, had been 'appointed guardian and director of the manners and learning of the students of that society.' The prince, Beaumont tells us, 'commended the performance and gave all sighnes of great acceptance which he could, and more than the University dared expect.' *Archæologia*, xviii 30. Cowley himself says 'it was but rough-drawn, yet it was acted with great approbation.' *Retrosp. Review*, xii 40.

[2] Gardiner, *u. s.* i 17. 'Prynne,' observes the historian, 'had his way at last though the terms of the announcement were hardly such as to give him complete satisfaction.'

[3] For some account of this litera-

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In enforcing compliance with discipline and ritual, Laud shewed, as even the Puritan party were compelled to admit, considerable patience if but little judgement. What moved him to resentment and sharp repressive measures, was the imputation that his repudiation of Calvinistic teaching, together with his efforts to promote decorum in public worship and the adoption of a more elaborate ritual, simply veiled an ulterior purpose of bringing back the English Church to subjection to the see of Rome. After the dissolution of parliament had deprived the nation of the means of giving formal expression to the popular discontent, these imputations were reiterated with a pertinacity which seemed altogether irrepressible[1]. In 1629, a few weeks after the dissolution, one Nathaniel Bernard, lecturer at St Sepulchre's Church in London, had startled an audience by praying publicly that the queen might be led 'to see Christ, whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition and idolatry[2].' On being summoned before the Court of High Commission, he had however deemed it prudent to make his submission, and had been allowed to depart 'as a young scholler and student in divinity' with whom the court desired 'to deal mercifully and favourably.' The growing strength of the Puritan party at Cambridge is probably to be discerned in the fact that, three years later, when on a visit to some friends in the university, Bernard was invited to preach the afternoon sermon at St Mary's. Untaught or undeterred by his previous experience, he now 'let fall' (to use Prynne's expression) 'divers passages against the introducers of popery and Arminianism,' inveighing in unmeasured terms against those who were 'bringing in their Pelagian errours into the doctrine of our Church established by law, and the superstitions of the Church of Rome into our worship of God, as high altars, crucifixes, and bowing to them, *id est* (in plain

[1] See Wood's *Life and Times* (ed. Andrew Clark), I 19–20; *Retrospective Review*, XII 33.

[1] Gardiner (VII 251), while he terms Laud the 'ruling spirit' of the Court of High Commission, points out that, at this time, 'Abbot was constantly in attendance, and was almost as energetic as Laud in his enforcement of conformity.'

[2] Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, p. 362.

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English) worshipping them; whereby they symbolize with the Church of Rome very shamefully, *to the irreparable shipwracke of many soules who split upon this rocke*[1].' The vice-chancellor, Dr Comber, master of Trinity, at once reported the matter to Laud. 'I am sorry,' wrote the latter in reply, 'you have been troubled at Cambridge with the distempered speeches of any men in the pulpit. And I must confesse I heard of both the particulars you mention, before I received your letter. That in St Johns it seems they have punished[2], and you do very worthily to joyn with them, in case anything for the publique shall be further requisite. And, as for Mr Bernard, I am the more sorry for him, because he is in London within my charge. Nevertheless if he have done unworthily, I shall be very ready to assist you and the university in what I may be able.' Eventually, Bernard was consigned to the 'New Prison,' and, having refused to sign a humiliating recantation, was permitted for a long time to languish there, 'miserably abused,' says Prynne, 'by the keepers, of whom he oft complained without redresse, and in conclusion utterly ruined for speaking out the truth[3].'

CHAP.

Laud's letter to the vice-chancellor

Bernard's fate.

In the following year, the walls of St Mary's were again desecrated by unauthorized utterances,—this time on the subject of Grace,—and the preacher, John Normanton[4], was haled before the vice-chancellor. He too, however, by timely submission, escaped further punishment. In the next year, a manifestation made by one of the opposite party, John Tourney of Pembroke College, who ventured to impugn the doctrine of the Church on the subject of justification by faith, excited more attention, especially when it became evident that the offender was not without sympathisers among the Heads. The master of Sidney, who in a letter to Ussher narrates the circumstances, cannot refrain from expressing his deep concern at the changed tone and feeling of all about him. 'I may truly say,' he writes, 'I never

John Normanton's sermon: 24 March 1633.

Censures denounced upon him by John Tourney, Pembroke College: 1634.

Sir Ward's letter on the aspect of affairs in the university: 16 June 1

[1] *Ibid.* p. 365.

[2] The college records contain no reference to this incident.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 363, 367.

[4] In 1639 he was deprived of his fellowship at Caius and afterwards joined the Roman Church. Vena, i 248.

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knew our university affairs in a worse condition since I was a member thereof, which is almost forty-six years. Not but that I hope the greater part is orthodox; but that new Heads are brought in, and they are backed in maintaining novelties and them which broach new opinions, as I doubt not but you hear; others are disgraced and checked when they come above, as myself was by my lord of York the last Lent, for favouring Puritans in consistory; *and all from false informations from hence, which are believed without any examination.*' 'We have a vice-chancellor,' he adds, 'that favoureth novelties, both in rites and doctrines[1].' As the Nestor of his party, it is evident indeed that Ward had, at this time, to bear the brunt of the attack, and was uncomfortably conscious that his enemies would gladly have driven him both from his chair and from the university. It was probably not without some ulterior motive of this kind, that the dean of Wells, where Ward held a canonry, thought fit to remonstrate with him for not keeping the statutable three months term of residence. As regarded his professorship, Ward declares himself quite ready, on merely personal grounds, to resign, for then he would have 'leisure to transcribe things.' But what if he retired only to let in an Arminian[2]?

The changes in the headships to which Ward refers, were all, with one exception, marked by circumstances of unusual interest. At Trinity, indeed, the election of Thomas Comber, a moderate Anglican, as successor to Samuel Brooke, may not have occasioned the despondent master of Sidney much disquiet: but that of Edward Martin to the presidency of

[1] Ward's dissatisfaction is all the more noteworthy in that Sidney College, in the years 1630-36, according to Mr Edwards, was at the zenith of its prosperity. 'The entry of 40 in 1632-33,' he observes, 'is the largest in the whole history of the College.' *Sidney Sussex College*, p. 94.

[2] Ussher, *Works*, xv. 580-1. Ward's letter is dated 'Sidn. Coll. Jun. 14, 1634.' The vice-chancellor referred to is Dr Love, master of Corpus. It is singular that in the same letter (p. 580) Ward speaks of him as one who 'hath carried business for matter of religion, both stoutly and discreetly'; it is evident (see *infra*, p. 117) that, at this time, Love, who had been one of the royal chaplains, was paying assiduous court to royalty. But his subsequent career shews him to have possessed considerable skill in winning the good opinion of both parties, a characteristic which perhaps serves to explain the somewhat contradictory terms used by Ward respecting him in the same letter.

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CHAP.

EDWARD MARTIN, president of Queens' 1631–45, 1660–62.

Queens', on the death of Dr Mansell, was fraught with sinister significance. Martin was Laud's chaplain and nominee, and his bold assertion of the orthodoxy of Arminianism (in his *Historicall Narration*) is stigmatized by Prynne 'as the greatest affront and imposture ever offered to, or put upon the Church of England in any age' and 'deserving the highest censure[1].' The dissatisfaction of the Puritan party in the university was further increased when it became known that Martin, along with several others, was to receive his degree as doctor of divinity by virtue of a royal mandate. Those who had been admitted to the same degree only on payment of the usual heavy fee, took umbrage alike at the bestowal of the honour and at the choice of the recipients. On the day when the degrees were conferred, the Regent house was the scene of disturbance and uproar, and it was with some difficulty that Dr Butts, the vice-chancellor, succeeded in bringing the ceremony to a completion. He had recently been elected to the office for a third time, but his official experience had been throughout a singularly trying one. His election to the mastership of Corpus had been carried only after a painful contest[2], while his tenure of the vice-chancellorship had been coincident with the visitation of the plague. A man of humane disposition and actuated apparently by a commendable sense of duty, he had been conspicuous, during that terrible crisis, by his efforts to alleviate the distress of the struggling community around him; and the official Report, which it devolved upon him to prepare, forms a narrative which brings vividly before us the social demoralization which followed upon the outbreak. It is not improbable that his own mind was partially unhinged by the calamities which he witnessed and to some extent shared, for his language at the close of his report is that of extreme dejection: 'myself am alone,' he writes, 'a destitute and forsaken man, not a scholler with me in college, not a scholler seen by me without[3].' The conferring of Martin's

Dissatisfaction at the royal nomination to the degree of D.D.

HENRY BUTTS, master of Corpus, Sept. 1622 to 1632.

His trying experience as vice-chancellor

[1] See *Canterburie's Doome*, p. 167; *Histriomastix*, 531; Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, pp. 467–9.

[2] Masters, Append. no. XLII.

[3] This letter is still preserved in the Registry. See Masters-Lamb, pp.

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degree took place 20 March 1632. The first of April was Easter Sunday, and Dr Butts, it had been announced, would preach before the university that day. But in the morning he was found hanging, suspended by his garters, in his own chamber. Nothing in the general condition of the college (at that time exceptionally flourishing), nothing in his private affairs, could be found to suggest a motive. 'Cruel destiny,' it was reported by the university to the chancellor (the earl of Holland), 'and the pangs of a mind diseased must have urged him on[1].' Sir Simonds D'Ewes, however, does not hesitate to ascribe the act to the mental excitement which the unfortunate master of Corpus had so recently undergone[2]. This view receives a certain support from a letter, preserved in the Record Office, by a member of Corpus Christi College whose name is not given. The writer, singularly enough, represents Dr Butts' loss of mental equipoise as commencing 'when Dr Comber and he fell foul of each other about the precedency of Queens' and Trinity comedy'; but 'the killing blow,' he goes on to say, 'was a dislike of that comedy[3] and a check of the chancellor, who is said to have told him that the King and himself had more confidence in his discretion,' etc. The writer then proceeds to narrate how Dr Butts, shortly before his end, had already twice made an attempt on his own life, and he attributes his disordered intellect purely to disappointed ambition, there being nothing in his private affairs to depress him, inasmuch as he was 'a man of great kindred and alliance, in Norfolk

166–7. Somewhat later it devolved on him to furnish the following: '*A Certificate made by the Vice-Chancellor, A°. Dni.* 1630, *in the Time of the Dearth, by vertue of a Proclamation, and a Book of Orders, then published, and sent to the Justices of the several Countyes and Shires.*' In this Dr Butts says: 'Concerning fasting and feasting, the schollers returning as yet very slowly, I have not much matter for execution: only, for example sake, I have converted part of the charge of one annual feast made by the universitie, to the use of the poor.' MSS. Cole, XLII 282.

[1] '...de cujus luctuoso funere nihil ultra nobis innotescit, aut Honori tuo significamus, quam quod facillime naturae legibus renunciat Is, quem atrocia Fata et mentis exulceratae acerbitas praecipitem agunt.' Masters-Lamb, p. 169. Masters, who was unacquainted with D'Ewes' *Diary*, says: 'The occasion of which rash and nefarious action we are at this distance entirely ignorant of.' *Ibid.* p. 168.

[2] *Autobiography* (ed. Halliwell), II 67–8; see also Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 469.

[3] i.e. Haustel's *Rival Friends*; see *supra*, pp. 107–8.

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and Suffolk, with the best of the gentry,' and 'rich both in money and inheritance, had a parsonage in Essex and this mastership.'

By Charles and Laud it was at once decided that, however the Puritan party might interpret the tragical event, it should not be wrested by them to their advantage, and a mandate was forthwith sent enjoining the fellows of Corpus to elect Dr Richard Love, 'late fellow of Clare Hall.' He is 'one,' says the missive, 'whom we pursue with our princely favour and whom we know to bo well esteemed amongst you,...and therefore expect that upon receipt hereof, you assemble yourselves and make choice of the said Dr Love to be master of our said Colledge[1].' Within four days, accordingly, of the death of Dr Butts, the fellows made their 'choice,' and Richard Love succeeded to the mastership of Corpus Christi College. In the ensuing year, he was elected vice-chancellor, and according to the historian of that society, 'greatly endeared himself to the university' by venturing into the dialectical arena at the Commencement against one of the queen's chaplains, Christopher Davenport by name, better known in history as Franciscus a Sancta Clara. Davenport, in a short pamphlet, had just been endeavouring to prove that the articles of the Church of England admitted of being reconciled with the Tridentine decrees. It would have been difficult to propound a theory which could have more completely roused the susceptibilities of what was now the majority in academic Cambridge. And when, accordingly, the vice-chancellor himself took up the gauntlet, and, being a practised dialectician, succeeded in refuting his antagonist, the exultation of the university was considerable[2].

Equally significant with the promotion of Edward Martin to the headship of Trinity was that of William Beale, who in 1632 succeeded Andrewes as master of Jesus College and two years later was elected successor to Owen Gwynne at St John's[3]. The almost irresponsible position of a head

[1] Masters-Lamb, p. 170.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 171.
[3] He was admitted master of St John's 'per majorem partem sociorum ex mandato regio.'

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CH. I. of a college at this period is strikingly illustrated in the case of Owen Gwynne, the cousin of bishop Williams, to whom he was indebted for his preferment to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon. His administration as master had been marked by scandals to which even the judicial Baker can hardly refer with composure, and of which the letters by various writers, addressed to him from the day of his election to the mastership to within a short time of his death (1612–1633), and still preserved in the College Treasury, afford strong presumptive evidence. Written, for the most part, by those seeking for place or pelf either for themselves or for relatives, they are often couched in language which would hardly have been ventured upon with a man of high principle and known integrity[1], but well suited to one of pliant, yielding disposition and probably of known lax morality. It was not however until the year before Gwynne's death, that the decease of bishop Buckeridge, 'a quiet good man,' but advanced in years, made way for the advancement of one 'of greater activity and warmer temper' to the see of Ely. In his capacity as Visitor, Dr Francis White, acting in all probability in concert with Laud, now addressed to the master of St John's what Baker characterises as 'a threatening letter, admonishing him of the disorders and irregularities that had been too long connived at; and though he had no reason to apprehend any danger from a visitor whilst he was in perfect good understanding with his seniors, yet that letter being backed from court, there was no defence to be made against two such powers if they should fall upon him at the same time.' 'Whether,' continues the historian of his college, 'that letter (or there might be more of the same kind, that I have not seen) made any impression upon his mind or broke his heart I must not pretend to determine,

[1] See for example the letter of Emmanuel Utie, a Yorkshireman of much tenacity of purpose, when making suit for a college *vale*: 'Remember me your poore creature, y^t I was none of these head-strong Jades y^t offred to fling you, but tenderneeth and remained unmouable under you without a bitte.' 30 Sept. 1612. *Eagle*, XVI 139; see also *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII. Mr Scott observes that 'the practice of distributing the balance at the end of the year in the form of a dividend among all the Fellows alike was not adopted until 1628.' *Ibid.* XVI 138.

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but he died the year after, not much lamented, unless by those that were involved in the same guilt[1].'

CHAP. Dr Gwyn death: 17 June 1

In the contest for the mastership which ensued, the peace of the college was again completely upset[2]. The more popular candidate was the president, Dr Lane, a man of lax principles but liked on account of his social qualities. The other candidate, Holdsworth, afterwards master of Emmanuel, is described by Baker as 'a man of much greater worth' but unpopular owing to his puritanical leanings. He was, however, says the same authority, 'undoubtedly chosen by a clear majority[3].' But the college statute required that the election should take place before a certain day, otherwise the appointment lapsed to the Crown, and Lane, according to another account, purposely delayed the election beyond the prescribed limit[4]. The technical objection to its validity thus created was not apparently urged in the first instance, but both parties had recourse to irregularities in supporting their candidate which furnished ground for dispute, and both, continues Baker, 'presented their master elect to the vice-chancellor Dr Laney in order to admission; but the case being doubtful or he unwilling to do anything that should look like opposing the court, which he must have done by allowing the better plea, he refused to meddle or to admit either of them: upon which refusal both parties returned to the college, gave the oath and a sort of admission

The contest for the mastership

Robert L and Richa Holdswo

Each refu to retire.

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 204. 'It might have been expected that a man, that left no *monuments* of his learning, should have left greater *monuments* of his charity, but therein he has equalled his predecessor, having done nothing of that kind either in moneys or in books ..But he constituted his servant Gr. Gwin his sole executor, who went off with all that was undisposed of, and has not left a *monument* of his master.' *Ibid.* p. 205.

[2] The various documents connected with this singular episode in college history are collected in Baker-Mayor, pp. 623–627.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 214. So too, Richard Pearson, Holdsworth's nephew, writes concerning him: 'Collegii D. Joannis alumnus olim et socius ad ejusdem magisterium pluribus et potentioribus sociorum suffragiis delectus est; nonnullorum vero perversitate, aliorum praepotentia, de jure suo cedere coactus est.' *Ibid.* p. 626 (from Life prefixed to Holdsworth's *Praelectiones*, London, 1661).

[4] 'How Dr Lane, being president of the colledg, concealed the masters death one day, caused the bell to be rung all Friday, being the next day; and his plott in delaying the electeion till it hath at length fallen (as he would make it) into the King's hands by lapse.' Heywood and Wright, ii 404.

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to their pretended heads[1].' Two masters, accordingly, like two rival popes, now claimed the allegiance of the society.

At length, in August, an appeal was made to the Crown, and formal allegations against Lane were preferred. They were of so grave a character, that Charles decided to appoint a commission, composed of the Heads, to investigate their accuracy. According to the evidence then adduced, Lane was totally unfit for office. Although president of his college, he had rarely been seen either in the college chapel or at St Mary's; he was notoriously addicted to drinking; as bursar, he had embezzled or squandered the revenues of the society; he had used his influence to bring about the election of unfit candidates to fellowships, and in two cases had openly defied the royal mandate. The whole dispute was carefully watched by Laud, who interested himself warmly in the matter, and in a letter to Wentworth gave it as his opinion that, of the two candidates, the one was 'not sober enough,' the other, 'too weak' for the post. 'Honest and learned,' he adds, 'is not enough for government.' It was not until a twelvemonth after Gwynne's death, that Charles eventually cut the knot by appointing William Beale (the master of Jesus College), with the concurrence of the majority of the fellows[2].

'Dr Lane,' continues Baker, 'survived not long; stung and grieved with the aspertions that were cast upon him by his enemies, he died suddenly in the June following, and was buried privately in the chapel, leaving some debt to the college and his reputation tainted, that might otherwise have followed him unstained to the grave; and may teach his successors not to pursue preferment too eagerly, unless

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 214.

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 627. 'We—fynding the right of Election by theese divisions devolved to us, and that, if eyther of the parties now in competition should be preferred, the other will be exasperated and so the scheme fomented, which we will by no meanes endure, besyds that both the competitors have submitted the whol matter to our decision—doe herby in our princely care of learning and of the peace and good of that our university hold it necessary to interpose our royall authority, and doe by theese presents nominate Wm. Beale to be master.' *Ibid.* p. 503. The account given by Peter Barwick, in his *Life* of his brother (p. 12), is evidently defective, if not inaccurate.

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they be such as are themselves without sin[1].' A very different career awaited his rival, who shortly after presented the college with a collection of books for the library, in order 'to show,' says Baker, 'he had more gratitude than resentment[2].' In 1637 died William Sancroft, the master of Emmanuel and uncle of the archbishop[3] (who also filled that office), and Holdsworth was elected his successor. He was escorted to Emmanuel by the fellows of his own college, just as Preston had been escorted thither by the fellows of Queens' thirteen years before[4]. On his arrival, he made it his first duty to pay his respects to Laurence Chaderton, then verging on his 102nd year. 'Although no longer master *of* the college,' said the newly-installed Head to his venerable predecessor, 'you are still master in it.' Such a spirit was worthy of one who, in his own subsequent career, was amply to vindicate himself from the reproach of undue leanings towards Puritanism and from that of 'weakness' imputed to him by Laud. To quote again the language of Baker, Holdsworth 'lived to be preferred by the King and to suffer for him, and has left to posterity the reputation of his sufferings as well as of his learning. He succeeded Dr Gwyn in his archdeaconry and prebend of Buckden in the Church of Lincoln, though not in his mastership; was nominated to the deanery of Worcester and had the offer of a mitre, though he never wore it[5].'

Within a few months of the day when the master of Sidney penned his gloomy forebodings to Ussher[6], a corresponding change at Peterhouse must have seemed to him to point yet more unmistakeably in the direction of his apprehensions. On the promotion of Matthew Wren to the see of Hereford, he was succeeded as master by John Cosin, and

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] William Sancroft, the archbishop, is said (*D. N. B.*) to have been the first of the family who wrote his name without the 'd.' He was master of Emmanuel from 1662 to 1665. His uncle's tenure of the office (1628-1637) is described by Shuckburgh (*Emmanuel College*, p. 74) as 'a period of continuous prosperity as far as numbers were concerned' and one which 'also witnessed a great increase in the buildings.'

[4] See author's *History*, II 571.

[5] Baker-Mayor, *u. s.*

[6] See *supra*, p. 113.

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the latter forthwith proceeded to introduce a more elaborate ritual and unwonted ornaments into the college chapel. 'A glorious new altar,' says Prynne, 'was set up and mounted on steps to which the master, fellowes, schollers bowed and were enjoined to bow.....There were basons, candlesticks, tapers standing on it, and a great crucifix hanging over it[1].' It was not however these innovations which, in the latter half of the same year, suggested to Laud the idea which he had conceived of visiting the university in his capacity of metropolitan,—a proposal which now became a foremost question in the minds of the authorities, not a little perplexed as to the reply which they should make to this long dormant claim. Two events, which occurred about the same time, must have materially influenced the Heads in coming to the conclusion which they found themselves ultimately compelled to adopt. The one was the return of Brownrig to Cambridge to assume the mastership of St Catherine's, rendered vacant by the death of Sibbes: the other, the retirement of Dr Beale from the vice-chancellorship, to be succeeded by Henry Smyth, the master of Magdalene. Many years had elapsed since Brownrig had gone down to the living of Barley to labour among a rustic population, but not a few could well remember him as one who, from the time of his coming up to Pembroke from the grammar school at Ipswich, had been steadily rising in reputation,—and he was already noted as combining a keen wit with sound judgement, and, in the language of Fuller, distinguished both 'for disputing and preaching.' As a staunch Calvinist, Brownrig was strongly opposed to Laud, whose influence is probably to be discerned in the endeavour that had been made to prevent the election of the former to the mastership: for notwithstanding that the college statutes required that the head of St Catherine's should be professed in theology[2], and restricted the fellowships to Englishmen, the Crown had seen fit to nominate for the appointment Robert Creighton, a fellow of Trinity, who was only of

[1] *Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 73–74.

[2] *Documents*, III 80.

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M.A. standing and a native of Dunkeld, but who was Public Orator and could claim relationship with the earls of Athole[1]. CHAP

It was a few weeks before Brownrig's election took place, that Dr Beale, as vice-chancellor, received from Laud official intimation of his design to visit the university[2]. The archbishop had already, in the preceding year, exercised that right in connexion with the diocese of Lincoln, although not without a vigorous protest from Williams[3]. To the latter, indeed, the visitation was rendered especially distasteful from the fact that it was carried out, not by Laud himself, but by his vicar, Sir John Lambe. Lambe, who was also a member of St John's College, had at one time been a zealous supporter of Williams, while the latter, to quote the language of Hacket, 'had done as much for Sir John as he could have done for the worthiest of all his profession[4],' and had appointed him his commissary in the diocese. But in 1633 Lambe was appointed dean of the arches court of Canterbury, and from this time became distinguished as an active supporter of Laud. He now arrived, accordingly, animated by a fixed determination to carry out his instructions with but little regard for the feelings of his former benefactor[5]. Williams, on the other hand, in his formal protest, had already put forward a demurrer which could not but be peculiarly distasteful to Laud. He argued that the proposed visitation was without legitimate precedent, for so far as 'the records and registries of the diocese' could be cited in evidence, it was clear that the great diocese of Lincoln had never been 'metropolitically visited' since 1235, that is to say in the time of Grosseteste. Since that remote date, no

Laud proposes visitation of the University

His visit of the diocese of Lincoln

Sir John Lambe: d. 1634.

Changed relations between Lambe and Williams

Grounds on which Williams opposes visitation

[1] This in itself constituted a certain kinship to royalty, the earls of Athole having been kings in the Isle of Man. The dispute connected with Brownrig's election is further illustrated in MS. Baker, xxvii 46–48, printed in Mayor's *Life of Matthew Robinson*, pp. 131–146.

[2] —'in this,' says Baker (*u. s.* p. 216), 'he shewed no compliance nor departed from the rights of his post and station...Had the university continued Dr Beale in that station a year longer it might have been for their advantage, he having been acceptable at Court,' etc. This however is mere conjecture.

[3] Williams' letter is printed by Hacket, II 90–91.

[4] *Ibid.* II 98.

[5] Hacket considers that Lambe is an instance in proof of the fact that Williams 'was not always circumspect in his patronage.' He describes him as 'crafty,' 'hated of all men,' and 'ravenous in taking fees.' *Ibid.*

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archbishop of Canterbury had visited the diocese 'but by the vertue and power of some particular Bull procured from the Pope, or Letter of Assistance from the King's majesty *since the Supremacy was reassumed in this realm*'; 'and I find,' he adds, 'the several bishops in these several ages to have assented to these Visitations as they were Papal and Regal only[1].' As these objections applied almost equally to other dioceses, and more especially to the design which Laud had already conceived of visiting the *universities*, we can hardly be surprised to find that Lambe's report of the condition of the diocese of Lincoln was highly unfavorable[2] and well calculated to deepen the archbishop's conviction of the necessity of personally visiting that academic community where the bishop of Lincoln's name was still held in high regard.

Before, however, proceeding with his design of visiting Cambridge, Laud had deemed it prudent to endeavour to forestall any opposition similar to that offered by Williams, by carefully explaining to the vice-chancellor the limits which he considered himself bound to observe in the exercise of his own jurisdiction, at the same time suggesting to the authorities that they would do well themselves to ascertain beforehand their own position in relation thereto—'in order,' he wrote, in his letter to Dr Beale, 'that yourself and the heads might take it into consideration whether you have any charter, statute, or privilege to exempt you from my metropolitical power, having no purpose to offer any violence to them.....and secondly to let you know that I intend not in my visitation to meddle with any power belonging to my lord your honourable chancellor, or of any other particular visitor of any college or hall respectively, but only with that which is ecclesiastical and properly belonging to my metropolitical jurisdiction. I conceive,' he adds, 'that Oxford and you are in the same state for this business, and for Oxford

[1] Hacket, II 98.

[2] 'For Lincoln itself, my vicar-general certifies me, there are many anabaptists in it, and that their leader is one Johnson a baker; and that in divers parts of that diocese many both of clergy and laity are excessively given to drunkenness.' *Works* (ed. 1853), V 326.

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I am sure the case is very clear for my visitation there[1].' CHAP. This letter arrived just when the authorities at Cambridge were specially busied with preparations for the Commencement of 1635[2], and it was not until the 28th July that they notified to the chancellor, the earl of Holland, that they had given instructions for the collection of the evidence bearing upon the primate's claimed right of visitation[3]. Holland, in acknowledging this communication, expressed his confidence that the archbishop would act with 'moderation and justice,' but also intimated his readiness to join with the Heads 'in the maintenance of all such privileges and exemptions as by the favour of former times and princes have been used and enjoyed by the university,' which, he adds, 'is the duty we owe to posterity.' He further advised that the authorities should take the opinion of 'learned counsel,' and in the mean time the primate received the joint assurance of the chancellor and the university that the whole question was being thoroughly sifted[4]. Not less satisfactory was the tenour of the reply received eight weeks later from the lord high steward, the earl of Manchester, who, on the documentary evidence being submitted to him, expressed his confidence that the primate himself would admit that it was conclusive. As Henry Montagu at that time also filled the post of lord privy seal, such an opinion carried no small weight, while the university was scarcely less gratified by the complimentary terms in which the writer referred to the manifest care bestowed by its registrary on the preservation of its archives[5].

The authorities undertake to do so.

Letter from the chancellor Aug. 1st: he counts the course adopted by the university

Letter of the lord steward 11 Oct.

The new vice-chancellor not merely occupied the place before filled by one of Laud's staunchest supporters, but, on

[1] *Ibid.* v 555–6. The whole of this correspondence is printed from Baker MSS. xxxm 193–210.

[2] 'Commencement' at this time began with the Sunday immediately preceding the first Tuesday in July. Gunning, *Ceremonies*, p. 119.

[3] 'It coming to us when we were all in preparation for our commencement, we did with his grace's leave and favour forbear to meet any more about it, till these businesses were fully passed over.' Laud's *Works* (u. s.), v 556.

[4] *Ibid.* v 557–8.

[5] 'I do much commend the care and diligence I see your register useth in preserving and being so ready in these things that concern your university rights and privileges.' *Ibid.* v 561.

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succeeding to office, immediately gave instructions for a fuller and closer investigation of such records as bore upon the question of Laud's proposed visitation[1]. A further delay consequently ensued, and with the approach of Christmas the primate became impatient. On the 18th December he wrote to the vice-chancellor and heads, complaining somewhat tartly that he had been able to gain from them 'nothing but delays.' 'I cannot,' he adds, 'be ignorant of that which is in the mouths of all men, namely, that care and pains you have taken to exclude my power from visiting, and yet it seems you have not found enough to quit it; for if you had, I can see no reason why you should still delay to give me answer[2].' His missive had scarcely been despatched when the long-delayed reply of the authorities arrived, setting forth the grounds 'whereupon we conceive that the University of Cambridge is exempt both from archiepiscopal and episcopal jurisdiction and visitation.' It is a somewhat lengthy document, but the main arguments admit of being very concisely stated: As a recognised *studium generale*[3] in mediaeval times, the academic body had always been held exempt from a visitation such as that which the primate now proposed to make. Prior to the Reformation, there had, it was true, been visitations, but inasmuch as these took place by the papal authority they could no longer be cited as precedents; and, for a like reason, the visitation made by Cardinal Pole in the reign of Mary was no longer relevant. There were, however, certain other visitations, made in Reformation times: there had been one instituted by Thomas Cromwell in the 27th of Henry VIII, but to this the answer was, that Cromwell himself was chancellor of the university in that year; another had taken place in the reign of Edward VI, but then Somerset, who held the same office, had 'been moved by letters from the university to send visitors'; and finally, the notable visitation

[1] Laud's Works, v 563.

[2] *Ibid.* v 564.

[3] On this point see Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, i 21–27. Laud refers to his claim in a letter to Vossius, June 1637, in a very different tone. See Works, v 489.

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under Elizabeth had taken place 'by commission under the great seal to the chancellor of the university.' In conclusion Laud was courteously reminded that when, nine years before, he had been incorporated D.D., he had sworn to maintain the privileges of the university[1].

CHAP

In a brief reply, the primate, while professing that he neither was nor could be 'offended with the fairness of your answer[2],' intimated his intention of petitioning the king 'for a day in which he would graciously be pleased to give a hearing both to Oxon and yourselves.' The relations of Laud with the sister university widely differed, however, from those in which he stood to Cambridge. He was not only chancellor of the university but also one of her most distinguished sons and benefactors. It was chiefly owing to his good offices with Pembroke, his predecessor in the chancellorship, that the famous Barocci collection of Greek manuscripts had now, for more than a decade, adorned the presses of the Bodleian[3]. He had augmented the endowment of the chair of Hebrew, as subsequently he augmented that of the Public Oratorship; he had subsidized the researches of Pococke; while still more recently, at the very time when he was writing to Dr Beale to intimate his intention of visiting Cambridge, we find Oxford expressing its unbounded gratitude to 'his Holiness' for the gift of another and truly splendid collection of Western and Oriental manuscripts[4]. Five years later, his liberality in placing the lectureship of Arabic on a permanent basis, evoked another overflow of gratitude expressed in equally hyperbolical language. Their chancellor, the university then declared, had 'imported Araby' into their midst. 'We must perforce,' said the letter, 'become Arabians, though whether "Happy" or "Rocky" remains yet to be seen; *happy*, if we yield due

Laud petitions the King that the University be heard in their defence Hampden Court.

His relations at this time with Oxford.

His munificence benefactions

Especial in connexion with Oriental studies.

[1] See *supra*, p. 72; *Works*, v 567–571.

[2] *Ibid.* v 575.

[3] It is also to be noted, as illustrating Laud's liberal spirit in such matters, that the collection was made exceptionally accessible to students.

[4] 'Sunt illi numero quadringenti quinquaginta duo ac plures, pondere inestimabiles, linguarum varietate omnigeni. Pentecosten emisisti alteram sub tempore Pentecostes, cum sis ipse divini Spiritus effusissime plenus.'...' E domo nostrae Convocationis, 28 Maii 1635.' *Works*, v 114 5.

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obedience to your mandates; if otherwise, stony and arid[1].' Even the industrial employment of the poor in the city of Oxford had received his careful attention.

It was accordingly while already under a sense of deep indebtedness to their all-powerful chancellor, and with a consciousness of favours still to come, that the university of Oxford received the intimation of his desire to visit them officially in matters ecclesiastical. It is an episode on which Anthony Wood is evidently not desirous of dwelling, holding himself probably to a certain extent excused from doing so by the mere fact that the visitation never took place. 'What I shall take notice concerning this matter,' he writes, 'is that the archbishop, in order to obtain this his right which he sought after, desired of the University to borrow *Memorables* and *Privileges*[2] of the university collected by Rob. Hare; the which request, though in itself reasonable (considering withal what a great benefactor the archbishop had been to the university), yet the members thereof thought fit to deny him, least they should lend a hand to betray their own privileges. However when the matter was decided, those books with others and divers papers were laid to open view at the Council board at Hampton Court[3].'

At Hampton Court, on the 21st June, 'the cause came to a hearing before his Majesty sitting in Council.' It must, however, have been with some misgiving that the representatives of the two universities appeared, for scarcely a month had elapsed since the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, after petitioning the Crown against a similar assertion on the part of the archbishop of a right to visit them, had found their petition rejected, and a brief entry in Laud's diary

[1] 'Necesse est itaque, cum a te facti simus hoc modo Ambici, vel felices nos esse vel petrosos; felices quidem, si mandatis vestris pie obsequamur, sin minus, misere petrosos et ingratos.' *Ibid.* v 280–2. See also Wood-Gutch, II 424; and Prof. Margoliouth's interesting sketch, 'Laud's Educational Work,' in the *Laud Commemoration of* 1895.

[2] *Liber Memorabilium Acad. Oxon.* and *Liber Privilegiorum Acad. Oxon.* which according to Wood had been transcribed on parchment from Hare's own copy at the expense of the university. See *D. N. B.* XXIV 374.

[3] Wood-Gutch, II 403.

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had recorded the successful accomplishment of his design[1]. Standing now on Charles's right hand, he besought the king to grant him a hearing, while he at the same time expressed it as his deep conviction that the Church of England 'would never be able to settle matters right without some power over the universities.' To this, Holland, standing on the king's left, rejoined that 'he hoped his Majesty would not suffer the university of Cambridge to lose its ancient privilege; it being never wont to be visited save by his Majesty and those by Commission from him,' while it had 'ever been exempted from the visitation of any bishop or archbishop[2].' The attorney general, however, as probably instructed by the Crown, at once challenged this assertion by a counter-assertion of both the antiquity and the ubiquity of the metropolitical right of visitation,—which he held to be as ancient as the office of metropolitan itself, and valid 'in all places within the province without any manner of exception.' And even in places, he added, that might under normal conditions claim exemption, it was still the archbishop's duty 'to see the doctrine of the Church maintained.' It followed, consequently, that even if it could be shewn that colleges were usually exempt from visitation by the metropolitan, a defective state of discipline, such as that which was clearly attested by unconsecrated chapels, discarded surplices, and irregularities in the administration of the sacraments, called for action on the part of the supreme authority. Precedents, moreover, could be cited from the times of Henry VIII and Edward VI which made it clear that at no time had exemption from such interference been claimed as an inalienable right. Sir John Lamb followed to the same effect: the universities, he pointed out, were parts of the metropolitan's province, and, if they claimed exemption, they must first make good their claim by satisfactory evidence.

CHAP. I

Protest of Holland on behalf of Cambridge

Sir John Lamb, of Queen's College, Oxford, supports the primate's claim.

He is supported by Sir John Lamb.

Charles, accordingly, now called upon the representatives

[1] 'It was ordered with me' are the words in which he sums up a result which he had probably foreseen from the commencement. *Works*, III 227.

[2] Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II 324–8.

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CHAP. I. of Oxford and Cambridge to comply with this demand, and with a view to expediting business proposed, in the first instance, that one of the two universities should 'speak for both.' It was however alleged that 'the defences of both were different one from the other'; whereupon Cambridge was called upon to make the first statement. The arguments put forward by her representatives were essentially identical with those which Williams had already employed in opposing the visitation of his own diocese; and Laud, who could scarcely have failed to note the fact, was ruffled by their repetition. He angrily asserted his right to visit 'as often as I will,' and then proceeded to indulge in a sweeping denunciation of all similar 'exemptions.' The immunities to which the two universities were now making claim were, he affirmed, as pernicious as those which the wealthier monastic foundations of mediaeval times had been wont to purchase in Rome, in order to set the local bishop at defiance. And while they themselves became demoralised by licence, the wealth thus poured into the papal treasury had proved the undoing of the Roman see. 'Next to Purgatory,' exemptions had been the chief source of that enrichment of the papacy which had resulted in its corruption[1]. He proceeded to ask how it was that three of the college chapels[2] in Cambridge still remained unconsecrated? And to this enquiry no satisfactory answer was forthcoming, while the feeble voice of the centenarian Laurence Chaderton, expressing a humble hope that the chapels were 'consecrated by faith and good conscience,' fell far from gratefully on the royal ears. The next point brought forward for consideration was the argument of the primate's supporters,—that a legitimate prerogative could not be set aside on the mere ground

[1] Rushworth, *u. s.* p. 327.

[2] These were Corpus Christi, Emmanuel and Sidney: see Baker MSS. vi 152. Prynne's wrath was especially roused by the preferment of this complaint which he denounces 'superstitious and ridiculous frenzie ...when as neither his predecessors Whitgift, Bancroft and Abbot (men very ceremonious and two of them much addicted to superstition) ever so much as moved any such question concerning the necessity of their (*i.e.* the chapels') consecration.' He looks upon Laud's claim to interfere as a reproduction of that of the papal legate, Otho, in the reign of Henry III, and as advanced 'for his own lucher.' *Canterburie's Doome*, p. 127.

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of long disuse, and that, although it might be shewn that a long succession of archbishops had abstained from visiting the university, this 'could be no prescription to bar the right of the metropolitical see.' Finally, Laud himself produced 'the original renunciation of all privileges from any Pope made by the Heads of Houses' on behalf of the university. And then King and Council could no longer hesitate, and their formal decision was given, without a dissentient voice, to the effect that the archbishop of Canterbury was entitled to visit the universities, and that this right might be exercised by himself in person or by his commissaries, 'as often as any great emergent cause should move him thereunto; provided that neither the said archbishop, or any of his successors, after his first visitation, shall visit on such emergent cause unless the said cause be first made known to his Majesty and his successors, and approved by him and them[1].'

A momentous decision, doubtless, with respect to the destinies of both learning and religion in England, had it been carried into execution; but, inasmuch as Laud's visitation never took place, chiefly notable as constituting another element in the calculations of the most discerning minds in either university during those critical years which were yet to intervene before both primate and monarch alike had paid the penalty of their errors on the scaffold[2].

For the present, however, it seemed as though nothing was likely to bar the accomplishment of Laud's design. Letters patent forthwith passed the great seal declaratory of his right of visitation, while his advisers in Cambridge hastened to lay before him a detailed specification of the 'disorders' prevalent in the university,—a singularly characteristic document, affording amusing illustration of the social

[1] Rushworth, *u.s.* p. 328.

[2] The correspondence relating to the case, and the evidence adduced in support of the view maintained by the Cambridge authorities, were transcribed by Baker a century later and are in the Baker MSS. xxxiii 193–210, etc., and printed in Laud's *Works*, v 555–580. They 'may be of some use,' wrote Baker in his *History of St John's* (i 216), 'if ever that controversy should happen to come again into debate,'—a contingency which fortunately has never occurred.

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life of the time,—the authorship of which was assigned by some to Sterne, the master of Jesus, and by others to Cosin. Foremost among the alleged disorders appears the melancholy fact, that fellows and fellow-commoners too frequently availed themselves of the immunities conferred by their academic status to absent themselves from 'public prayers,' preferring even the tavern or some other place of secular amusement. The document then passes on to matters of costume, wherein King's College figured favorably by its loyal adherence to cap and gown; but of Trinity and Caius it is stated, that 'they keep their order for their wide sleeve gowns and for their caps too, when they list to put any on, but for the rest of their garments they are as light and fond as others.' These three colleges, however, were the most exemplary; the remaining body of undergraduates wearing 'new fashioned gowns of any colour whatever, blew or green, or red or mixt[1], without any uniformity but in hanging sleeves. And their other garments are light and gay, some with boots and spurs, others with stockings of diverse colours reversed one upon another, and round rusti caps they weare (if they weare any at all) that they may be the sooner despised[2].'...'But in all places among graduates, and priests also, as well as the younger students, we have fair roses upon the shoe, long frizled hair upon the head, broad spred bands upon the shoulders, and long large merchant ruffs about the neck, with fayre feminine cuffs at the wrist.' The want of order at disputations was lamentable. On Fridays, collegians sallied forth to eat 'good flesh' at the 'victualling houses.' 'We know not what fasting is,' the informants go on to say, 'but this we know, that then the custome is for pupils to goe to their tutors for supper money to spend in the towne, and that their tutors do commonly allow them twice as much for a fasting night as the college commons doe any night of the week besides[3].'

[1] In partial extenuation of this gaudiness as regards *colour*, it is to be remembered that a like variety was to be observed in the streets of London in those days.

[2] i.e. 'recognised.'

[3] MSS. Baker, VI 152; Cooper, *Annals*, III 280-283.

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CHAP

The gravamen of the complaints is, however, in connexion with the subject on which Laud certainly felt most strongly,—the want of decency and order that prevailed in the religious services. St Mary's, at Commencement, assumed the appearance of a theatre, and the ordinary service, which was provided for by Trinity College, was 'commonly posted over and cut short at the pleasure of him that is sent thither to read it.' At the university sermon, 'boys and townsmen' crowded into the chancel, and at other times were to be seen 'all in a rude heap, with townswomen too, betwixt the doctors and the altar'; while 'the rest of the church is taken up by the townsmen of the parish and their families, which is one reason among others that many schollers pretend for not coming to this church.' The bidding prayer was generally omitted. 'The other town churches (whereunto schollers also frequently repair) are so much out of order that little is learned there but irreverence and disobedience in sacred performances.' The state of some of the churchyards was not less scandalous,—'annoyed and profaned with dwelling-houses and shops and part of them turned into gardens, where by digging the bones of the dead have been displaced, with divers other profanations[1].' If Trinity appeared to advantage with respect to dress, it exhibited sad neglect with regard to chapel, where the quire itself was little better than a sham. 'They have diverse dry choristers, as they call them, such as never could nor ever meane to singe a note and yet enjoy and are put in to take the benefitt of those places professedly[2].'...

Disorde the serv at St M

State of churchy

Trinity College Chapel.

Dry choriste

[1] *Troubles and Trials of Archbishop Laud* (1695), p. 561.

[2] The late Mr Gerard F. Cobb, in a Paper entitled *The Organ in the Chapel of Trinity College*, printed in the *Trident* for June 1890 (pp. 89–105), cites the following entries relating to 'dry choristers':

Seniority's conclusion-book, March 29, 1613, 'That whereas we have agreed upon an order never hereafter to choose any drye quirister into a quirister's place: yet for this once and no more, we have dispensed with this order and have chosen Tho. Ritcher drye quirister.' *Reprint*, p. 8.

In 1616 a B.A. of two years' standing appears in the Senior Bursar's accounts as still a chorister and so presumably a *dry* one. *Ib. note.*

In 1629 Nathanael Willis of more than five years' standing since his admission as an undergraduate was chosen 'a querister extraordinary.' *Ib.*

In 1636 Abraham Cowley (the poet) was chosen into a 'drie' chorister's place in reversion, which he held until he was elected to a scholarship in 1637. *Ib.*

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'They leane or sitt or kneele at prayers, every man in a severall posture as he pleases.' 'At the name of Jesus few will bowe and when the Creed is repeated many of the boyes by some men's directions turn towards the west doore.' A graver indictment is preferred in the statement that, by common report, 'and not without probabilitie,' 'both fellowes and schollers and officers places are sold.' A like report was prevalent with respect to King's College, although it was generally allowed that Dr Collins himself was 'a very free and uncorrupt man.' At Caius College, the organ had been 'long since sold away'; while the chapel was made 'a common meeting place for ordinarie dispatch of leases and such like occasions.' At Christ's College, 'although their service is much reformed of late,' there was nothing left of the organ but 'a broken case.' With regard both to Christ's College and Emmanuel, complaint is made that many of the students were lodged and lived out of college, 'where no governour or doctor could look after their pupils as they ought.' Of St John's, Queens', Peterhouse, Pembroke, and Jesus, it is reported that 'they endeavor for order and have brought it to some good passe. Yet here for apparel and fasting-night suppers are they faulty still[1].'

That the state of discipline called loudly for reformation and that Laud fully designed that such reform should be carried out, appears alike beyond question. But he never came. At this time, indeed, he was induced both by circumstance and inclination to concentrate his chief energies on Oxford, where his hand, as chancellor, was heavy on the disaffected, and his influence at its height. It is at Oxford, in 1634, that we meet with one of the earliest instances of deprivation of a degree at either of the English universities,—Prynne's merciless punishment by the Star-Chamber including this mark of degradation. Throughout the sister university, discipline was now enforced with an impartial severity which stood in singular contrast to Laud's discernment and liberality in connexion with learning. And while his benefactions to

[1] MS. Baker, vi 152–5.

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the Bodleian, together with his endowment of the Public Oratorship and services in obtaining a charter for the Press, drew from the academic community renewed expressions of gratitude for his generous care, the appearance of the New Statutes in 1636 was received with feelings of a very different kind. This revised Code, which had been in course of publication ever since 1629, was dedicated to the king,—Charles, according to the statement of the Preface, having taken special interest in the work and carefully corrected the whole manuscript[1]; and in the month of June the *Corporis Statutorum Exemplar seu Codex ipse authenticus* was sent down to Oxford, 'approved, confirmed, and ratified by the chancellor's letter, under his own archiepiscopal seal and under his seal as chancellor of the university, and further confirmed by the Royal Charter of Confirmation. It was brought to Oxford by royal commissioners; and a Convocation was held on the 22nd June in St Mary's Church, in which the vice-chancellor received and embraced the statutes in the name of the university, and all the heads of houses and the proctors made oath to observe them and subscribed their names at the end of them[2].'

CHA

The Ne Statutes 1636.

The Code which, with a few trifling additions, became the law at Oxford down to the University Reform Act of 1854, was largely a digest of the statutes already in force, in which, beyond the removal of certain redundancies and discrepancies and the omission of a few obsolete provisions, little was done in the way of alteration. In one respect, indeed, this Code might well seem reactionary, for the importance of dialectic and the authority of Aristotle were to be strenuously inculcated, it being especially enjoined that, on the day for the creation of General Sophisters, one of the Regents should

Special features the new Code.

The authority Aristotle confirme

[1] 'Ipse multus in eo CAROLUS; hortatus est, acceleravit, exegit; animoque vere heroico errores, quos in academicis facile praeterit, in academicorum tabulis non tulit.' *Corpus Stat. Univ. Oxon.* (ed. Griffiths), Praef. ad Lectorem, p. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, Preface, pp. xi-xii. It was on this occasion that Mr Secretary Cook enunciated the Stuart theory with respect to universities and colleges in its most unqualified form: 'they are,' he said, 'the rights of kings in a most peculiar manner. *For all their establishments, endowments, privileges and orders, by which they subsist and are maintained, are derived from regal power.*' Laud, *Works*, v 128.

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ascend the rostrum (*suggestum*) in the School of Natural Philosophy, and deliver an address expressly designed to vindicate the above leading features. A genuinely novel element was however presented in the addition of certain provisions materially modifying the ordinary curriculum for the degrees of B.A. and M.A. Students were in future to be required not simply to attend lectures, but also to *pass examinations* in the subjects on which they had been lectured. In the B.A. course such subjects were to include grammar, rhetoric, Aristotle's Ethics, Politics, and Economics, logic, moral philosophy, geometry, and Greek. In the M.A. course, there was more geometry and more Greek, together with astronomy, metaphysics, natural philosophy, and Hebrew[1]. It was further required that all students admitted to a degree should give evidence of possessing a good command of correct colloquial Latin[2]. On many of the students, and at Oxford they now numbered some 5000, this last requirement pressed heavily, and especially on candidates for the degree of M.A.; for while the bachelor was only expected to speak Latin 'grammatically' and 'readily,' the master was to be able to do so 'correctly' and 'aptly,' and this too, 'in matters of everyday life.' It was not long, accordingly, before Cambridge, somewhat to her surprise, began to find Oxford bachelors repairing to her schools in considerable numbers[3]. Whatever satisfaction

[1] Laud's special interest in this statute is shewn by a letter to him from Dr Turner of Merton College: 'I see good effects already of that statute, which hath been most cryded down by those from whom I least expected it, the statute *de Examinandis Candidatis*, and promise myself much more hereafter. I was present at one examination, and was glad to hear both the Regents examine so sufficiently and discreetly, and the candidates so ably and readily.' See Laud's *History of his Chancellorship of Oxford* in Wharton's *Remains of William Laud*, II 170.

[2] 'Neque enim ad artium baccalaureatum, nisi qui congrue et prompte, nedum ad magistralem gradum, nisi qui commode et apte, in rebus quotidiani usus, animi sui sensa lingua Latina explicare valeat, admitti quenquam volumus.' *Statutes of the University of Oxford codified in the year* 1636 etc., ed. John Griffiths (Clar. Press, 1888), p. 89.

[3] The following passage, from a letter written by Laud to Frewen ten months before, stands probably in very close connexion with this episode: 'I do not hear that the younger sort have been so careful to provide themselves by speaking Latin in their several colleges, as I was to give them warning that they might; *yet that shall put no stop upon me, but that I shall expect and require the execution of the statute.*' *Works* (*u. s.*), v 200-1.

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might, in the first instance, have been derived from the fact, CHAP. I can hardly however have survived the discovery that the new-comers were actuated by no higher motive than that of obtaining the superior academic degree on less onerous conditions than those now imposed by their own Alma Mater; nor was it long before this disloyal evasion of her requirements brought about the direct intervention of Laud, in his capacity of chancellor. Cambridge, he held, had no right to connive at such devices; and Dr Frewen[1], the vice-chancellor of Oxford, was instructed forthwith to make formal protest in the matter to the corresponding functionary at Cambridge. 'Tell him,' said Laud's mandate, 'that' (*i.e.* what) 'you hear of this slipping aside of Oxford men without any leave of the university to take their degrees at Cambridge, and thereby to elude our statutes. Then I would have you desire of him and the Heads, in the name of the university of Oxford, that no man be suffered to take any degree in Cambridge whatsoever, unless he bring the consent of the university of Oxford under seal[2].' An interval of twelve days was allowed to elapse between the writing of Laud's letter and the reply of Dr Brownrig, who filled at that time the office of vice-chancellor at Cambridge,—sufficient time, it would seem, to have allowed of some consultation on the part of the latter with the Heads. Of this however his concise epistle gives no indication, it being simply as follows:

Indignation of Laud: he directs the vice-chancellor of Oxford to enter a protest against the intervention of the authorities of Cambridge

Dr Brownrig's reply: May 7th

SIR,

I pray receive this assurance from me, and I doubt not but the practice of our university will make it good, that according to your just desire, nothing shall pass here amongst us, either in this or in any other way, that may give the least interruption to the mutual amity and correspondence between the two universities, etc.

RA: BROWNRIGG.

Cambridge, May 7th 1639[3].

Whether regarded in connexion with precedent or with subsequent academic action, Laud's vigorous endeavour to

[1] Accepted Frewen, afterwards archbishop of York and a distinguished benefactor of Magdalen College.

[2] Wharton (*u. s.*), II 174–5; Laud's *Works* (ed. Bliss), V 219–20.

[3] *Ibid.*

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promote a more general command of good colloquial Latin appears sufficiently justified. Most of the Oxford colleges had a statutable provision to like effect, and although this too often remained a dead letter, the testimony of a President of Magdalen establishes the fact that among the scholars of that foundation, as well as of several others in Oxford, the practice of speaking nothing but Latin was in force as late as 1590[1]. Laud, in fact, was simply endeavouring to restore what had been customary in the generation preceding his own; and, as we shall subsequently see, when the newly constituted Commonwealth had superseded Monarchy, the Committee for 'Regulating the Universities' was fain to enjoin that Latin or Greek should be strictly and constantly spoken 'in familiar discourse' within the colleges and halls of both universities. Scholars both on the Continent and at home bore testimony which could not be disregarded to the special disadvantage under which learning in England lay, owing to the want of an adequate command of the customary medium of personal intercourse with the educated foreigner in those times[2]. If, indeed, Laud's interference at Oxford had gone no further than requiring that students should talk with each other in Latin and should abstain from frequenting taverns,—another point on which he felt and wrote strongly,—there would have been little to excite unpopularity in the Oxford which he ruled. It was his petty interference in matters of academic costume,—the gown, the hat and the cap,—his mandates as to the tolling of bells and the arrangement of seats in the schools, which were irritating, chiefly because they related to details which chancellors ordinarily regarded as hardly calling for such exalted interference.

[1] 'I know myne owne House,' said Dr Holland, 'and divers other Colleges whose scholars dare not presume to speake any other language then Latine.' See Burrows (Montagu), *Introduction to Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford*, pp. xcvi-xcvii.

[2] 'This Committee, takinge into consideration the complaint that is made by divers learned men of the defect that English Scholars labour under, both in their private and home exercises, and in their publique discourses with forraynors by their speaking English in their severall Colledges and Halls in Oxon respectively, doe now Order etc.' *Ibid.*, *Register*, p. 249; see also Baker MSS. xvii 12.

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We can hardly doubt that Joseph Mede, although little more than a looker on, followed with undiminished interest the deepening drama around him. It is however a real loss that, at such a crisis, his shrewd estimate of passing events is wanting to guide us. On the 13th of June 1631, his august relative, Sir Martin Stuteville, had died suddenly at his seat at St Edmund's Bury; and, whatever letters on Cambridge affairs Mede may have written, subsequent to that date, have not come down to posterity. The last glimpses we obtain of him suggest, that sorrow at the fierce contention around, blended with a constitutional aversion from polemical strife, to which was now added the timidity of advancing years, were leading him to withdraw more and more from any active participation in university affairs. In order that, as Worthington expresses it, 'he might not be supposed to be taking a side,' he kept studiously aloof from the struggle which arose in 1634, between the two great parties in the university, for securing a preponderance at the disputations of the coming Commencement[1]. In the following year we find John Durie appealing to him for advice as to the best way of seeking to restore concord among the Protestant Reformed Churches abroad, where theological rancour was at its height. Mede excused himself in language dictated partly by modesty, but partly also by evident fear of incurring the displeasure of those in authority (whether in his own college or in the university at large is not quite clear[2]), and contented himself with sending Durie a copy of his *Clavis Apocalyptica*. It would seem that, as he saw the end of life approaching, these prophetic studies assumed for him a yet stronger and more awful fascination. And as the curtain falls upon the veteran teacher, we discern him sequestered in his study, intent on themes in comparison with which the theological ferment without might well seem but solemn trifling, as he pondered when the angel's trumpet should again sound and the seventh seal be opened!

[1] *Life* (*u. s.*), p. xix.

[2] 'Nos enim hic (ut scias) *qui inferioris subsellii sumus*, ab aliorum pendemus arbitrio, neque sine illorum nutu aut ductu in talibus quicquam audemus; alioquin factiosi et inordinati ingenii notam incursuri, nullo, mihi crede, siquis eo maculetur, oceano eluendam.' *Works* (ed. 1672), p. 805.

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He retained however and discharged, to the last, his office as college steward, never failing to be present every Saturday night, when, according to the custom at Christ's, the 'manciple[1]' came to lay before the master and fellows his statement of the week's expenditure. It was on this customary day, the 29th September 1638, that Joseph Mede was absent from the board,—smitten down by apoplexy, and summoned away to render up an account of a more solemn nature to a Master whom none can doubt he had striven faithfully to serve. He was buried in the college chapel. To his surviving friends it might well seem, not long after, that he had been taken from the evil to come, for he was only in his fifty-third year. His modest fortune was bestowed upon those among whom his secluded life had been spent. To the poor of Cambridge he bequeathed the sum of one hundred pounds; three hundred pounds more (the residue of his estate) to his own College, 'for and towards the new building then intended, as also for the adorning of the chapel[2],'—a matter which, as one of Laud's chaplains, he probably deemed it politic not to leave uncared for. 'Nor was he,' say his biographers, 'unmindful of the library, for he knew well the excellent use of good books[3].' Of the remarkable influence which his teaching continued to exert in the university long after his death we shall have occasion to speak in another chapter.

A few months before Cambridge became aware of its full debt to Mede, there had passed away another of her sons, and one who died a suppliant for her aid,—a laborious scholar, who had rendered to history an unprecedented amount of service as a translator[4]. Although a pupil of Whitgift and a fellow of Trinity College, Philemon Holland's subsequent life had been an almost continuous struggle with depressing poverty, domestic anxieties and feeble health. Dignified with a foreign degree of M.D. (where obtained is not on

[1] *i.e.* the head cook, who in later times developed into the 'steward' and whose office became associated with a fellowship.

[2] *Life* (*u. s.*), p. xxxii.

[3] *Ibid.* p. xxxiii.

[4] Fuller, who styles Holland 'the translator general of his age,' declares that the literature he thus produced would alone suffice 'to make a country gentleman a competent library.' *Worthies* (ed. Nuttall), III 287.

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record), he had essayed the practice of medicine with but small success. The corporation of Coventry, in which ancient city he had taken up his residence, aided him by one or two small grants of money; and, somewhat singularly, by installing him, when he was already 76 years of age, headmaster of their Free School, a post which,—it can scarcely be interpreted to his discredit,—he was fain to resign within a few months. His indigence now excited general commiseration, and on its reaching the ears of the university, the vice-chancellor, Henry Smyth, the president of Magdalene, sought, as a last device, to aid him with the grant of a licence, entitling him to receive such 'charitable benevolence as the master and fellows of every college should be pleased to bestow upon him[1].' What result followed, does not appear; but in less than two years after, his labours and perplexities were alike terminated by his death at Coventry.

CHAP.

He is licensed by the Vice-chancellor to receive charity in the Colleges

His death at Coventry.

Indifference on the part of a corporate body to the records of its own past history is a sinister sign, but from any such reproach the university stands sufficiently vindicated at this time. Discipline might be somewhat lax,—a feature which the ferment that prevailed, alike in the theological and in the political world, serves partially to explain,—but the undercurrent of loyal devotion to the best interests of the university flowed strongly among its ablest teachers. In the same year as that in which a President[2] was first appointed to rule the College at Harvard, and the history of New England as an independent community may be said to have its commencement, Cambridge drew up the first formal record of its past benefactors and ordained an annual Commemoration of their munificence. The Committee to whom, by a grace of the Senate, the task of preparing this record was confided, received instructions 'to explore the archives of the university, to transcribe the names and benefactions of the donors, and arrange them in due order,' the roll of the same to be recited on a specified day in the academical year by a

Institution of the Commemoration of Benefactors: Feb. 1631

[1] Baker MSS. xxxiii 224.

[2] Henry Dunster, a graduate of Magdalene College, who took orders, but subsequently joined the exiles in America. See *infra*, p. 186.

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preacher at St Mary's especially appointed by the vice-chancellor[1]. The names of those appointed were Dr Cosin, who was at this time vice-chancellor, Dr Samuel Ward, the master of Sidney, Dr Comber, the master of Trinity (whose general attainments were surpassed by few living scholars), Dr Laney, the master of Pembroke, Dr Sterne, the master of Jesus, and the public orator, Dr Molle. To these six were added Michael Honywood[2],—a fellow of Christ's College and an enthusiastic antiquary, whom Obadiah Walker afterwards described as 'a living library for learning,'—while the two proctors attended, *ex officio*, as custodians of the chests in which the 'archives' were preserved.

Few will be inclined to impute discredit to these meritorious scholars in that their critical faculty was not on a par with their industry, and that in such a document official countenance was given to mere legend, but legend not formally recognised as such until the nineteenth century; and that consequently 'the most glorious Sigebert, king of the East Anglians,' Offa, king of the Mercians, Alfred and his son Edward are gravely represented as the 'Coryphaei' of the long and august array of the veritable benefactors of the university[3], of those, that is to say, who had bestowed on it liberties and privileges, or were the founders of its chairs, the builders of its schools, or donors of property of any kind, whether foundations, bursaries, or tenements, and, finally, of those who, either from their own resources, or by their good offices with others, had aided in the building or

[1] —'acta publica revolvant, archiva consulant, praelecta nomina beneficiaque exscribant, colligant et in ordinem disponant.' *Commemoratio Benefactorum, Gratia* 11 Feb. 16$\frac{4}{5}$. MS. in Registry, transcribed by Cole (MS. (XLVII 406) and printed in *Statuta Acad. Cantabr.* (1785), pp. 381 2; also in Heywood and Wright, II 428–437.

[2] See an interesting account of Honywood by the late canon Venables in *D. N. B.*

[3] 'In hisce jure merito chorum ducunt serenissimi nostri reges et principes: inprimis Sigebertus, Orientalium Anglorum rex, qui Academiam nostram *vel primus fundavit vel eam, penitus per injurias superiorum temporum fractam et deletam, restituit* ex consilio Felicis Burgundi, primi eorundem Orientalium Anglorum Episcopi, circa annum Domini DCXXX^{mum}; deinde nobilissimus rex Merciorum Offa, Carolo Magno Imperatori contemporaneus; Illustrissimus Regni Monarcha Aluredus, ejusdemque Filius Rex Edwardus Senior, dilectissimus Cleri nutritor, amator et Defensor, etc.' *Commemoratio Benefactorum*, p. 7.

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the adornment of that 'noble temple' in which the above record was to be annually recited[1]. If however there were names to which historical evidence compels us to demur, there are also some which seem 'conspicuous by their absence.' It was not until the nineteenth century was drawing to its close that the virtual founder of both Christ's and St John's College was included in the enumeration[2]. The abject loyalty of those days could not venture to recognise the services of one, the victim of royal vengeance, whose head had once been impaled on London Bridge as that of a traitor to the realm.

Dr Cosin's best efforts were at this time largely given to another design,—the erection of a new Commencement House and a new University Library, and the project was so far successful that plans for the new buildings were actually submitted to Charles for his approval. The king was pleased to sanction them and to command that the vice-chancellor and Heads should forthwith take steps for procuring subscriptions. A sum of £8000 had already been raised, when the events which will demand our attention in the next chapter arrested this spirited endeavour to give effect to the generous purpose of Buckingham[3].

Disastrous as had been the effects of the pestilence, there were many to whom they appeared of small moment when compared with the moral depression which stole over the university as the strong hand of authority continued to interpose its canons of religious belief. If controversy had been stifled by the *Declaration*, it was still lawful to strengthen orthodoxy by exposing the errors of Lutheranism[4]; and while

[1] —'qui multa nobis tum ipsi concesserunt tum ab aliis impetrarunt beneficia.' *Ibid.* p. 14.

[2] The Grace for the inclusion of bishop Fisher's name as that of one who was the 'adviser of the Lady Margaret and for thirty years Chancellor of the University,' passed the Senate 14 Feb. 1895,—a tardy recognition evoked by the appeal of the late Dr F. Watson in his Commemoration Sermon of 1894.

[3] MS. Baker, xxx 454.

[4] The following extract from a letter by Hartlib to Sir Thomas Roe (London, 10 Aug. 1640) shews the direction which the Cambridge activity was now taking: '...Meditatur Rev. Episcopus Sarisb. [Davenant] egregium opus de Fundamentalibus Fidei Capitibus, quod modo sub prelo est, componendis hisce Christiani *praesertim Evangelici* Orbis litigiis destinatum, magno procul dubio Ecclesiae bono...I heare the worthys of Cambridge are at worke to satisfie in like

Laud's arbitrary pretensions menaced the privileges of the university, the liberties of the nation at large seemed in peril owing to the dispersion of its great Council. To these ominous encroachments there was now added a renewed source of alarm. If parliament was silenced, Convocation could still give utterance to its convictions, and it now enunciated, in terms more explicit and emphatic than any that England had ever yet listened to, the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. Twelve years before, on the occasion of Manwaring's daring assertion of the doctrine, Laud himself had shrunk from the obloquy which he foresaw awaited its assertor, and would fain have left the published *Sermons* of that headstrong divine to share the fate of the *Appello*[1]. But now in those memorable Canons, enacted in London, assented to at York and confirmed by the Great Seal, and formally imposed on 'every member or student of college or hall,' on 'every reader of divinity or humanity in either of the universities,' men saw this doctrine constituted an article of faith, the rejection of which rendered the offender liable to a sentence of excommunication and suspension from all the emoluments of ecclesiastical or academic office[2].

To Cosin, as vice-chancellor, this mandate was transmitted, together with instructions to cause the famous *etcetera* oath to be administered to all resident members of the university[3]. The master of Peterhouse, although hitherto an energetic promoter of the Laudian reforms, was at this time in no hopeful mood. The far larger emoluments which

manner the requests of the doctours of Bremen. Only my Ld. Bish. of Duresme [Morton] is altogether silent. It may be the Northerne distractions hinder him from such and the like pacifical overtures. I am much grieved for his booke de Πολυτοπία (Ubiquity) Corporis Christi, which is now in the presse at Cambridge. For both the Bish. of Lincolne and Dr Hacket told me from the mouth of him that corrects it (an accurate and judicious scholler) that it was a very invective and bitter writing against the Lutheran tenets in that pointe, in so much that Dr Brownrig had written unto his Lordsp. about it, to put all into a milder traine.' *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, vol. CCCCLXIII, no. 67.

[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VI 208–210.

[2] Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I 380; Cooper, *Annals*, III 301–2.

[3] '... nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, ETC., as it stands now established.' Printed in full in Cooper, *Ibid.* III 302 n. 1; Gardiner, *u. s.* IX 146; Hutton, *The English Church* (1625–1714), pp. 82–83.

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CHAP. I.

he drew as prebendary of Durham seemed likely altogether to vanish in the conflict with 'the rebels' in the North, and, in replying to Laud, he candidly admits that 'the times,' to him, appear 'exceedingly bad'; while he begs that more definite instructions may be sent him with regard to the taking and administering of the new oath. Men, he says, are making a 'great noise' about it at Cambridge; and his perplexity is enhanced by the discovery that, in the copy of the oath sent to him, the word 'popish' is altogether omitted in the clause relating to Catholic superstitions. He would fain hope that this is only a 'scribe's error,' but he holds that 'the uncertainty of the "etceteri"' is a matter 'whereat many froward men are likely to stick[1].' His misgivings were fully justified by the sequel. To not a few it seemed a grave anomaly that Convocation should still be sitting when parliament had been dissolved. Among their number were Holdsworth, now master of Emmanuel, Brownrig, the recently installed master of St Catherine's, and Hacket, now an active parish priest in the important centre of St Andrew's, Holborn. 'These,' says Fuller, 'importunately pressed that Convocation might sink with the parliament, it being ominous and without precedent, that the one should survive when the other was expired[2].' They were supported by Godfrey Goodman, a former scholar of Trinity College, now bishop of Gloucester, but already a pervert to the Roman Church. Goodman, indeed, refused to give his adhesion to the new canons in their entirety, and paid the penalty of his presumption by actual suspension from office. He eventually submitted, but the opposition of Papist and Puritan alike had now been effectually roused.

Cosin to Laud: 21 Sept. 1640. His opprobrium on the subject.

The Etcetera oath.

The omission in the Cambridge copy.

Exceptions taken to the oath by Holdsworth, Brownrig, Hacket, and Godfrey Goodman.

The views of the opposite party found an able and courageous champion in Dr Beale. The circumstances under which his promotion to the mastership of St John's (at that time the largest of the Cambridge colleges) had taken place[3]

William Beale: his sermons at St Mary's: 27 Mar. 1640.

[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, ccccl.xvii, no. 129.
[2] Fuller-Brewer, vi 166.
[3] *Supra*, p. 117. In 1641 the number of members of St John's was 280; of Trinity 277. These numbers did *not* include servants. See Cooper, iii 314–5.

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had naturally still further attached him to Charles; and having been elected to the office of vice-chancellor in the same year, and also appointed to preach at St Mary's on the anniversary of the royal accession, his loyalty and gratitude found fervid expression in trenchant denunciation of the powers which, as he held, parliament was unjustly arrogating to itself. That his attack was not the outcome of mere bigotry may be inferred from the fact that he subsequently opposed with equal vigour Laud's claim to the right of visitation. Baker, indeed, pronounces Beale to have been 'an extraordinary man,' and is of opinion that he wanted only 'opportunity and time' to have raised his college to the highest pitch of prosperity. His very ability and conspicuous position made it, however, all the more impossible to ignore his conduct, and almost the last act of the 'Short Parliament' had been to call him to account. He was summoned up to Westminster to hear the allegations against him, while extracts from his sermon (delivered five years before) were referred to the consideration and examination of a Committee, further instructed to hold a conference with the Lords[1]. The day fixed for his appearance was the seventh of May; but on the fifth, parliament was dissolved. Writing to Cosin in the following July, he complained in bitter terms of the injury already done to his reputation, and augured ill of the treatment he had yet to look for at the hands of the Puritan party[2].

In the mean time, the judges affirmed the legality of Convocation continuing to sit, and the prevailing sentiments of the university were still unmistakeably loyal. On the birth of prince Henry (afterwards duke of Gloucester and earl of Cambridge) at Oatlands, these sentiments found

[1] Cooper, III 300; Baker-Mayor, [illegible]

[2] 'My comfort is if every article, [illegible] framed it, put into the Par[illegible] against me, had been in my [illegible] not a syllable' [would [illegible] false though indiscreet. [illegible] those faithfully disposed to [illegible] the King, and the Church shall [illegible] to look for is shewn by the Puritans usage of me. My good name is already bespattered all over England, in Cambridge, and St John's, and worst of all it has already half foiled me in the government of my college, which was the orderliest body for so great a one in the university.' 27 July 1640. *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, ccccli, no. 29.

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Verses by the University on the birth of Prince Henry: 5 July 1640

Election of burgesses for the Town: 27 Oct. 1640

Intervention of lord keeper Finch.

Election of Oliver Cromwell and John Lowrey.

Irritation of Cleveland.

expression in a collection of verses, imploring with more than ordinary fervour the richest blessings of Heaven on that one of Charles's children in whom the answer to their prayers seemed afterwards so singularly realised[1]. The town, on the other hand, gave evidence, some three months later, of strongly divergent feeling, when it devolved upon the constituency to return two burgesses for the new parliament. It was apprehended that there would be a warm contest, and the lord keeper Finch, also high steward of the town, ventured upon a bold endeavour to forestall the choice of the community. In a letter to the mayor and burgesses, after blandly expressing his hope that the new parliament would be a 'happie one,' he proceeded to recommend 'my cosen and freind Mr Thomas Meautys' and 'my brother Sir Nathaniel Finch' as worthy of their choice and likely to forward their interests[2]. The royalist party at St John's, headed by Cleveland, the poet, at that time a fellow of the college, strained every nerve to carry the election of the despotic Finch's nominees. But their efforts proved fruitless and the members returned were Oliver Cromwell and John Lowrey. Cromwell had already represented the borough in the Short Parliament, and on his being now declared head of the poll, Cleveland passionately exclaimed that 'that single vote had ruined both Church and Kingdom[3].' The result was probably received with more composure at the successful candidate's own college of Sidney, where, under

[1] *Voces votivae ab Academicis Cantabrigiensibus pro nuperrimo Caroli et Mariae Principe Filio emissae.* Cantabrigiae: apud Rogerum Daniel, 1640. 'In truth, the finest youth and of the most manly understanding that I have ever knowne.' Hyde to Rochester, *Clar. State Papers*, II. no. 1156. Among the contributors to the *Voces*, were Dr Collins, Dr Comber (master of Trinity), Dr Love, Dr Sterne, Peter Gunning, Pearson (afterwards bishop of Chester and expositor of the Creed), James Duport, and the poets Henry More, Crashaw and Cowley.

[2] See letter printed from 'Corporation Common Day Book' in Cooper, *Annals*, III 303-4.

[3] 'When Oliver was in election to be burgess for the town of Cambridge, as he engaged all his friends and interests to oppose it, so, when it was passed, he said with much passionate zeal, that single vote had ruined both Church and Kingdom.' *Life of Cleveland* prefixed to *Works* (ed. 1687). Cooper understands by this that Cromwell was returned by a majority of only *one*; but there is no record of the numbers and it seems more probable that Cleveland is referring to the collective vote. He was distinguished, as we shall subsequently see, by his personal antipathy to Cromwell.

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Samuel Ward, he had perhaps first become imbued with those puritan sympathies which had already earned for the society Laud's bitter antipathy[1]. As an undergraduate, however, Cromwell was distinguished rather as an athlete than in the schools; but he appears to have studied Greek and Roman history to some purpose, and he was able, it is said, when Protector, to converse with foreign ambassadors in Latin[2]. In parliament, as member for Huntingdon, he had already given sufficient evidence of his political leanings by a speech against the *Declaration*, and it was not without reason that Cleveland, from his point of view, prognosticated so gloomily with respect to the future results of this borough election at Cambridge.

[1] Cromwell was entered at Sidney 23 April 1616 but appears to have left the university in June 1617 without taking a degree.

[2] See Prof. C. H. Firth's valuable Memoir in the *D. N. B.* According to Winstanley, Cromwell took the part of 'Tactus' in the play of *Lingua*; and the same writer tells us 'that his Cambridge course, combined with his natural abilities, stood him in good stead in his after transactions...though he attained to no great perfection in learning.' *England's Worthies* (ed. 1660), p. 527.

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CHAPTER II.

THE EXILES TO AMERICA.

Tradition respecting Oliver Cromwell.

THE oft-repeated story, that Oliver Cromwell had actually taken his passage in a vessel bound for New England when he was stopped by an Order of Council[1], is discredited by the most authoritative research, but there is good reason for believing that he at one time fully intended to join the exiles across the Atlantic, and that he would have carried his design into effect, had he failed in his candidature for a seat in the Long Parliament. In the year of the assembling of that memorable parliament, about the time when the newly-elected members were on their toilsome journeys from the provinces to Westminster, the colony of New England was beginning to take shape as an independent Commonwealth[2]; and here, accordingly, a few pages may well be devoted to some account of the losses which Cambridge sustained, and of the corresponding gains of the New World, as the direct result of the long struggle between those opposing theories of government and belief which have thus far demanded so large a share of our attention.

Cambridge and the plantation of Virginia.

It is from a very early date in the history of American civilisation that we are able to trace a direct connexion between Cambridge and the colonisation of the New World. That connexion, as it first presents itself, is mainly associated with the plantation of Virginia,—with the generous impulses

[1] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia* (ed. 1702), p. 23. The evidence has been collected and sifted by Mr John Ward Dean in his *Story of the Embarkation of Cromwell*, etc. Boston, 1866.

[2] Winsor, *Hist. of America*, III 314.

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ut highly practical aims of the navigators and explorers of he Elizabethan age. It was within two years of the sailing f the first expedition,—the *Sarah Constant*, the *God-peed*, and the *Discovery*, from Blackwall,—that William rashaw, fellow of St John's and father of the poet, preached efore the Council and the little band of 'Adventurers' a emorable sermon[1]. Rarely, indeed, has pulpit oratory ssumed a form at once so practical and so philosophic. rashaw's discourse may be described as a cogent exposition f the grounds on which, even at this early stage, American olonisation appeared justified at once to the discerning ader and the enlightened patriot. All the arguments dduced to dissuade Englishmen from such perilous enter-rise, as derived from distance[2], climate[3], and hardships[4] to e encountered, are weighed and answered; all the con-derations which seemed to beckon the adventurer onwards, —such as the gain to the mother country and to Church and tate[5],—are urged with an eloquence which casts a veritable alo round this far-off Virginia, 'whom,' cried the preacher, hough mine eies see not, my heart shall love[6].'

[1] *A Sermon preached in London ore the right honorable the Lord ewarre, Lord Gouernour and Capt. nerall of Virginea, and others of Maiesties Counsell for that King-me and the rest of the Adventurers that Plantation. At the said Lord nerall his leave taking of England native Countrey, and departure Virginea*, Feb. 21, 1609. *By Crashaw, Bachelor of Divinitie, Preacher at the Temple. Wherein the lawfulnesse of that Action is intained and the necessity thereof also demonstrated, not so much out the grounds of Policie, as of Hu-nitie, Equity and Christianity.* ndon, 1610, pp. 85.

[2] '... a two moneths voyage, and hope we shall shortly be able say a moneths.' *Ibid.* p. 33.

[3] '... not so hot as Spaine rather the same temper with the South France.' *Ibid.* p. 35.

[4] '... no great thing achieved with-enduring miseries.' ... 'unworthie they to be counted fathers and nders of a new Church and Commonwealth that resolved not to undergoe and endure all difficulties, miseries and hardnesse that flesh and blood is able to bear.' *Ibid.* pp. 47–48.

[5] '...we shall mightily advance the honorable name of the English nation... inrich our nation, strengthen our navie, fortifie our kingdom.' *Ibid.* p. 76.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 82. Notwithstanding the enthusiastic spirit of these sentiments, however, it is clear, to quote the words of Mr Philip Bruce, that 'the Virginian enterprise was essentially a practical commercial undertaking' (*Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* [London, 1896], I 66–69, where the author brings into contrast, very effectively, the alleged and the genuine objects of the planters). Miss Kingsbury even goes so far as to say, 'the Virginia Company was purely a commercial enterprise conducted by a private concern.' *Introd. to the Records of the Virginian Company in London* (1905), p. 12.

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CHAP. II

Ten years later we find Henry Wriothesley, third earl of Southampton, who had been educated at St John's College, appointed governor of the Virginia Company—an organisation which, to quote professor Mayor's eulogium, 'secured to Virginia free trade, free trial, free government, and Christian education[1].' Southampton's deputy was John Ferrar, the brother of Nicholas Ferrar of Clare Hall. Along with their father, Nicholas, the two brothers appear as shareholders in the 'Somers Islands' as early as 1618, and the younger Nicholas was afterwards one of the directors of the Company. Another member of the Company was the eminent mathematician, Henry Briggs of St John's College, afterwards Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford, whose tables 'for the Improvement of Navigation' appeared in the year subsequent to that in which George Somers was cast ashore on the Bermudas.

Leading colonists from Cambridge: Earl of Southampton.

The three Ferrars.

Henry Briggs: b. 1561, d. 1630.

Somewhat later, John Pory of Caius College, one of Richard Hakluyt's most valued coadjutors[2], appears crossing the Atlantic as secretary to Sir George Yardley, the new governor of the colony. In 1621, Pory returned to England but sailed again for Virginia in 1623 in the capacity of commissioner. In the following year he finally returned to the mother country to settle down in London, where he acted for the next six years as one of Joseph Mede's most regular correspondents.

John Pory b. 1570, d. 1636.

In short, throughout the achievements and the hardships which mark the history of the earlier colonisation of Virginia, there breathes a spirit of romantic adventure in quest of gain, pursued in full sympathy with the country from whence its first leaders set forth, which is comparatively wanting in the conditions under which the colonisation of Plymouth and New England was carried out. 'The Virginia planter,' says Mr Brock, 'was essentially a transplanted

Anglican traditions of Virginia.

[1] *Lives of Nicholas Ferrar*, Pref. p. xvi; see also pp. 20–22, 202–217.

[2] 'I have for these 3 yeeres last past encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend, M. John Pory, one of speciall skill and extraordinarie hope to performe great matters in the same and beneficial for the Commonwealth.' Dedication to *Voyages* (ed. 1600), III.

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Englishman in tastes and convictions and emulated the social amenities and the culture of the mother country[1].'

Hakluyt's followers, accordingly, appear to have taken but little interest in the New England colonisation, and in John Pory's numerous letters to Mede we find but one reference to Transatlantic affairs,—a somewhat disparaging allusion to Nova Scotia and the doings of lord Baltimore[2]. At first, indeed, while the influence of home associations was still strong upon the settlers, we hear of designs in the direction of the higher education which were not destined to be realised. Gilman refers to 'a project for a university as early as 1624[3]'; and calls attention to the fact that 'several years before the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, the Virginia Company determined to set apart at Henrico, ten thousand acres of land for "a university," including one thousand for a College "for the children of the infidels" (*i.e.* the Indians).' But these commendable designs were never carried into accomplishment, and the mental culture of the earlier Virginian settler may be said to have been almost neglected. It was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that William Randolph, a relative of the

[1] Winsor, *u.s.* III 153. As for anything approaching to a spirit of [illegible] in religion, it is sufficient to note Crashaw's expressions, 'Suffer no Papists. Suffer no Brownists nor factious Separatists; let them keep their conventicles elsewhere.' *A Sermon, etc.*, p. 81. William Crashaw, it is to be noted, was at this time about 28 years of age and had been elected a fellow of St John's by royal mandate.

[2] Pory's acquaintance with the New World appears to have been limited to Virginia and Nova Scotia. Of the latter he speaks as 'that most horrid region and a land consisting of 'nothing but rocks, lakes, or mosses, like [illegible] which a man might thrust a [illegible] to the buthead in.' [illegible] to Mede, 12 Feb. 16[illegible]. [illegible] interest in these distant [illegible] attests not only the activity [illegible] enquiring mind but also, probably, the corresponding interest which the university at large was beginning to take. *Court and Times of Charles the First*, II 52–54, 60.

[3] Dr E. D. Neill, in *Virginia Vetusta*, informs us 'that an island in the Susquehanna, which the traveller may see to the north as he crosses the railroad bridge at Havre de Grace, was conditionally given for "the founding and maintenance of a universitie and such schools in Virginia as shall there be erected and shall be called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis*." The death of the projector, Edward Palmer, interrupted his plans.' See *An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University*, July 1, 1886, by Daniel C. Gilman, President of the Johns Hopkins University, 1886, p. 5. The intelligence and assiduity displayed by Nicholas Ferrar and his brother John (also of Clare Hall) in their efforts to further the developement of the colony were beyond all praise, but were frustrated by the representations of Gondomar to king James. *Lives* (*u. s.*), ed. Mayor, pp. 206–9.

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poet, founded the 'William and Mary College,' an institution which, although the only centre of higher education in the colony, it was found necessary to support by indirect taxation[1]. In his sturdy aversion from centralising interference, the tobacco-planter of Virginia, indeed, reminds us not a little of his contemporary—the Huguenot; but it is to New England that we must look for the features which bear out the late professor Seeley's criticism, wherein he describes the first settlers as quitting their native land with 'the determination not of carrying England with them but of creating something which should not be England[2].'

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From a correspondent of a different type to John Pory, Mede would probably have sought to gather some further information respecting these distant regions, the discovery of which, with their strange tribes, had already introduced a very perplexing factor into the calculations of the interpreter of prophecy, so that not a few divines were already inclining to the conclusion that, to use the expression of Cotton Mather, 'the Church of God was no longer to be wrapp'd up in Strabo's cloak[3].' Mede's own views, however, would perhaps never have been given to the world had it not been that his friend, Dr Twisse of Newbury, deemed it incumbent on him to interrogate the great Cambridge *savant* on the subject, he himself being sorely perplexed by the rising up of these new elements in the human race, scarcely to be classified as 'pagan' and 'not discovered till this Old World of ours is almost at an end.' 'And considering,' he goes on to say, 'our English Plantations of late and the opinion of many grave divines concerning the Gospel's fleeting Westward, sometimes I have had such thoughts, Why may not that be the place of the New Jerusalem?' Mede, however, having already peremptorily rejected this hypothesis, his corre-

Mede's perplexity in relation to the new discoveries.

He requests Dr Twisse who consults him on the subject.

America certainly to be the site of the New Jerusalem.

[1] 'There was no public education, the only institution of learning, William and Mary College, being supported by indirect taxes laid by the Assembly.' See the highly interesting sketch, *The Financial History of Virginia* (1609-1776): by Wm. Zebina Ripley, Ph.D., Columbia College, New York, 1893.

[2] *Expansion of England*, p. 125.

[3] *Magnalia*, bk. 1 2. Cf. George Herbert, *The Church Militant*, 'Then shall Religion to America flee; They have their Times of Gospel, e'en as we.'

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spondent goes on to discuss the somewhat painful alternative. 'But what, I pray, shall our English there degenerate and joyn themselves with Gog and Magog? We have heard lately, divers ways, that our people have no hope of the conversion of the natives; and the very week after I received your last letter I saw a letter written from New England discoursing of an impossibility of living there, yea, and that the Gospel is like to be more dear[1] in New England than in the Old. And lastly, unless they be exceeding careful and God wonderfully merciful, they are like to lose that life and zeal for God and His truth in New England which they enjoyed in the Old; as whereof they have already woful experience, and many there feel it to their smart.' It cannot be said that Mede, in replying to the above letter, appears much wiser than his correspondent. He gives it as his conclusion that the Tempter had been driven from Christendom to the New World by the gradual triumph of Christianity, or, as he quaintly puts it, 'that the Devil, being impatient of the sound of the Gospel and Cross of Christ in every part of this Old World, so that he could in no place be quiet for it, and foreseeing that he was like at length to lose all here, bethought himself to provide him of a seed over which he might reign securely, and in a place, *ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque nomen audiret*[2].' With respect to Gog and Magog, concerning whom he was already committed to a special theory[3], he prefers to maintain a discreet silence.

The evidence of a direct connexion between this singular theory as advanced by Mede and a similar belief which is to be found prevailing, more than a generation later, among New England divines, is wanting, but the circumstantial evidence leaves little doubt that such a connexion actually existed. When, indeed, we recall the influence which he exerted over the Cambridge of his time, the very Cambridge, that is to say, which sent forth the men who mainly governed and guided these new plantations in the West, who watched

[1] 'dear' in the sense of *scarce*.

[2] Christ's College, March 23, 1631: see Mede's *Works* (ed. 1672), p. 799; Cicero *ad Att.* xv 11, 3 and *ad Fam.* vii 30, 1.

[3] *Supra*, p. 24.

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over the spiritual needs of each little settlement, preached in the pulpit, administered the sacraments, and taught in the schools, it seems highly improbable that his views on such a question (to them one of close and personal interest) should have failed to become familiar. That his theory, by whatever channel imported, became a veritable tradition in the New England of the seventeenth century is incontestable. In the year 1702, Cotton Mather (who had succeeded in 1684 to the pastorate of the church at Boston and who, on more than one occasion, was a candidate for the presidency of Harvard College) published that remarkable compilation, his *Ecclesiastical History of New England*[1],—a volume with respect to which the student is embarrassed between his sense of the preservation of much that is valuable as fact along with not a little that attests the author's boundless credulity, lack of judgement, and violent prepossessions. If Prynne, who ridiculed so unsparingly the importance attached by Laud to dreams, could have lived to see to what depths of superstition Puritanism, unbridled alike by the judgement of the true scholar and the authority of the Church, could descend, he might have found in these pages food for profitable reflexion. For our present purpose, it is sufficient to note the fact that *the leading divine* of Boston in the last quarter of the seventeenth century[2], when endeavouring to find some acceptable explanation of those 'preternatural occurrences' to which he devotes a special chapter, is fain to reproduce Mede's theory. The godly of Boston were, indeed, by no means quick to discern much similarity between the New England in which their actual lot was cast and that New Jerusalem which it was their fondest hope that they should one day behold. On the

CHAP.

Cotton Mather: b. 1663, d. 1728.

His reproduction of Mede's theory.

[1] *Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from its first Planting in the year* 1620 *unto the Year of our Lord* 1698. In seven Books. By the Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, M.A. and Pastor of the North Church in Boston, New England. London: 1702.

[2] 'We mourn the decease...of *the first minister of the town*, the first in age, in gifts, and in grace; as all his brethren very readily own. I might add...the *first* in the whole province and provinces of *New England*, for universal literature and extensive services.' Colman, *Funeral Sermon*, etc., p. 23 [quoted by Peirce, *Hist. of Harvard University*, pp. 139–140].

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ry, they rather inclined to the theory that the former robably the arena in which Gog and Magog were ed to wage final battle, it being notorious that the nding country was haunted by supernatural agencies,— es[1], apparitions, devils,—all alike seeking to appal, nt and drag to destruction the souls of the faithful. e new settlers, accordingly,

'—the damp and desert sod
Walled in by dark old forest trees,'

d anything but a sanctuary for worship. 'Who can suggests Cotton Mather, 'whether the envy of the at the favour of God unto men, may not provoke them fect retirement from the sight of populous and pros- s regions, except so far as they reckon their work of ting mankind necessary to be carry'd on? Or, perhaps, not every countrey before which the devils prefer the ts. Regions in which the devils are much served by usages, either in worship or manners, which are pleasing em, are by those doleful creatures enough resorted unto. if sin much abound anywhere, some devils entreat that may *not be sent from thence into the wilderness.* But ns like the land of Israel, where the true God is con- lly pray'd unto and where the Word of God is continually ding, are filled with such things as are very uneasie unto levils. The devils often recede much from thence into vilderness, as the devil of Mascon would say to Mr Per- l, the minister that lived in the haunted house, *While o to prayer, I'll go take a turn in the street*[2].'

he belief in witches frequently expression on the occurrence rms at sea: 'the equinoctial were often attributed by the nt servants and even the repre- ives of higher classes to the nations of witches.' Bruce, mic History of Virginia, etc.,

gnalia, bk. vi, c. vii, 'Re- the Wonders of the invisible l in preternatural Occurrences,' Lecky, in his chapter on 'Magic and Witchcraft' (*Hist. of Rationalism*, Vol. I 118), observes that Boyle, while sceptical as to the evi- dence of many witch stories, 'ex- pressed his firm belief in the demon of Mascon.' Cotton Mather's pages form, indeed, a worthy pendant to Lecky's sketch of this superstition as it existed in Scotland. At Am- sterdam, on the other hand, the theory had been put forward, that the native element represented the Lost Tribes. See INDEX.

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idish as the above speculations now appear, they a real historical value as illustrating the peculiar ey on which, from the very first, may be said to have oded over New England colonisation in the minds of its ef promoters,—its intimate association with suffering for nscience sake. So long as the Church assumes the right penalise divergencies of theological belief, so long, it may with certainty be predicted, recalcitrant spirits will be found rising up to challenge both her right to such authority and the justice of her decisions, and of this the earlier relations between England and the New World afford ample evidence.

Relevance of such theorization to New England experience.

In the preceding volume[1], we have already seen how, in the days of the Marian persecution, the Reformers retreated to the Continent, and how Zürich and Strassburg, and more especially Frankfort, in turn afforded shelter to that assertion of a right of private judgement which afterwards expanded into Separatism. It was not surprising, indeed, that when the little band of exiles sought to elaborate for themselves a new system both of belief and ritual, divergencies of opinion should soon have become manifest. At Frankfort the controversies waged over the first Prayer Book of king Edward's reign had given rise to 'troubles' which, thirty years later, proved the source of most of the difficulties against which Whitgift, while at Cambridge[2], had to contend, and which multiplied after his departure. At Christ's College the brothers Francis and George Johnson carried on an agitation for which the former atoned by the forfeiture of his fellowship and expulsion from the university; while George, the younger, had been fain to retreat to London where he soon associated himself with the main body of the Separatists in the capital. The year 1593 found them both in prison,—Francis in the Clink, George in the Fleet. While thus immured, they had contrived notwithstanding to carry on correspondence, but one which was neither fraternal even amicable; and when, after five years' incarceration they were released and met, it was as fugitives from the ships, the *Hopewell* and the *Chancewell*, in which

Further development of the teaching of Cartwright and Walter Travers in the university.

[1] II. 172–4.

[2] *Ibid.* II. 277.

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designed by the Council in London to transport them of the realm to Newfoundland. Both vessels, however, er stress of weather, were compelled to put back, and the hers succeeded in effecting their escape,—Francis, along Daniel Studley[1] from the *Hopewell*, George Johnson, g with John Clarke, a former mayor of St Albans, from *Chancewell*. Their flight to Amsterdam, and the dissen- s among their followers which there broke out, to become andal to Protestant Europe, are described in detail by ter; and the ancient but now fast-growing city[2] itself uired a notoriety which led bishop Hall, in 1608,— ough his sympathies were at that time mainly with the itans,—to describe it as 'a common harbour of all nions, of all heresies[3].' But the extent of religious free- to which the exiles now laid claim altogether tran- nded the limits of a practicable church organisation. The thers themselves, moreover, again quarrelled, and this e irreconcilably. Francis Johnson, although able to 'hire reat house with sundry rooms to spare,' refused shelter to rge, whom he stigmatized as 'a nourisher of tale-bearers, launderer, a teller of untruths[4]'; and, on accepting the torate of a separate church, excluded him from communion rewith. George, in retaliation, compiled an elaborate

Referred to by bishop Joseph l as 'your elder Daniel Studley on your pastor' [*i.e.* Henry Ains- th] 'so much extolleth,' *Apology* *Church of England against the* *rists* (1610), Hall-Wynter, IX 34; probably a relative of John Stud- fellow of Trinity and translator lenera, who in 1573 was obliged resign his fellowship owing to nonconformity in matters of rine. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 100. ter gives the name of one Jerome ley who died in Newgate, a [illegible] under similar persecution. [illegible], p. 207 n.

When the twelve years' truce Spain was signed in 1609, [illegible] is said to have increased twenty years from 70,000 to [illegible] and it more than doubled during the next decade. It included representatives of every known people.' Dexter (H. M. and Morton), *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, pp. 412–3.

[3] Hall-Wynter, VI 186–88. 'If I were obstinate too, you might hope with the next gale for me, your more equal adversary, at Amsterdam.' *Apology*, *Ibid.* IX 6. 'Heresy is not more frequent in Rome, than apostasy at Amsterdam; nor indulgences more ordinary there, than here excommunications.' *Ibid.* IX 28–29. See also Young (A.), *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*[2] (Boston, 1844), pp. 23–24. As a member of the Synod of Dort, Hall must have had excellent opportunities for informing himself accurately with respect to the churches at Amsterdam and Leyden.

[4] Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 286.

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treatise[1] to prove how completely his brother was in the wrong, and in the preface to this remarkable volume adjured him to 'let bond of nature, duetie to country, Christian charitie, sinceritie of profession' move him 'to repentance,' only to find, however, that 'a brother offended is harder to win than a strong cittie[2].' The writer subsequently enlarges at length on the points, first of agreement and then those of disagreement, in his brother's Church when compared with the former banished English Church at Frankfort, his main melancholy conclusion being summed up, in his 'Address to the Reader,' in the following terms: 'If he that Anno 1575 published the troubles which begun at Frankford Anno 1554, ...complayned and lamented for the unsavourie dealings against the truth and the professors thereof by reason of their troubles: and that not only profane and unbrideled skoffers, but even preachers (and that in theyre pulpits) such as were to be reverenced for the gifts God had given them, brake into verie unsavourie speeches and unjust accusations.....what may these trobles look for in these Daies, wherein skoffing is come to the height, and all is covered under pregnancie of Witt, Policie, more than Religion, possesseth men's hearts, and all overspread with the cloke of counterfeyte wisdome[3]?'

George Johnson commences his *Discourse*: Mi

He compar the church Amsterdam with the former church at Frankfort.

The long bitter diatribe was however never completed. Expelled from Amsterdam by his own brother,—a well merited sentence, if we may credit Henry Ainsworth, 'for lying, slandering, false accusation and contention,'—George Johnson was fain to betake himself back to England, was again consigned to prison, this time in Durham gaol, and

His own brother expels him from Amsterdam

[1] *Discourse of some Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam. Published for sundry causes declared in the Preface to the Pastour of the sayd Church*..... Printed at Amsterdam, 1603. A black letter volume of over 200 pages, the only copy of which was supposed by Dexter to be that which he discovered, with the aid of Dr Aldis Wright, in Trinity College Library. Dexter rightly affirms that the treatise throws 'a flood of light' on the condition of the exiles in the little church in Holland. *Congregationalism*, pp. 271–2. Another copy has been found in the Library of Sion College, London.

[2] *Discourse*, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 73–93. 'They at Frankford,' he observes, 'were content to take counsel, use the help of the Ministers, and to follow the French Churches in good things.' *Ibid.* p. 73.

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le there endeavouring to bring his volume to a conclusion cumbed to the rigours of his confinement. His departure n Amsterdam had not been followed by a cessation of se 'troubles' to which he had himself so materially con- uted; and his brother, along with his 'Franciscans,' as y were satirically styled, soon after found it necessary to ove to Emden, in East Friesland, while Ainsworth suc- ded to the premises which they had occupied and to the ition of pastor of those members of the church who had ained behind[1]. The doubt which so long attached to his im to be regarded as a member of the university has been lly set at rest by the publication of the Caius College isters[2]. It may now be regarded as an ascertained fact t the distinguished leader of the Separatists at Amster- n was a native of Norfolk, who, in 1586 came up from anton Morley and entered at St John's College; that in e following year he migrated to Caius College and was re elected to a scholarship which he continued to hold til Lady Day 1591. Two years later he appears as one of e exiles at Amsterdam, and he must consequently have itted Cambridge before the arrival of Ferdinand, the w, revived for a time the well-nigh extinct study of ebrew in the university[3]. We must therefore attribute the foundation at Caius College of a Hebrew lectureship Dame Joyce Frankland in 1585[4], those modest acquire- ents in that language which he afterwards turned to

[1] 'It was a curious circumstance, d one to which Robinson and ewster did not fail to advert in eir letter to Ainsworth, that "they e the 'Franciscans'] who would ve no peace with their brethren eding in the same city with them" re thus obliged "to leave it them- ves and to settle their abode else- ere." Dexter, u. s. p. 339.

[2] *Biographical History of Gonville & Caius College*. By John Venn. 1852. *It. N. B. Errata*, p. 4. These rs altogether dispose of Roger illams' assertion, when claiming or Henry Ainsworth 'had scarce r peer amongst a thousand acade- rians for the Scripture originals' [*i.e.* Hebrew and Greek], that he '*yet scarce set foot within a college walls*,' an erroneous statement on which he grounded the inference that 'God's people have many ways, besides the university, lazy and monkish, to attain to an excellent measure of the knowledge of the tongues.' *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*, etc. (ed. 1848), p. 265. Williams wrote this in 1641 when Ainsworth had been dead 21 years, and there seems to be no ground for Dexter's assertion (p. 270 n.) that the former 'seems to have known' the latter 'well.'

[3] Vol. II 417.

[4] Venn, *Annals*, III 246-7.

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CHAP. I

His early experience at Amsterdam.

William Brewster b. 1560(?) d. 1644.

such excellent account. At Amsterdam, indeed, he is said to have been at one time under the necessity of supporting himself by acting as a porter to a bookseller; while William Brewster, who had entered at Peterhouse in 1580[1], gained a livelihood by teaching English to the young Dutchmen of the city, a task in the performance of which we learn that he was materially aided by a 'knowledge of Latin and a little Greek' which he had carried away from Cambridge after but a short period of residence[2].

The chief teachers of these exiles in Holland were, indeed, all Cambridge men. And although some uncertainty still exists as to which of the colleges educated John Robinson, whose life abroad was passed and ended in Leyden[3], it is certain that John Smith, 'the Se-Baptist,' belonged to Christ's College, and Robert Browne, 'the first pastor of the first Independent church in England,' to that of Corpus Christi[4]; while in the long array of names which confront us in the pages of George Johnson's querulous narrative, there are not a few which may fairly be supposed to be those of Cambridge graduates of whom no other record is preserved. A like conjecture, however, cannot be supported in connexion with the sister university, whose registers offer in this respect a complete contrast,—the name of Matthew Slade of St Alban Hall, a distinguished scholar and the friend of Casaubon, being the only one which also occurs in the list of Francis Johnson's congregation. Much the same holds good with

The chief teachers of the exiles in Holland mainly under the direction of Cambridge men.

Comparative rarity of Oxford graduates.

Matthew Slade: b. 1568. d. 1629(?)

[1] The eminent founder of New Plymouth does not appear to have proceeded to a degree. *D. N. B. Errata*, p. 36. Dr Walker attributes Brewster's education at Peterhouse to the patronage of archbishop Sandys, under whose brother, Sir Samuel Sandys, William Brewster, senior (the father of the 'Pilgrim Father'), held the land which he cultivated. See *Peterhouse*, p. 120, n. 1; also the interesting chapter on 'Scrooby, the Birthplace of the Pilgrim Church,' in *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*. By the late H. M. Dexter and his Son. 1905. p. 283.

[2] Bradford (W.), *Hist. of the Plymouth Plantation*, in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 409.

[3] Robinson's identity with the John Robinson admitted at Emmanuel 2 March 1592–3, assumed by Young (*Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 452), is shewn by Gordon's article in *D. N. B.* to be at least open to question. Dexter (p. 360) supposes him to be the John Robinson of Corpus who matriculated in 1592 and of whom Masters says 'Fell. 1598. Qu. beneficed near Yarmouth in Norfolk, but being molested by the Ecclesiastical Courts, removed to Leyden, where he set up a Congregation of the manner of the Brownists.' *A List of Members*, etc., p. 41.

[4] Vol. II 300–2.

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respect to the emigrants to New Plymouth and New England, John Davenport of Merton (and afterwards of Magdalen) and Richard Mather[1] of Brasenose (the father of Increase Mather) being apparently the only two prominent Oxonians in the primary group of teachers in the latter colony. Of these, the former, having incurred the displeasure of Laud by his courageous efforts on behalf of the distressed ministers in the Palatinate, fled in 1634 to Amsterdam where he was elected co-pastor of the Separatist church; while the latter, who emigrated directly to America, became distinguished as the author of a scheme of church organisation which was destined to become the basis of the better known 'Cambridge Platform[2].' It was to Cambridge, in short, that the Puritan, having gained a haven beyond the reach of the persecutor, would ever and anon gratefully revert in memory, as to the arena where Cartwright had done battle for spiritual freedom, where Perkins had taught, where Preston, Chaderton and Sibbes were then actually pleading and contending for the rights and liberties which he and they alike held so dear[3].

But on the other hand, the sympathy which went out to the exiles from those of their party who remained behind in the university cannot have failed to undergo some diminu-

[1] Richard Mather entered at Brasenose 9 May 1618, but continued to reside in Oxford only a short time, a fact which may partially explain why the historian of the College professes (p. 125) entire ignorance of his subsequent history. *Hist. of Brasenose College*. By John Buchan. 1898.

[2] *Church Government and Church-Covenant discussed in an Answer of the Elders of the severall Churches in New England to two and thirty Questions sent over to them by divers Elders in England*, etc. 1643. 'Of which Book my father was the sole Author.' Mather (Increase), *Order of the Gospel*, etc. (1700), p. 73. Dexter, who recognises in this treatise the influence of Francis Johnson, gives a careful analysis of the *Platform* agreed to by a Synod of the New England Churches in 1647 and cites evidence to shew that Richard Mather's treatise was 'that out of which it was chiefly taken.' *Congregationalism*, pp. 426, 438–447.

[3] A feature in our University history which it has appeared to me all the more necessary to bring into due prominence, in that it has been left almost unrecognised by the chief writers on the period, not excepting even Gardiner, who leaves it altogether unmentioned in his able chapter on the Separatists (*History of England*, c. XXXVI); see also James Russell Lowell's *Oration*, in *Record of Harvard Commemoration* (1886), p. 201, where, after naming seven divines, five of whom were of Cambridge, he speaks of the entire number as 'ministers trained at Oxford *and* Cambridge.'

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CHAP.

Prevalence of contentions among the exiles in Holland.

tion as it became evident that, wherever they settled, dissensions almost invariably broke out; and it was certainly not without good reason that bishop Hall, in his notable letter of remonstrance addressed to John Smith and Robinson, gave expression to the wish that their followers 'loved truth but half as much as they did strife[1].' So obvious indeed was this discreditable feature, that Charles Morton, writing at an interval of half a century, was fain to urge by way of extenuation that in Holland 'they were *necessitated* to defend the cause of Christ by writing against opposites of various sorts[2].' The causes which brought about the migration to Leyden are however too clearly recorded by Bradford to be gainsaid: 'When Mr Robinson,' he writes, 'Mr Brewster and other principal members had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr Robinson, their pastor, and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr John Smith and his company were already fallen into contention with the church which was there before them, and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same.....they removed to Leyden, a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by the University by which it is adorned[3].'

The migration from Amsterdam to Leyden A.D. 1609 John Robinson b. 1575(?) d. 1625.

It cannot however be affirmed that, with the removal to Leyden, the spirit of controversy materially abated, although Robinson's church there enjoyed, we are told, 'a steady and continuous growth and numbered nearly three hundred communicants[4],' while he himself became a student in the university and was a frequent auditor at the lectures of Episcopius[5] and Polyander. Arminianism was rampant all

Fortunes prospects in Leyden.

[1] Hall-Wynter, vi 187.

[2] Preface (written 1680) to Bradford's *History*, p. i.

[3] *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 34–35. A highly interesting sketch of the Leyden of this period is to be found in the recent work of the two Dexters, *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, pp. 475–595; 'the records,' they say, 'mention the occupations of 131 persons whose names or other details concerning whom imply their English connections, and eighty-six of whom are known to have belonged in some sense to the Pilgrim company.' See p. 488, where their respective occupations are particularised.

[4] Dexter, *u. s.* p. 389.

[5] If Robinson had not himself disputed with Episcopius in the schools on Arminian doctrine, on which occasion he is said to have been pronounced the victor, we might incline to the belief that, in his later views, he was not uninfluenced by the teacher who afterwards inspired divines like Chillingworth and Hoadly. See Dexter, pp. 388 9; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, p. 21.

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around, and Robinson soon acquired additional distinction by the ability with which he confronted its adherents. He even went so far as to write in defence of that famous Synod which he had seen assemble at Dordrecht, so near at hand, and there hold its memorable discussions[1]. But after a few years, more practical considerations began to force themselves on the attention alike of pastor and church. It became more and more evident that the prospect of ever being able permanently to improve their condition in the foreign city was but small, while it was slowly recognised that Holland generally was not the country in which their children could be brought up with advantage,—the parents themselves being only too conscious that they ran the risk of ultimately losing their national character[2]. But most noteworthy of all was the change which appears now to have taken place in the mind of Robinson himself. As his troublous life drew near its close, his inclination for controversy diminished, while he became especially distinguished by a breadth of view and tolerance of divergencies of belief which mark him out as a thinker of profound insight and originality. He began to perceive, what others in the succeeding generation were to discern yet more clearly, that doctrinal theology did not admit of a final settlement at the hands of any disputant in the schools, however able, or of any thinker in his study, however profound. The true Church's creed could not be held to have been permanently stereotyped either in the teaching of Martin Luther or in that of John Calvin; and although the sentiments of the pastor at Leyden towards the followers of these two great teachers were far from unfriendly, the actual condition of the two communions filled him with apprehension, sinking as they seemed to be into apathy and

[1] See Vol. II 560–562; as already noted, out of the five divines deputed by king James to attend the Synod four were from Cambridge.

[2] —'considering how hard the country was where we lived, how many spent their estate in it and were forced to return for England, ... how like we were to lose our language and our name of English, how little good we did or were likely to do to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received, etc.' Winslow's *Briefe Narration of the true Grounds or Cause of the first planting of New England*, Young's *Chronicles*, p. 382.

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formalism and possessed by an unpromising reluctance either to pursue the path which might lead to the reconcilement of their respective doctrines or to work out their independent fuller developement. The Christian scholar, as John Robinson now taught, was bound continually to search the Scriptures as a means of attaining to fresh 'light and truth[1]'; the Church itself should ever be aspiring to realise more fully the Divine conception as it reveals itself to the devout and reverent enquirer; and finally, says the narrator, 'he advised us by all means to close with the godly party of the Kingdom of England, and rather to study union than division, viz. how near we might possibly without sin close with them, than in the least degree to affect division or separation from them[2].'

Such was the burden of the Address wherewith, five years before his death, Robinson sought at once to animate and to admonish that little band of his disciples who were about, with his full sanction, to take their departure from Leyden and embark at Plymouth in the *Mayflower*. A more striking contrast to the discourse delivered in London by William Crashaw, ten years before, it would be difficult to imagine. So foreign, indeed, do these utterances seem to the prevailing theological atmosphere of those days that the sceptically inclined have been disposed to regard them as an anachronism, and Dexter characterises Winslow's summary as an endeavour to exalt Robinson 'as the Apostle of a thought so progressive as to be quite out of sight of his own times[3].' The adoption of such a canon of criticism in relation to history at large, would however involve the deposition of not a few seers whose conceptions have been in advance of their own generation; and it is to be borne in mind, not only that Edward Winslow had studied under Robinson at Leyden and was one of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, but

[1] 'He was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to brake out of his Holy Word.' Prince (Tho.), *New England Chronology* (Boston, 1736); reprinted in Arber's *English Garner*, II 416. See also Sandys (Dr J. E.), *Harvard Lectures on the Revival of Learning*, p. 204.

[2] Winslow, *Briefe Narration* (u.s.), pp. 397–8.

[3] *Congregationalism*, etc., p. 409.

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also that it was one of the main objects of his treatise to disprove the allegation that 'division in the church at Leyden was the occasion, nay cause, of the first plantation in New England.' 'As if,' he indignantly exclaims, 'the foundation of our New England plantations had been laid upon division or separation, *than which nothing is more untrue*[1]'!

But whatever doubt may attach to the credibility of the above episode, as described by one who was subsequently himself Governor of the new settlement, none can reasonably be suggested in connexion with the main features of the expedition. As the fire which burned on the altars reared by the colonists throughout ancient Hellas had been borne across the waters from the Prytaneum in Athens, so the light of faith which illumined the new colony on the shore of Plymouth Bay was conveyed thither by this little band of pilgrims from the 'Athens of the West[2].' William Brewster, the Nestor of the party, succeeded in carrying with him his library of 274 volumes, 'sixty-four of which were in the learned languages[3]'; and although the conviction that their more advanced views would scarcely be tolerated in Virginia, might have deterred their leaders from sailing for that eminently conservative colony, Winslow energetically vindicates the whole body from the charge of being actuated, at their setting out, by a spirit of uncompromising Separatism[4], and the fact that they sailed under the sanction of the Virginia Company in London[5] lends support to his disclaimer.

[1] *Briefe Narration*, p. 380. For Gardiner's assertion (*Hist. of England*, iv 170) that 'if Robinson had had his way, the English Church would have been parcelled out into a number of independent congregations, the members of which would have treated the mass of their countrymen as unworthy of the very name of Christians,' I fail to discern the justification.

[2] 'Of the 34 more than half are known to have come from Leyden; in fact, but four are certainly known to be of the Southampton accession.' Weeden, *Hist. of America*, III 268.

[3] Young's *Chronicles*, etc., p. 27.

[4] — 'however the church of Leyden differed in some particulars, it made no schism or separation from the Reformed Churches, but held communion with them occasionally.' *Briefe Narration*, p. 391. 'And for the French Churches, that we held and do hold communion with them, take note of our practice at Leyden.' *Ibid.* p. 393.

[5] — 'our agents repaired to the Virginia Company, who demanded our ends of going; which being related they said that the thing was of God.' Winslow, p. 383; Winsor, III 269. According however to Bradford, a strong opposition to settling in Virginia emanated from England: 'Some againe (*and those that were*

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The exiles in the *Mayflower* had, indeed, in the course of their negotiations with the English Crown prior to their departure from Leyden, already recognised the theory of a certain authority being vested in the State in connexion with religious matters; and, to quote the language of Mr Doyle, had thereby established 'the conciliatory and acquiescent character of the Puritanism of Plymouth as distinguished from the militant and aggressive type of Puritanism which animated the later settlement of Massachusetts[1].' In the developement of this 'type,' however, it is undeniable that the influence of teachers whom Cambridge had educated is again paramount, and it is to Massachusetts Bay that we must next turn,—to where at Salem, Boston, and the new Cambridge, a movement is to be seen in process far exceeding that at Plymouth Bay in importance and in permanence.

The policy of the earliest settlers in New England seemed at first to augur well neither for breadth of culture nor for tolerance in belief. Among bishop John Williams' contemporaries at St John's during the time when he was a fellow of the college, were two brothers of distinguished promise, Timothy and Francis Higginson, the former slightly Williams' senior, the latter some few years his junior[2]. Timothy became a fellow of the society, but Francis, although probably the abler man, was less fortunate. He retired first of all to the living of Claybrooke in Leicestershire, his native county,

most relied on) fell in utter dislike with Virginia, and would do nothing if they went thither.' *History*, etc., quoted by Morton Dexter in the *England and Holland*, p. 586.

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, VII 12-13; Winsor, III 265. Mr Oscar S. Straus discerns in the Plymouth community 'a more tolerant and humane spirit' than is observable in the other colonists: 'they counseled moderation towards Quakers and were never guilty of burning witches.' *Roger Williams* (New York, 1894), p. 16. That they subsequently became staunch Separatists is, however, unquestionable. Morton tells us that when John Lyford was sent out to be their pastor, 'the brethren, before they would allow it, would have him first renounce his calling to the office of the ministry, received in England, and then to receive a new calling from them.' *New English Canaan* (quoted by Felt, *Ecclesiastical History of New England*, I 88).

[2] Mr Arthur Gray (*Hist. of Jesus College*, p. 91) speaks of Francis as 'admitted at Jesus College in 1608, but B.A. of St John's in 1609.' This appears to be correct; but Shuckburgh confuses him with a Francis Higginson who was 'entered at Emmanuel in 1622' (*Hist. of Emmanuel College*, p. 46), a date which cannot be made to synchronise with the facts of the personal career of the minister at Salem. See *D. N. B.* XXVI 372.

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and subsequently to Leicester itself, on being appointed to the preachership of St Nicholas in that town. Here, notwithstanding his ability as a preacher, the puritanical leanings of his teaching compelled him in 1627 to vacate his post; and bishop Williams, to whom his talents and attainments were well known and who probably sympathised to a certain extent with his religious scruples, had to employ his best endeavours to save him from destitution[1]. Higginson was permitted to hold an afternoon lectureship and also to assist an aged incumbent of one of the Leicester churches in the performance of his duties; while his former parishioners aided him with voluntary contributions. At this stage, however, Laud intervened and managed to procure the withdrawal of the young preacher's licence, and the latter was now fain to find employment as a teacher of students who were preparing for the university. Scanty as were his resources, he was endeavouring to aid those who were yet more in need than himself,—the exiles from the Palatinate,—by collecting funds in their behalf, when he learned that he was shortly to be summoned before the Court of High Commission[2], and, having already become deeply interested in the prospects of the rising settlements in America, he forthwith made an offer of his services as minister to the Massachusetts Bay Company. The company had just received its charter of incorporation together with powers which enabled them to establish a local subordinate government on New England soil, and Higginson's offer was cordially accepted[3]. He was not only appointed, with a liberal salary and a [illegible] of provision for his family in the event of his death, but was also nominated a member of the New England

[illegible] Williams encouraged preaching [illegible] was himself active as a preacher [illegible] in his diocese, and according to Heylyn was on this very account [illegible] reported to the King for an up[illegible] Nonconformitants.' *Scrinia Reserata* II 39.

[1] Higginson's efforts were probably [illegible] of the circular letter issued [illegible] at this time Master of [illegible], asking for contributions for the exiles, an appeal which led to his being cited in 1627, along with William George of King's College, and two others, before the Star-Chamber. 'The four,' says Gardiner (VII 261), 'were reprimanded for this act of invitation to charity, which seemed likely to be more favourably received than the forced loan had been.'

[2] Winsor, III 311.

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CHAP. II.

Council. In a farewell sermon at Leicester he predicted the woes that awaited his own country, and gave expression to a fervent hope that the infant colony to whose spiritual needs he was shortly to minister might 'be designed by Heaven as a refuge and shelter for the exiles against the storms which were coming upon the nation and a region where they might practice the Church Reformation which they had been bearing witness unto[1].'

His farewell sermon at Leicester.

On the 25th of April 1629, Francis Higginson sailed from Gravesend in the *Talbot*, together with his wife and eight children, arriving in the harbour at Salem on the 29th of June. As the English coast faded out of sight, Cotton Mather records how, along with his family, he took his stand at the stern of the vessel, straining his eyes for a last glimpse of that native land which he was never again to see. If tradition may be trusted, an auditor noted down one fervid utterance which appears to have been intended to define and justify to his own mind the momentous decision which he was carrying into irrevocable effect: 'We will not say,' he said, 'as the Separatists were wont to say, at their leaving of England, "Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!" But we will say Farewell, dear England! Farewell, Church of God in England and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from corruptions of it; but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the Gospel in America[2].' The separation which he had in mind when he uttered this language was, however, in Felt's opinion, something 'very different from what he embraced in the colony,'—the latter, he holds, being 'reconcilable with the reform which he proposed to adopt as duty should dictate[3].' It is evident indeed that from the time

His departure for New England.

After repudiating the idea of separation from the Church of England, he establishes a church at Salem on a Separatist basis.

[1] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. III, c. i, p. 74. The mere absence of any trace of such language in Higginson's own *Journal* hardly warrants our rejection of the story. The change which his views underwent subsequent to his landing would sufficiently account for this. What is more significant is his determined optimism in recording his first impressions of New England and its natural features, an account comparable only with that given by Sir Walter Ralegh of Guiana.

[2] Felt, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England*, I 110-11.

[3] *Ibid.*

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that he landed a change came over the tone of his teaching. He drew up a Confession of Faith which was soon censured as inclining to anabaptism; he ignored the Book of Common Prayer in his services; and under the exhilaration produced, apparently, by change of climate, he averred that 'a sup of New England's air was better than a whole draught of Old England's ale[1].' But whatever may have been his ultimate designs, they were brought to a termination by his premature death, which took place within thirteen months after his arrival. A certain personal charm, combined with genuine ability and attainments, served to perpetuate his memory long after he was gone; and, in professor Tyler's opinion, 'no braver or more exquisite spirit adorned the first decade of New England colonisation[2].'

Within little more than a month after Francis Higginson's arrival out at Salem, a meeting of primary importance had been held in Cambridge, not indeed under academic auspices nor, as far as we know, in any one of the colleges,—more probably in one of the ancient inns of the Town,—a gathering however, which although unnoted by any contemporary annalist, may be said to have been attended by consequences hardly to be over-estimated when viewed in connexion with their effects alike on the Old and the New World[3]. The members of the Massachusetts Company were summoned together for consultation, and after long debating of *pros* and *cons*, arrived at a series of decisions which ultimately involved not only their own departure from the country but also the transference of the administration of the affairs of

[1] See his *New England's Plantation* (1629); reprinted in *Mass. Historical Collections*, 1 120-1.

[2] *Hist. of American Literature*, 1 168.

[3] Felt, who compares this assemblage to the Achaean League, to which however he pronounces it greatly superior both as regards its conception and its results, further observes, 'Various have been the covenants formed by individuals of different nations and for divers purposes, but none of them has exceeded that before us in purity of motive, in denial of selfishness, in firmness of purpose and in nobleness of end.' *Ecclesiast. Hist. of New England*, pp. 120-1. The names of the twelve members of the Company who thus met he gives (p. 119) as follows: Ri. Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharp, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pynchon, Kellam Browne, William Colbron. Young [*Chronicles (Mass.)*, p. 282] gives the same list, but 'Pynchon' is here spelt 'Pinchon.'

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CHAP

Despair the Old World Massachusetts Company resolves settle in New.

the new colony to New England. It was with feelings of despair that they too regarded the condition of their native country and that of Europe at large. If they looked across the Channel, 'the Churches' seemed 'brought to desolation'; while at home 'the ffountaines of learning and religion' appeared corrupt with 'licentious government[1]'; the universities, more especially, were denounced as centres 'where men straine at knatts and swallowe camels,' and, while employing 'all severity for maineteynance of cappes and other accomplyments, suffer all ruffianlike fashions and disorder in manners to passe uncontrolled.' Let the Company therefore cross the Western waters, undismayed by the fate of Virginia, whose settlers might thank 'there owne slouth and security for the misfortunes which had overtaken them[2].'

John Winthrop b. 1588, d. 1649.

Such was the language of the foremost leader on this memorable occasion; and in order to understand how it was, that John Winthrop came to be at Cambridge on such business in August 1629, it will be necessary here to take note of the leading facts in the personal history of one whom New England has since agreed to recognise as the 'Moses' of its colonisation.

Relation of the Winthrop family to the universi

Adam Winthrop b. 1498, d. 1562.

John Winthrop the elder, one of the undergraduates admitted at Trinity College in 1602, belonged to a Suffolk family who, early in the sixteenth century, had acquired sufficient wealth to enable its head, Adam Winthrop, to purchase the manor of Groton in Suffolk,—a property formerly held by the suppressed monastery of Bury St Edmund's; and for the next two generations the history of the family becomes closely associated with the university.

[1] In the 'copy' of this document printed by Young, this passage is as follows: 'most children, even the best, wittiest, and of fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown by the multitude of evil examples and licentious governors of those seminaries.' See *General Considerations for Planting New England*, in Young, *Chronicles (Mass.)*, p. 272.

[2] Hutchinson (T.), *Original Papers*, pp. 25-26. *Reasons to be considered for justificinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, and for incouraginge such whose hearties God shall move to joyne wth them in it.* Winthrop (Jo.), *Life and Letters*, i 309-17; Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, p. 302; Young (Alex.), *Chronicles (Mass.)*, pp. 271-278. The allusion to Virginia refers to the abolition of the Company in 1625, when, according to Ripley, 'the community became a true body politic, and the real history of taxation begins.' *Financial History of Virginia*, p. 93.

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m, who is characterised in the ancestral pedigree as *vir et verae religionis amans*, was the father of seven dren, of whom his namesake, the third son, succeeded to estate at Groton, and a daughter, named Alice, married mas Mildmay (afterwards Sir Thomas), one of the Essex lmays,—a family which, like the Winthrops, had risen importance mainly on the ruins of the monasteries, and hich Sir Walter, the founder of Emmanuel College, was of the most distinguished members. The younger m, for more than 16 years, held the office of auditor at St John's and Trinity, regularly travelling up to bridge from Groton Hall in the winter time in order to harge the duties attaching to his appointments. His wife was Alice Still, a sister of that Dr John Still who, e have already seen[1], was successively master of the two societies; while Dr Still's first wife was Anne aster, daughter of Thomas Alabaster of Hadleigh in olk, and Roger Alabaster, her nephew, had married m Winthrop's sister Bridget,—a series of interreciprocal tionships which may fairly be supposed to have stood, in e measure, in the relation of cause and effect as regarded m's appointments at the two colleges. Some eight years re he resigned the auditorship[2], we find Adam entering third son, John Winthrop above named, at Trinity. ughout his whole career, the latter reflected the home ences under which he had been brought up, in his ut and gentle disposition, exemplary life and aversion Roman Catholicism, and not least by his familiarity , and reverence for, the writings of Cartwright and liam Perkins[3]. His stay at Trinity, however, was brief,

ol. II 273.
dam surrendered his auditor- at Trinity 16 Apr. 1610. His shews that his relations with shop continued to be intimate g as they both lived, and 'the of Still has been preserved in Winthrop family for many genera- ' *Life and Letters*, I 33, 47.
Life and Letters of John Win- , etc. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston, 1869. I 64, 74.—'and finding by reading of Mr Perkins, and other books.' *Ibid.* II 169, a quotation from 'Governor Winthrop's (the elder) Christian experience,' written by himself. [On 23 June 1874, the Hon. Robert Winthrop, President of the *Hist. Society of Mass.*, received an honorary degree at Cambridge.]

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CHAP. for when only in his eighteenth year he married Mary, the daughter of John Forth of Great Stanbridge, Essex, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. After her early death, in 1615, his two subsequent marriages resulted in a large family, and by the time that his eldest son, John (the future governor of Connecticut), was old enough to be sent from Bury St Edmund's to college, the squire of Groton found it necessary to consider whether he could afford to defray the expenses of a Cambridge education. Eventually it was decided that John Winthrop the younger should be sent, not to Trinity at Cambridge, but to Trinity at Dublin, the latter foundation having recently risen somewhat in estimation in England,—partly perhaps in consequence of its charter, bestowed by king James some nine years before. The Dublin of those days, however, was far from affording a congenial atmosphere for a youth of John Winthrop's tastes and disposition, for we find the father expressing his gratification at hearing that his son 'declined the evil company and manners of the place[1],' and he evidently thought it better to send his second son, Forth, to Emmanuel.

His marriages and family.

He enters eldest son John, at Trinity College, Dublin.

His second son Forth, at Emmanuel.

In 1628, John made his grand tour, sailing first for Livorno and from thence to Constantinople, and returning by Venice, Padua and Amsterdam. His absence from England extended over some fourteen months, and his enjoyment of such a series of novel impressions cannot but have been somewhat marred by the fact that, although not a few letters were sent out to him from home, they all miscarried, and he appears to have been without tidings of his family throughout the time. Judging from the extant correspondence of the Winthrops, the lost letters can hardly have been either commonplace or unsympathetic, and must have offered a singular contrast to those Paston letters of the neighbouring county, two centuries before. Those that still exist, some between the father and his two sons, some between the two brothers, are at once affectionate and dignified on the one hand, and frank and cordial on the other; while, as regards

John on the grand tour.

The family correspondence.

[1] *Ibid.* i 172.

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tone and sentiment, they are capable of sustaining a comparison with the best epistolary correspondence of the period. The father, indeed, seems to have been a model parent,—liberal to both his sons, and not afraid to tell either the resident in reckless Dublin, or the one in costly Cambridge, that, if he found his allowance insufficient, he could have more[1]. The least acceptable passages in his own letters were probably those in Latin, into which he occasionally deviates with the evident design of testing either John's or Forth's ability to reply in the same language; and the only dissatisfaction to which he gives expression, is that evoked by his failure in these same endeavours. It can hardly therefore but have been a somewhat keener disappointment to the young tourist than to most travellers under similar conditions, that throughout his long absence from home, his letters never reached him. There was, however, another letter from the father which he duly received, but the subsequent loss of which the historian has yet more cause to regret.

It was in the midst of the political gloom which deepened as the year 1629 advanced, that John at last found his way back from the Continent to London. On his arrival, a letter from his father was put into his hands; but the familiar handwriting, so long unseen, conveyed no cheering intelligence. It told how the writer had been abruptly dismissed from his attorneyship in the Court of Wards (to which he had been promoted only three years before), and it also stated that much as he would have liked to come to London, in order to welcome his son on his return, he was unable to do so,—for he was about to attend an important meeting in Cambridge[2]. It is this letter, long 'missing from the family

[1] To John at Dublin, he writes: '[illegible] £20 be too little (as I [illegible] it) you shall have [illegible] when that shall not suffice, [illegible] have more.' *Life and Letters*, I 177. The father probably was influenced by considerations of economy in sending his elder son to Dublin; in the *Reasons* (*supra*, p. 171, [illegible]) among other objections to the English universities, we find alleged 'the unsupportable charge of there education.' *Ibid.* I 310. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, when he went as a fellow-commoner to St John's in 1618, found £50 *per annum* quite inadequate for the maintenance of his position.

[2] *Ibid.* I 305.

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file,' as the biographer of his house expresses it, which apprised the younger Winthrop of his father's determination to quit his native land in order to place himself at the head of the great movement Westward. It also contained a copy of the 'Conclusions' which led to his decision. But although the letter is lost, John's reply is still extant,—a reply in which the purport of the former may be said to be, in a certain measure, reflected. 'The *Conclusions*,' wrote John, 'which you sent down, I showed my uncle and aunt, who liked them well;.....I think they are unanswerable[1].' CHAP. I

Transfer of the government of the Massachusetts Company to New England.

The charter granted in March 1629 to the Massachusetts Bay Company had 'originally contemplated,' says Dr Deane, 'that the government of the Company should be administered in England.' It was this design which was set aside by the memorable decision of the conclave at Cambridge above recorded[2]. Immediately after arriving at that decision, legal advice had been obtained 'in favour of the authority to make the transfer; and on full consideration it was determined by the general consent of the Company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England, and not be continued in subordination to the Company here, as now it is[3].' But it was not until March 1630, that John Winthrop sailed in the *Arbella*[4], from Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, empowered to assume the governorship of the colony in the place of Matthew Cradock, its first governor, who now returned to England for the purpose of there watching over

[1] *Ibid.* I 307. The conjecture of Thomas Hutchinson, governor of the Massachusetts province in the following century, that this paper was the compilation of Francis Higginson, seems scarcely tenable, after the evidence adduced by Winthrop's biographer has been duly weighed. The latter points out that the document itself is in the handwriting of Forth Winthrop, 'who,' he says (I 317), 'was frequently employed as a copyist for his father'; and Gardiner, although he ignores alike the place and the circumstances of its production, accepts Robert Winslow's theory with respect to the authorship. See Hutchinson, *Original Papers* (1769), p. 24; Gardiner, VII 134.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 170-1.

[3] Palfrey, *Hist. of New England* (ed. 1884), I 105-6; Felt, *Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England*, pp. 120 1.

[4] So named after Lady Arbella Johnson, one of the company, who 'coming "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants," survived her arrival only a month; and her husband, singularly esteemed and beloved by the colonists, died of grief a few weeks after.' Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, ed. 1884, I 114.

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the commercial interests of the new community[1], from his house in St Swithin's Lane. The twelve signatories to the *Reasons* drawn up at Cambridge were probably all men of some culture, in whom religious enthusiasm was tempered by a practical knowledge of affairs, and four of them now accompanied Winthrop in his voyage across the Atlantic. Of these the foremost was undoubtedly Sir Richard Saltonstall, a nephew of the lord mayor of London. He had been a fellow-commoner at Jesus College, and during his undergraduateship was intimate with Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who refers to him in his *Autobiography* as 'my very entire friend[2].' Although his stay in the colony was short, he continued to take a warm interest in its welfare, and in 1651 we find him endeavouring to mitigate the severity with which John Cotton and John Wilson were at that time dealing with the Quakers. George Phillips, a master of arts of Cains College, was a man of much force of character and a good scholar[3]. Isaac Johnson, who died at Boston in the following year, was the richest man in the colony and had married a daughter of the earl of Lincoln. Increase Nowell subsequently approved himself one of the most useful members of the community and acted as secretary during the years 1644–9. On their arrival, the newcomers found that Higginson's influence at Salem had already resulted in the establishment of the separatist theory. 'The new-forward,' says Dr Deane, 'following that example, the Massachusetts colony became a colony of congregational churches. It has been a favorite saying with eulogists of Massachusetts[4], that the pious founders of the colony came

[1] Crowleck's widow, Rebecca, afterwards married Dr Whichcote, the provost of King's College: see Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, II 431, n. 2.

[2] *Autobiography*, I 140; for Saltonstall see *N. and Q.*, Series III, vol. I 350.

[3] Phillips died at Watertown, Mass., 1 July 1644; his 'study of books' was valued at £71. 9*s*. 9*d*.: *N. E.* See also Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, I 208.

[4] 'In its earliest days there was in the Mass. settlement a strong and outspoken element of intellectual inquiry and religious protest. It found intelligent expression in Roger Williams and Sir Henry Vane, and inarticulate expression in Anne Hutchinson.' See *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (1636–38), *including the* SHORT STORY *and other Documents*. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Boston: published

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over to this wilderness to establish here the principle of civil and religious liberty, and to transmit the same inviolate to their remotest posterity. Probably nothing was further from their purpose, which was simply to find a place where they themselves and those who agreed with them, could enjoy such liberty[1].' The facts sufficiently support this candid criticism. Before the *Arbella* sailed, reports had been current that it was really the design of the leaders of the expedition 'to counteract the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at home,' and they had accordingly drawn up and signed an Address to their 'Brethren of the Church of England' to protest against this 'misreport' of their intentions. 'We desire,' said this manifesto, 'you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honour to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our deare mother, and cannot part from our native countrie, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes[2].' If the voyagers had really anticipated that these loyal sentiments would awaken an echo in the hearts of those who had preceded them to the colony, they must have been painfully disappointed. They found Francis Higginson already sinking under the effects of climate and fatigue, and it was on his co-pastor, Samuel Skelton of Clare Hall, that it devolved to welcome the new-comers. Along with John Endecott, the governor, and Christopher Levett, a member of the Council, he went on board and invited Winthrop and

by the Prince Society: 1894. *Introd.* p. 14: see also *Publications of the Narragansett Club*, II 93. The *Short Story* supplies details which Winthrop's *Hist. of New England* fails to give.

[1] Winsor, III 312.

[2] Felt, *u.s.* p. 132. Felt appears to me to describe the design of this Address correctly when he speaks of it as being 'to remove suspicions... concerning the motives and purposes of the emigrants.' Palfrey [*Hist. of New England* (ed. 1884), I 111], on the other hand, asserts that 'the phrase "the Church of England" must not be quoted as having the technical sense which it now bears'; but that it meant 'the aggregate of English Christians, whether, in the upshot of the movements which were now going on, their polity should turn out to be Episcopal, or Presbyterian, or something different from either.' This is, I think, disproved by what followed on the landing of the company. Palfrey also states that the Address was drawn up by the Rev. John White, a leading clergyman of Dorchester and an active promoter of the whole scheme of emigration.

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others ashore, where, we are informed, they were hospitably entertained. Regard for the principles they professed and which they had so recently put on formal record precluded their stay for the Sabbath, inasmuch as, not being members of reformed churches like those at Salem and Plymouth, Skelton considered that he *could not conscientiously admit them into communion, nor could he allow one of their children to be baptised*[1]. Well might John Cotton, still resident in England, observe, in a letter to Skelton, 'You went hence of another judgement, I am afraid your change hath sprung from New Plymouth men[2]!'

It may, indeed, fairly be said that these noteworthy incidents mark the turning point of the ecclesiastical history of Puritanism in New England[3], and the consequent completed divergence of the colonies from the mother country both in their theory of political allegiance and in their theological sympathies. Winthrop and some of those who came with him made, it is true, an honest stand in defence of their own views; but of those who came after them, albeit many of them men of commanding influence and signal ability, the great majority soon found that their only hope of union lay in the renunciation of all that reflected the Church of England ritual or savoured, however faintly, of Arminian doctrine. But it cannot be said that the result was productive of that perfect harmony of religious thought and feeling which represented the ideal of the more enthusiastic minds. Again and again, in turning the records of these infant communities, we find laments over the wranglings and the schisms that from time to time arose and the stern repressive measures which they rendered necessary[4].

[1] Felt, u. s. p. 134. 'For confirmation of this,' he adds, in a footnote, 'we have extracts, under October 2, from Cotton's letter.'

[2] *Ibid.* p. 143.

[3] '... in any attempt to trace a connexion between liberal education the other side of the water' [*i.e.* in the mother country] 'and the progress of New England, the arrival of the Massachusetts Company must mark the real beginning.' Dexter. See his *Congregationalism*, c. VIII.

[4] Thus, shortly after John Cotton's arrival in Massachusetts, we learn that 'a company of Antinomian and Familistical sectaries were strangely crouded in among our more orthodox planters; by the artifices of which busie opinionists there was a dangerous blow given, first unto the faith and so unto the peace of the Churches.' Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, bk. III, c. i 21.

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Had it not been, indeed, for the intolerance which ruled at home, Separatism in New England might possibly have wrought its own cure. But so long as Laud was at the helm, each fresh arrival served only to accentuate the conviction that between the exile and the persecutor all hope of effecting a compromise was at an end[1]. As it was, the example already set seemed well nigh contagious, and many an earnest divine whom Cambridge had trained to minister to the congregations of the towns and villages of England was missing from his post, and now appeared, with embittered feelings and deepest sense of wrong, to reinforce the growing communities on the remote shores of Massachusetts Bay. Within three weeks after the arrival of the *Arbella*, seven more vessels arrived, among the passengers being John Wilson of Christ's[2], who, after devoting three years to the study of law, had turned to that of theology. Before winter, the number of ships reached to seventeen, with a total of some thousand passengers[3].

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Of those who arrived during this period, very few appear to have given their support to Endecott and Winthrop. One William Blackstone, a master of arts of Emmanuel College, presented, however, a notable exception, pithily observing that he had quitted England owing to his dislike of 'the lords bishops,' and that he now felt himself unable to unite with the Separatists, owing to his dislike of 'the lords brethren[4].' John Cotton, the divine to whom (as we have already seen) Preston attributed his conversion[5], writing from Boston in England, also frankly gave it as his opinion that Skelton was in error in holding,—first, that no man may be admitted to the sacrament, though a member of the Catholic Church, unless he be a member of some particular Reformed church; secondly, that none of the congregations in England are particular reformed churches but Mr Sathrop's

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[1] Professor Dexter calls attention to the fact that 'not a single student from St John's College, Oxford (Laud's own college), shared in the settling of New England.' *Influence of the English Universities*, etc., p. 6.

[2] Such, at least, is the conjecture of Dr Peile, who identifies him with a 'John Wilson' who was admitted a sizar of Christ's College in 1625 but did not proceed to a degree.

[3] Palfrey, *u. s.* I 113.

[4] Felt, I 137–8.

[5] See author's *History*, II 482.

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and such as his[1].' But in the course of two more years, John Cotton himself appeared among the refugees and before long announced his entire conversion to the theory which Skelton had put in force at Salem. The importance of his accession to their number was evident to all, but especially to those who remembered him at Cambridge as one of the ablest dialecticians in her schools, as one of Preston's most intimate friends, and one whom Williams, as long as it was in his power, protected and sought to advance in the royal favour[2]. The exultation of the colony was consequently unbounded, and, even before he set foot on the shore of Massachusetts Bay, Boston had already been named after the Lincolnshire town where he had laboured with preeminent success[3].

Of the process by which John Cotton was induced to abandon the view which he had enforced in his letter to Skelton we hear nothing. He became, almost at once, the central figure in the colony; its lawgiver and high-priest; and, as its virtual dictator, lived to correspond on equal terms with Cromwell. His grandson has preserved to us the conditions which he laid down with regard to admission to the community over which he presided: 'none,' he held, 'should be electors, nor elected therein, except such as were visible subjects of our Lord Jesus Christ, personally confederated in our Churches[4].' To such, and to such only, Cotton held, *liberty of conscience* might be safely granted; for we know, he wrote, that 'they will not persist in heresie or turbulent schisme, when they are convinced in conscience of the sinfulnesse thereof[5].' It illustrates the remoteness of

[1] Felt, p. 143. The letter is addressed to Skelton himself.

[2] Cotton, *Magnalia*, III i 18.

[3] 'as a compliment and an enticement to him.' Tyler, *Hist. of American Literature*, I 214. 'In the space of twenty years that he lived at Boston, on the Lord's Days in the afternoons, he thrice went over the body of Divinity in a catechetical way; and gave the heads of his discourse to young scholars and others in the town, that they might answer to his questions in the congregation; and the answers he opened and applied to the general advantage of the hearers.' Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, III i 17. 'His house also was full of young students: whereof some were sent to him out of Germany, some out of Holland, but most out of Cambridge.' *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 21.

[5] *The Controversie concerning Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion*, etc. By Mr John Cotton of Boston in New-England, p. 14. London, 1646.

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logical subtlety from any practical bearing upon questions in which party feeling was concerned, that a dialectician of some eminence could succeed in thus shutting his eyes to the fallacy involved in the above definition and its 'rider.' But in fact, of toleration, as it was afterwards interpreted by Locke and Bentham, the New England divine had no more conception than Laud. 'It is Satan's policy,' said Thomas Shepard, 'to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration[1].' *Salus populi suprema lex* was, indeed, a maxim then held applicable to matters spiritual as well as temporal; and even as physicians, in the present day, hold that liberty cannot be conceded to individual discretion when the presence of an epidemic endangers the safety of the entire community, so the Fathers of New England could only discern in the exercise of individual judgement on questions of religious belief, a peril to be shunned which menaced the welfare of the community in relations of incalculably greater importance.

CHAP

Real li of conse not con in New England

When Cotton landed, he found himself surrounded by Cambridge men, to all of whom his name was probably familiar, while not a few were personally known to him. A brief notice of some of the more notable will serve to illustrate the closeness of the relations between the colonists and the parent university. In addition to those already noted, one of the foremost was John Eliot, of Jesus College[2], whose arrival had preceded Cotton's by some two years,—the Boniface of his age, in whom apostolic wisdom, high attainment, and noble self-devotion met in rare combination. Some twelve months later, in 1632, came Thomas James of Emmanuel, who had quitted his post as a Lincolnshire clergyman to become the pastor of the church in Charlestown; with

Jesus C A. 1604, d. 1668, B.A. 16

Thomas James, M.A. 16

[1] Chaplin (J.), *Life of Henry Dunster*, p. 185. Boston, U. S. A. 1872 [quoted by Prof. Tyler, *u. s.* p. 108].

[2] In 1622, Eliot was admitted B.A. and in 1625 he appears as receiving college testimonials for ordination. His translation of the Bible into the language (now extinct) of the Massachusetts Indians was first printed in 1663,—'the first missionary Bible.' A copy 'bearing his autograph and a dedicatory Latin distich' was presented by him to the College Library, where it is still preserved. Gray (Arthur), *Jesus College*, p. 91.

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him came Thomas Weld of Trinity, from his living at Terling in Essex. The latest arrival, prior to Cotton's coming, was Nathaniel Ward[1], also of Emmanuel, who represented an important addition to the learning of the community. Ward was already past middle life; he had travelled much but his earlier studies had been chiefly in the Common Law. In the course of a residence in Germany, however, he had spent some time at the university of Heidelberg and had there become acquainted with the celebrated Paraeus[2], by whom he was induced to take holy orders and become a preacher. On returning to England, he became a lecturer at St Michael's, Cornhill, and the boldness with which he there enunciated his Calvinistic doctrines led to his being cited before Laud. The inevitable result followed: Ward was deprived of his office and in 1632 sailed for New England. Here his legal attainments, rather than his abilities as a preacher, were duly turned to account; and the Code of laws adopted in 1641 by the colonists, entitled *The Body of Liberties*, was mainly his work. Cotton had been accompanied by two Emmanuel men of a reputation but little inferior to his own, —Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone. Hooker had been a famous preacher at Chelmsford; and, when silenced by Laud in the pulpit, had, like Higginson, betaken himself to the work of education. He had opened a school at Little Baddow, close by, where John Eliot had been his usher, an experience to which the latter always referred back as the commencement of his spiritual life. Molested here, Hooker had fled to Holland: and from thence, at the invitation of those who remembered him in the mother country, had come to settle among them at Newtown. His real ability, fine presence, and oratorical power, at once marked him out for preeminence, and as 'priest and king,' to use the expression of professor Tyler, he finished his days at Hartford. Samuel Stone had been a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, and now became co-pastor or teacher under Hooker. Another

[1] See *Life* published at Boston, 1867.

[2] Of the marked influence exerted by the teaching of Paraeus on the learning of Cambridge at this period, I have already spoken: see Vol. II 562-7.

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of Laud's exiles and one whom he appears to have regarded with especial antipathy, was Thomas Shepard, of Emmanuel, who arrived in the following year,—a divine inferior to none of his brethren in New England in attainments and intellectual power and one whose posthumous fame surpassed that which he enjoyed while living[1]. 'In person he had some disadvantages. He lacked the bodily vigour, the massive proportions, the stateliness of his two compeers, Thomas Hooker and John Cotton. A poor, weak, pale-complexioned man, whose physical powers were feeble but spent to the full. A cloistered student and an invalid, recoiling from the crisp breath of a New England winter. But a subtle and commanding intellect; a profound thinker; his style clear, terse, abounding in energy, with frequent flashes of eloquence; the charm of his diction enhanced by the manner of his speech, which was almost matchless for its sweet and lofty grace, its pathos, its thrilling intensity, its ringing fulness and force. He may be described as the preachers' preacher[2].'

The conviction among those who remained behind in the mother country, that New England was indeed 'a refuge for the people of God[3],' continued to gather force. Among those who next arrived were Daniel Maud, another of Emmanuel's sons, and Richard Mather of Oxford, of whom mention has already been made. Mather's eloquence as a preacher and his general ability soon served to render him a leading figure in the councils of New England, by whom his 'Cambridge Platform,' devised as a safeguard against the introduction of Presbyterianism, was ultimately adopted as an accepted exposition of their theory of church government[4]. Along with

[1] See his autobiography printed in the *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Mass. Bay* (1623–1636). Edited by Alex. Young. Boston, 1846.

[2] Tyler, *Hist. American Literature*, I 206–7. Shepard also assisted John Eliot in his efforts to evangelise the Indians and aided him in the compilation of his works in the Massachusetts-Indian language. In one of these, the *Sampronttcahae Quinnuppekompanaenin*...(Cambridge, N. E. 1689), his name is spelt 'Shephard.' There is a copy of this rare volume in the library of St John's College, A. 3. 52.

[3] See letter from Blakiston to Thomas Morton (22 May 1635). *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, DXL, no. 24.

[4] 'When the *Platform of Church Discipline* was agreed to...in the year 1647, Mr Mather's Model was that out of which it was chiefly taken.' Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, III 128.—

these came Peter Bulkley, another of those whom, to England's loss, the tyranny of Laud had driven forth. A former fellow of St John's, of ample means and good social position, he was also a scholar who wrote Latin verse with more than ordinary skill. For twenty-one years prior to his quitting England he had been rector of Woodhill, in Bedfordshire. In the year following his arrival, having induced a considerable number of his fellow-colonists to join him in an expedition up country, he built the town of Concord, which became his sphere of labour for the rest of his life. Another of Shepard's companions, also distinguished by his talents and attainments, was John Norton of Peterhouse[1]. After taking his degree, he had betaken himself to his native town of Bishop Stortford to be a curate at the parish church and to teach in the once famous High School of that place. While thus occupied, his views underwent a change and he decided to join the exiles in New Plymouth; before leaving the country, he married a lady of considerable wealth who also fully sympathised with him in his designs. 'The church of Plymouth,' says Felt, 'being earnest to have him abide with them, and Mr Smith vacating his place for him, he engages to preach for them on trial. Thus one of the ablest watchmen on the walls of Zion begins his eventful career, for a short period, among disciples of Robinson, whom he much resembled in talents, learning, character, and usefulness[2].' In the following year, John Wheelwright of Sidney College,

'a terse, clear, and well-balanced summary of the general system which had been already outlined in the treatises of the New England Elders; enlarged by being carried to its logical conclusions on a few points which had never been fully developed.' Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 438. An excellent outline of the whole treatise will be found in pp. 439–464.

[1] '... the learned expounder of the doctrine and discipline of the New England Churches.' See first speech of Prof. Norton at the *Tercentenary Festival of Emmanuel College*, p. 19. The Public Orator (Dr Sandys) on presenting Professor Charles Eliot Norton for the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters on the following day (19 June 1884), thus referred to his descent from the illustrious exile: 'Domum illam proximam, Collegiorum nostrorum antiquissimum, non sine pietate quadam contemplabitur, recordatus illic educatum esse *unum e majoribus suis*, theologum illum non minus doctum quam modestum, qui cum aliis plurimis trans aequor Atlanticum libertatis asylum plus quam duobus abhinc saeculis petivit.' *Ibid.* p. 75.

[2] *Ecclesiastical Hist. of New England*, pp. 244–5.

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Samuel Whiting of Emmanuel College[1], and one Richard Jennings[2] were added to the community at Massachusetts. The year 1637 was marked by the arrival of John Davenport and Charles Chauncy. Of these the former,—an elder brother of the better known Franciscan, Christopher Davenport,—had been a member first of Merton College, Oxford, and subsequently of Magdalen. He was a native of Coventry where his father had been mayor; and during the plague of 1625, in London, had distinguished himself by his heroic courage in visiting and rendering spiritual consolation to the sufferers. His efforts, dictated by a like spirit of philanthropy, to render aid to the distressed ministers in the Palatinate, exposed him to the dislike of Laud[3] and the tyranny of the Court of High Commission. He resigned his living in London[4] and retired for a time to Holland, where he was chosen co-pastor of the English church in Amsterdam. On his return to England[5] he decided to join the refugees in America, and rendered important service in obtaining the new charter for Massachusetts[6]. On landing at Boston in June 1637, he was received with more than the usual cordiality and invited by the Council to settle on certain lands to be assigned to him. He decided however to settle at Quinnipiac, and there, in conjunction with some friends who had accompanied him from England, founded the colony of Newhaven[7].

[1] Whiting had been the pupil of John Yates at Emmanuel and was influenced by his teaching; he was also, says Shuckburgh, 'the intimate friend and "chamber-mate" of Anthony Tuckney.' *Emm. Coll.* p. 48.

[2] A member of the university but whose name I have been unable to discover in the Grace Book.

[3] The primate, however, vouchsafed to describe him as 'a most religious man who fled to New England for the sake of a good conscience.' See art. 'Davenport' in *D. N. B.* xiv 111, by A. Wood Renton.

[4] The living of St Stephen's Church, Coleman Street.

[5] Davenport resigned the co-pastorate in consequence of his inability to concur in the baptism of children not 'proven to belong to English parents': according to Young (*Chronicles, Mass.* p. 103, n. 1) he had a benefice bestowed on him on his return to England.

[6] Young, *Ibid.* 70, n. 3, 101, 102.

[7] —'after almost a generation passed in New Haven, he became, when over seventy, pastor of the first Church in Boston,' but in the fierce contest over what was known as 'the Half Way Covenant,' the church became again divided and he was carried off by apoplexy in the year 1670. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, I 93; Dexter, pp. 586, n. 220, 651, 653.

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No scholar brought with him better university credentials than Charles Chauncy, who was not only bachelor of divinity, but had filled the post of Greek lecturer at Trinity College, and was a conspicuous contributor to the Cambridge 'occasional' verses[1]. Settled for a time as minister at Ware in Hertfordshire, he had been twice summoned by the Court of High Commission to account for the utterance of heterodox opinions. On his refusing to admit that they were such, he was imprisoned, and not set at liberty until he had formally recanted. He too now landed at Plymouth, deeply troubled in mind at the weakness which had led him to bow before the persecutor and make, what he termed, his 'scandalous submission.' There was as yet no press in New England; but in 1641 he published in London his 'Retraction,' largely devoted to setting forth 'the unlawfulnesse and danger of rayling in altars or communion tables,' and expressly designed to conciliate those who 'either were or justly might be offended' at his past relapse[2]. During the Puritan ascendancy in England, Chauncy was invited by his former parishioners at Ware to return home, and he was about to embark at Boston when an invitation to become president of Harvard College diverted him from his design.

The circumstances under which his predecessor, Henry Dunster, the first president, had vacated the post were painful, but those under which he had been installed were perhaps even more so, and both alike leave upon us a melancholy impression of the conditions amid which Harvard developed into what it subsequently became. Nathaniel Eaton, who had been actually designated first president, was a member of Trinity College and a pupil of William Ames[3], and had at first given promise of a useful and honorable career. Indulgence in drink, however, ruined his temper and power of self-control, and, after some months of misrule over the unfortunate youths whom he was called upon to

[1] He has verses in the *Dolor et Solamen* (*supra*, pp. 1-2), pp. 16-19, and also in the *Epithalamium* (Bowes, p. 13), pp. 5-6,—in this latter, both Greek and Latin.

[2] Felt, *u. s.* p. 442.

[3] For Ames and his influence as a teacher, see Vol. II, *sub v.*

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instruct, he was eventually dismissed from his probationary tenure of the presidency for having cudgelled his usher, Briscoe, almost to death,—'with a walnut-tree plant,' says Winthrop, 'big enough to have killed a horse and a yard in length[1].' When, accordingly, Dunster entered upon the duties of president, Harvard was in a sadly demoralised condition; but, as a member of Magdalene College in the time of the plague of 1630, he had become familiarised with scenes of suffering and destitution and now manfully applied himself, in a rare spirit of self-abnegation, to remedy the pitiable state of affairs around him. Fortunately he could bring to bear upon the task not only genuine attainments (he is said to have been an excellent Hebraist) together with high character[2], but also exceptional ability as an administrator, and Harvard manifestly prospered under his rule. As time went on, however, it was discovered that he was grievously in error in his views on a question which, in the eyes of the elders of the Church in Massachusetts, was of paramount importance, for he disapproved of infant baptism. 'Wherefore,' says Cotton Mather, 'the overseers of the College became solicitous that the students there might not be unawares ensnared in the errors of their president, and laboured with an extreme agony either to rescue the good man from his own mistake or to restrain him from imposing them upon "the hope of the flock"; of both which, finding themselves to despair, they did, *as quietly as they could*, procure his removal, and provided him a successor in Mr Charles Chauncey[3].' In reality, however, the treatment to which Dunster was subjected at his expulsion, though differing in kind, was scarcely less inhumane than that to which Eaton had subjected his unfortunate usher; and after an irreproachable discharge of office, extending over fourteen

CHAP.

(7) Rt. Rev. of Sidney, M.A. 16[illegible]

His qualifications as a scholar and administrator.

[1] Winthrop (Jo.), *Hist. of New England* (wrongly styled his 'Journal'), I 308; Young's *Chronicles* (*Mass.*), p. 552.

[2] —'a man,' wrote Thomas Shepard, during Dunster's actual tenure of office, 'pious, painful and fit to teach, and very fit to lay the foundations of the domestical affairs of the College; whom God hath much honored and blessed.' Shepard's *Memoir of his own Life*, Young's *Chronicles* (*Mass.*), pp. 552-3.

[3] *Hist. of New England*, bk. III xii, p. 100.

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years, during which time he bestowed a hundred acres of land on the college and built the president's house, the fugitive from the tyranny of Laud became in turn a fugitive from the despotic rule of the authorities of Harvard. The circumstances under which his expulsion took place were more truthfully described by the preacher at Harvard Commemoration two centuries and a half later[1]; and how little they impaired the estimation in which Dunster was held by the Independents in England may be inferred from the fact that he was immediately after invited by Henry Cromwell to accept an appointment in connexion with the English Colony in Ireland. This he, however, declined, and at the suggestion of Chauncy, his successor at Harvard, accepted the pastorate of the church at Scituate which the latter vacated,—the two thus interchanging places[2].

Notwithstanding these harsher features, however, the earnest thoughtfulness of the rulers of the new colony in all matters relating to the training of those who should come after them, is undeniable; and, as Palfrey observes, it was 'before roads were made and bridges built' that, as a matter of primary consideration, the subject of education was brought forward. In 1637, Newtown was selected for the site of a College, and the name changed in 1638 to that of Cambridge[3]; while a sum equivalent to the amount of the annual revenue of the colony, so far as raised by taxation, was appropriated for the new buildings. In the following year it was resolved that the college should be designated Harvard College, in recognition of the aid afforded by its chief benefactor[3]. John Harvard had been educated at Emmanuel College, where the records show his admission as a pensioner, 19 December

[1] '...convicted and dismissed from his position and his house in the depth of winter, being sent forth without a home, with his wife sick, and, as he says, "his youngest child extremely so," not because he was not a virtuous, humble and learned man, but because, as Cotton Mather said, "he had *fallen into the briars of anti-paedo-baptism*."' *Sermon* by Rev. Francis G. Peabody, in *Record of the Commemoration* (Nov. 5–8, 1886) *of the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Harvard College.*

[2] Shurtleff's *Records*, etc., I 180.

[3] The dates appear to be as follows: on 15 Nov. 1637 it was decided that the College should be at Newtown; 2 May 1638, that Newtown should be called Cambridge. *Mass. Colonial Records*, quoted in Everett's (W.) *On the Cam* (ed. 1869), p. 4.

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1627[1]. He proceeded to both the B.A. and the M.A. degree[2]; CHA but the Puritan principles which he had imbibed, combined with the rigour of the existing government, rendered life in England insupportable to him. He had inherited a competence, or something more, by the death of his mother[3]; and after marrying Ann Sadler, the daughter of a Sussex clergyman, he sailed in 1637 for New England. On his arrival, he was admitted a freeman of the colony and settled as a minister in Charlestown; he was shortly after seized with consumption and died in the following year. His arrival had occurred at a very critical stage in the history of the new foundation. 'It is hazardous,' says professor F. B. Dexter, 'to transpose history; but I do not think it rash to say that a failure to plant and endow Harvard College for five-and-twenty years,—that is, until the most of the generation of educated men who came over had passed away,—would have so stunted and paralysed the social progress of Massachusetts, as to have altered essentially the whole course of events bearing on national history in which Massachusetts has had a part[4].' The founders themselves are described by the earliest historian of the college, as 'dreading to have an illiterate ministry to the Churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust[5].' His found expre desig overt succe an ill minis

In order fully to realise the force of this observation, it is necessary to recall the fact that, in the year preceding the foundation of the new society, Roger Williams, another Cambridge cleric[6] who, to use his own expression, had been 'pursued out of the land' by Laud, had also been called upon by John Cotton to relieve Massachusetts of his presence. The fact that the English primate, and one of the chief Roge Will Pemb Colle B.A. & M. d. 16

[1] 'John Harvard, Middlesex, Dec. 19. Pens. 10. 0.' *Emmanuel Coll. Registers.*

[2] B.A. 1631, M.A. 1635; made freeman of the colony of Mass. Bay, Nov. 1637.

[3] Thomas Harvard, John's only brother, pre-deceased him in 1637. The mother's fortune, accruing from property left her by three husbands, ultimately devolved on John. *D. N. B.*

[4] *Influence of the English Universities, etc.*, p. 11.

[5] *New England's First Fruits* (see *infra*, p. 192), p. 12 [should be 20].

[6] Masson (*Life of Milton*, II[2] 560) assigns Williams to Jesus College, Oxford; Mr Secombe, however (in the *D. N. B.*) to Pembroke College, Cambridge, whence he matriculated as pensioner, 7 July 1623. See *Essex Archæol. Soc. N. S.* II (1884), pp. 34–6.

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leaders of those whom he had driven into exile, thus concurred in their censure of the same individual, in itself sufficiently noteworthy, affords a valuable illustration in connexion with our whole subject. If we accept the statement of G. E. Ellis, that Williams was one of those who soon after the arrival of John Winthrop and his company had demanded from them 'a penitential avowal of sin' on 'account of their having once been in fellowship with the English Church[1],' we might at first be disposed to regard the fact as simply attesting,—like Francis Johnson's expulsion of his brother from Amsterdam,—that dissension becomes almost inevitable among those who claim the right of private judgement in the interpretation of Scripture. The theory propounded by Williams went, however, yet further. During the five years which followed upon his arrival at Nantasket in February 1632, he had been engaged as a pastor first at Salem and subsequently at Plymouth[2]. Soon after he landed, 'Governor Winthrop' had visited Plymouth and listened to his 'prophesying.' What impression he derived from what he then heard is not on record. In Dexter's opinion, indeed, it was Williams' 'factious and impracticable views on civil policy, quite as much or even more than any views on theology, that led to his subsequent banishment. The later history of Williams,' he adds, 'was Massachusetts' best vindication[3].' But it was when the authorities of Harvard College approached the subject of university education, that the necessity of peremptorily disowning his teaching became too obvious to be disregarded. The theologian who inculcated the theory of what has been termed 'soul-liberty,' or, in more customary phraseology, 'individualism,' in relation to religious belief, was already gravitating to conclusions which struck at the root not merely of all canons of belief

[1] Winsor, III 242.

[2] Among other arrivals at Plymouth at this time was Robert Bartlett, the ancestor of John Bartlett, the author of *Familiar Quotations*, who died at his house in Cambridge (England) on 2nd Dec. 1905, aet. 85. See *Athenæum*, 9th Dec. 1905.

[3] Winsor, III 280. John Cotton declares that 'the concourse of people' to Williams, 'on the Lordes Day *in private*... provoked the Magistrates... to put upon him a winter's journey out of the country.' *Answer to Master Roger Williams*, p. 57.

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but also at anything approaching to a tradition of Scriptural exegesis. The oppressive tyranny of Laud at both Oxford and Cambridge was evoking a corresponding claim for unbridled licence across the Atlantic. It was subsequently maintained by Williams, not simply that every man had a right to interpret the Scriptures for himself, but that the teaching of others, however competent, and the acquirement of accessory learning, however profound, might be little better than hindrances to the attainment of a right understanding of the sense of the inspired page. He even, ultimately, could bring himself to believe that a pious cobbler, if content to study the Scriptures for himself, might attain to an insight into their meaning not inferior to that of the most eminent schoolman of the universities[1]. 'Christ,' he wrote, 'never appointed nor needed the divinity degrees of universities and colleges'; 'the national and parishional constitution of Churches' he stigmatised as 'idolatry,' and the 'hireling ministry' attending upon them as 'none of the ministrie of Christ Jesus[2].'

As the chronicler whom we have above cited[3] leads us to infer, Harvard College was founded in a very different spirit from that which dominated Roger Williams' estimate of the universities of his time, and even before the founder's death, the increasing tide of immigrants,—some 20,000 of whom are said to have arrived in the colony between the years 1630 and 1640,—imparted fresh stimulus to the carrying out of the whole design; while, before another seven years had passed, Massachusetts, in noteworthy contrast to Virginia, presented to the world the earliest example of a system of public education supported by the contributions of the citizens and imposed as obligatory on their children.

[1] 'I cannot but with honorable testimony remember that eminent Christian, Witness, and Prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel How, who being by calling a cobler and without humane learning ... by searching the holy Scriptures, grew so excellent a textuary or Scripture learned man, that few of those high Rabbies that scorne to mend or make a shoe, could aptly and readily from the holy Scripture outgo him.' *The Hireling Ministry none of Christs, or A Discourse touching the propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus* (London, 1652).

[2] *Ibid.* A 1 v. p. 36.

[3] *Supra*, p. 189.

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John Harvard himself bequeathed, it would seem almost with his dying breath, not only half his fortune but also his library, containing 320 volumes, to the new foundation[1],—a slender endowment, it is true, when compared with the munificent designs of Buckingham in relation to the Old Cambridge, but while these gleamed but for a moment and went out in blood, the tiny lamp kindled from Puritan Emmanuel on New England's shore shone on, and continues still to shine, rivalling the parent flame.

Within five years after Harvard's death there appeared in London a small quarto pamphlet[2], descriptive, firstly, of the endeavours already made by the colony for the conversion of the Indians, and, secondly, of the results which had up to that time attended the foundation of the new college, together with some account of the general discipline and course of studies that had been established. It is interesting to note how a tone of something approaching to complacency in the quaint but expressive diction of the narrator has already taken the place of the misgivings and anxiety amid which the undertaking had been commenced. After describing the benefaction of Harvard himself, whom he characterises as 'a godly gentleman and a lover of learning,' the writer goes on to say,

'after him another gave 300 l., others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the College was, by common consent, appointed to be at Cambridge (a place very pleasant and accommodate)..... The edifice is very fine and comely without, having in it a spacious Hall (where they daily meet at Common Lectures and Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the guifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needful Offices thereto belonging: and by

[1] It was in recognition of his generosity that the College was called after him. The number of the vols. as given from the article 'Harvard' in the *D. N. B.* Dr Birkbeck Hill, in his *Harvard College by an Oxonian* (p. 9), says, 'more than two hundred and sixty volumes.'

[2] *New England's First Fruits: in respect first of the ...Indians. 2. Of the progresse of learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. With divers other speciall Matters concerning that Countrey.* London, Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be sold in his Shop in Popes-head-Alley. 1643. [Brit. Museum: E. 87.]

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the side of the Colledge a faire Grammar Schoole for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole: Master *Corlet* is the Mr, who hath very well approved himselfe for his abilities dexterity and painfulnesse and in teaching and education of the youth under him.

'Over the Colledge is master *Dunster* placed, as President, a learned conscionable and industrious man; who hath so trained up his Pupills in the tongues and Arts, and so seasoned them with the principles of Divinity and Christianity that we have to our great comfort (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progresse in Learning and godlinesse also; the former of these hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and Disputations Logicall and Philosophicall, which they have been wonted (besides their ordinary Exercises in the Colledge Hall) in the audience of the Magistrates Ministers, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon set dayes, constantly *once every moneth* to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in sundry of them, by the savoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly conversation. Insomuch that we are confident, if these early blossomes may be cherished and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious Worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a short time.'

'Over the Colledge are twelve Overseers chosen by the generall Court, six of them are of the Magistrates, the other six of the Ministers, who are to promote the best good of it, and (having a power of influence into all persons in it) are to see that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place. 13.

'2. *Rules, and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge.*

'1. When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classicall Latine Author *ex tempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose *suo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigms of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the Greek tongue: Let him then and not before *be capable of admission into the Colledge.*

'2. Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is *to Know God and Jesus Christ which is eternall life* Joh. 17. 3. .....

'3. Every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoreticall* observations of the Language, and *Logick*, and in *Practicall* and spiritual truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability....

'4. That they eschewing all profanation of God's name, etc. do studie with good conscience carefully to retaine God and the love of his truth in their mindes....

'5. That they shall studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall hours appointed for all the students, and the speciall houres for their own *classis*: and then diligently attend the Lectures, without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in anything they doubt, they shall enquire as of their fellowes, so, (in case of *Non satisfaction*) modestly of their Tutors.

'6. None shall under any pretence whatsoever frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and dissolute life. Nor shall any without his Tutors leave...goe abroad to other Townes.

'7. Every Schollar shall be present in his Tutors chamber at the 7th houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the Bell at his opening the Scripture and prayer so also at the 5th houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading[1], as aforesaid, in Particular the third, and constantly attend Lectures in the Hall at the houres appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or Lectures, he shall bee lyable to Admonition, if he offend above once a week.

'8. If any Schollar shall be found to transgresse any of the Laws of God, or the Schoole, after twice Admonition, he shall be lyable, if *non adultus*, to correction[2], if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the

[1] A detail of discipline in which the example of Joseph Mede seems to be clearly discernible: see *supra*, p. 19.

[2] This favours the conclusion that undergraduates at Cambridge of a certain age (probably under eighteen) were still generally liable to corporal punishment: the whole method and arrangement of the discipline and studies at Harvard being evidently closely modelled on the system that obtained at Emmanuel and Christ's at this time. The question that has been raised (see Masson, *Life of Milton*, i 159) as to the probability of Milton's having been 'whipt' at the latter college is consequently thus made somewhat clearer. Whatever may be the conclusion in respect of the individual case, it is fairly certain that Johnson's assertion, that the poet 'was one of the last students in either university that suffered the indignity,' may safely be rejected. We find, for example, that in 1628 (three years later than Milton's quarrel with the authorities at Christ's) similar punishment was actually ordered and only remitted on an appeal to the Crown: 'Gill and Grimkin are degraded; but for their fines and corporal punishment there is obtained a mitigation of the first, and a full remission of the latter, upon old Mr Gill's, the father's, petition to his majesty, which my lord of London seconded, for his coat sake and love to the father.' Mede to Stuteville; *Court and Times of Charles the First*, i 437. Thomas Middleton, two years later (1630), in his *Chaste Maid*, etc. (Act III 2), represents a mother saying to her son, a B.A. from Cambridge, 'You'll ne'er lin' (*i.e.* cease) 'till I make your tutor whip you.' Whereupon the son rejoins: 'O monstrous absurdity! Ne'er was the like in Cambridge since my time; Life, whip a bachelor! you'd be laugh'd at soundly.' *Works* (ed. Dyce), iv 51.

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Overseers of the College, that he may be admonished at the publick monethly Act.' CHAP.

The scheme of study.

A scheme of study, embracing logic, physics, ethics, and politics, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, attests the enduring influence of the traditions handed down from the age of Martianus Capella[1]. Etymology, syntax, prosody, and 'dialects[2],' shew that the elementary training which Cambridge had been fain to relegate, first to the *Magister Glomeriae*, and subsequently to the grammar school, were similarly eliminated from the original undergraduate course at Harvard[3]. In 'poetry,' it is significant that the student is required to study as his models the version of St John's Gospel (in Greek hexameters) by the Christian Greek poet Nonnus or the recent compositions of James Duport, whose rendering of the Book of Job into Greek and Latin verse, was at this time the theme of admiration at Cambridge and continued, for some time, to be a text-book in the university[4]. The Latin models of the Augustan age are altogether tabooed. It being the primary design to educate 'a learned ministry,' Hebrew, along with Chaldee and Syriac, is prescribed as a subject of weekly instruction for all. History is to be studied in the winter months; botany, in the summer. The study of rhetoric, together with the practice of declaiming, is to be so ordered, 'that every

Latin.

Verse composition resolvable into known Nonnus and Duport by heart.

Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac.

Rhetoric.

That his contemptuous disclaimer was not intended to imply that such practice had really died out at Cambridge, is shewn by the following extract relating to the time of the Puritan *régime*: '1648. Maii 22. Johannes Stark de malis moribus Collegio amovendus. Item Benton qui ab eo seductus est per Tutorem suum M^num Johnson virgis castigandus' (*Coll. Ord. Book*). This is the last instance upon record of a member of this College (*i.e.* Corpus Christi) suffering corporal punishment.' Masters-Lamb, p. 177 n. At Oxford, in 1638, the undergraduates having pelted the Senior Proctor on his return from St Mary's (on the expiration of his office), Laud sent down so sharp a reprimand, that 'two or three of the younger sort... were *publicly whipt*.' Wood, *Annals*, II 416.

[1] See author's *History*, I 23 28, 140.

[2] *I.e.* niceties of expression.

[3] This material fact appears to have been overlooked by Mr Edgar Rich, in his sketch of *The Evolution of the Harvard Student* in his 'Address to the Undergraduates' in 1886. See *Record of the Commemoration*, etc., pp. 139-143. Cambridge, N. E., 1887.

[4] 'The 2d yeare at 3d houre practice in poesy, Nonnus, Duport, or the like.' Here, there can be no doubt, that by 'Duport' is intended: *Θρηνοθριαμβος, sive liber Job Graeco carmine redditus: Greek and Latin*, Cambridge, 1637,—the volume which first established Duport's reputation as a scholar and a poet.

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Schollar may declaim once a moneth[1].' Recapitulation, that essential part of the educator's work, is provided for by the requirement that 'the summe of every lecture shall be examined, before the new lecture be read.'

The requirements for admission to a degree are as follows:

'1. Every Schollar, that on proofe is found able to read the originalls of the Old and New Testament into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them logically; withall being of godly life and conversation; and at any publick Act hath the approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his *first degree*.'

'2. Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a System, or Synopsis, or Summe of Logick, naturall and morall Philosophy, Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy: And is ready to defend his Theses or positions: Withall skilled in the originalls as above said: And of godly life and conversation; And so approved, by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique Act, is fit to be dignified *with his 2d degree*[2].'

'The first Commencement,' says Peirce, 'took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642. Upon this novel and auspicious occasion, the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates, and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge, and attended with delight to refined displays of European learning, on a spot which but just before was the abode of savages[3].' Disputations on questions in philology, rhetoric, logic and philosophy followed,—the names of the disputants being Benjamin Woodbridge[4], George Downing[5], William Hubbard, Henry Saltonstall[6], John Bulkley (the son of Peter), John Wilson, Nathaniel 'Brusterus,' Samuel Belingham, Tobias Bernard[7],—'nine young gentlemen,' continues Peirce, 'who were the first to receive the honours of a college in British America; and who proved themselves not unworthy of that

[1] Peirce, *u. s.* Append. pp. 6, 7.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 7.
[3] *Hist. of Harvard College*, p. 9.
[4] Of Magdalen College, Oxford.
[5] Son of Emmanuel Downing of Queens' College and grandfather of the founder of Downing College. His mother was Lucy Winthrop, sister of John Winthrop the governor of the colony.
[6] Grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall and fellow of New College, Oxford.
[7] See *New England's First Fruits*, pp. 17, 24-26.

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distinction, by the respectability and eminence to which they afterwards attained both in this country and in Europe[1].'

In the pages in which,—like William Crashaw, when addressing the 'adventurers' on the eve of their departure for Virginia[2],—the writer endeavours to disprove the objections and 'false reports' which had been current in relation to New England colonization, we are presented with some noteworthy points of comparison with the views and experiences of the founders of the earlier colony. The Puritan defence, as regards general ability, will hardly, indeed, sustain a comparison with that of the scholarly Anglican of the preceding generation, to which it is inferior alike in literary power and in its grasp of the whole subject of colonization; but it stigmatizes, with no less confidence and in much the same language, as 'evil reports against Canaan,' calumnies such as those which Crashaw had affirmed to be 'slanders, false reports' spread abroad 'to betray the businesse which God himselfe hath put into our hands[3].' Five years before, the Puritan party at home had recognised the success of the New England colonists as already beyond all question. 'They have,' wrote Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in 1638, 'raised such forts, built so many towns, brought into culture so much ground, and so dispersed and enriched themselves, as all men may see whom malice blindeth not nor impiety transverseth, that the very finger of God hath hitherto gone with them and guideth them[4].' Before another decade had elapsed, in 1646, Peter Bulkley of St John's, the founder and pastor of Concord, could write with equal complacency of the spiritual condition of his flock. 'We have,' he says, 'that plenty and abundance of ordinances and meanes of grace as few people enjoy the like; we are as a city set upon an hill, in the open view of all the earth, the eyes of the world are upon us, because we professe our selves to be a people in covenant with God[5].' In the interval that elapsed

[1] *Hist. of Harvard University*, p. 9 and Append. pp. 56–66.
[2] *Supra*, p. 150.
[3] Crashaw's *Sermon* (*u. s.*), p. 39.
[4] *Autobiography*, II 116.
[5] *The Gospel Covenant; preached in Concord in New England* (London, 1646), p. 383. Similarly, four years before, the compilers of the Report on the College enumerate a series

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between the two foregoing testimonies there had however taken place a notable change. In 1641 the tide of emigration across the Atlantic began rapidly to ebb, and before long was altogether surpassed by the tide of returning emigrants from West to East, eager to share in the benefits which they held could not fail to result from the measures initiated by the Long Parliament and to participate in the glorious contest. History, indeed, seems almost repeating itself when we compare the aims and feelings of these men with those of the returning Marian exiles some eighty years before[1], and discern the same intensified conviction of the truth of those doctrines in the defence of which they had suffered so severely, the same exorbitant expectations, and, in the great majority, the same intolerance and dogmatic spirit[2].

A certain minority, however, and more especially those who had received an academic education, gave evidence that their experiences, during their expatriation, had not been without a somewhat sobering effect. Among such, was Thomas Welde of Trinity College[3], who along with his better known contemporary and fellow-collegian, Hugh Peters, appeared in London charged with the special duty of representing to the friends of the colony its waning fortunes and soliciting aid. Welde had been a member of the Synod which met at Newtown in 1637 and condemned the Antinomian tenets of Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson: he had also been one of the compilers of the *Bay Psalm Book*, the earliest production of the Colonist press. Doubtless on their voyage back to England the two divines talked over their college days at Trinity; but we may, with still less hesita-

of 'remarkable passages' of God's 'providence to our Plantation' [illegible] which they place the sweeping away great multitudes of the Natives by the small pox a little before we went thither, that He might make room for us there.' *New England's First Fruits*, p. 20.

[2] *Hist. of Harvard University*, p. 9 and Append. pp. 86–88.

[3] Hence the grave [illegible] of John Pearson in his sermon in defence of 'Forms of Prayer,' preached in 1643. —'We shall have some of Columbus's discoveries, and of the spirit which moves upon the Pacific waters.' *Minor Theological Works*, II 100–1. 'The American lay-preachers,' observes his editor, 'are often mentioned in the records of the time.'

[4] See Dexter, *Congregationalism*, p. 386, n. 220; Adams, C. F., *Antinomianism in the Colony of Mass. Bay*, 1636–38, *Introd.* p. 34.

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tion, conclude that they also discussed together the dangers which menaced the nascent churches which they had left behind. Was Boston to prove another Amsterdam? On their arrival in London, Peters' energetic pleadings resulted in the sending out of a valuable supply of commodities to Massachusetts, but he soon after became absorbed in his duties as chaplain to the forces for the reduction of Ireland; while Welde, who could never forget Harvard, continued for many years to forward sums of money which he managed to collect, from time to time, for the support of the College[1]. Neither returned to New England, but both did their best to counteract the growing forces of fanaticism at home,—Peters by editing Richard Mather's treatise on *Church Government*, a vindication of the position of the Independents in the Colony, and Welde by rendering similar service to a work attributed to John Winthrop, exposing those errors of the Antinomians and Familists[2], which had already led to their condemnation.

As early as 1642, letters had been sent out from the mother country inviting three of the New England pastors to cross the seas in order to take part in the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly; and, although no practical result is recorded as having immediately followed, the effect of such an invitation on the minds and feelings of those to whom it was addressed cannot but have been considerable[3]. 'New England historians,' observes Masson, 'tell us of Winthrops, Winslows, Sedgwicks, Stoughtons, Fenwicks, Downings, Mathers, Allens and others, who came over to England in this way, and even performed parts of some consequence in

[1] It is to this period probably that we should refer those features of ascetic life and somewhat depressing discipline preserved to us in the narrative of Quincy and others,—the students assembling in winter time in the lofty, drafty hall which served as common room and lecture room, 'lighted by the public candle, and cowering over the public fire,' and mainly intent on acquiring a superficial competency to render the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into Greek and the English New Testament back into the original Greek. See Quincy's *Harvard*, i 515; *Record of the 250th Anniversary of Harvard* (Camb., N. E., 1887), p. 111; Hill (Birkbeck), *Harvard College by an Oxonian* (London, 1894), p. 5.

[2] *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists and Libertines that infected the Churches of New England.* London, 1644.

[3] See Winthrop (Jo.), *Life and Letters*, ii 92.

the parliamentary service or afterwards in the service of the Protectorate; and they dwell with natural pride on the fact that some of the best of these were strictly of New England breeding, the earliest students and graduates of Harvard[1].'

In the mean time, among those who remained behind, the determination to carry out the designs of the founder was in no way impaired. In 1643, Harvard proceeded to set its house in order, and a Committee was appointed to audit the expenditure of the money received from the estate; a Treasurer was appointed and a seal was adopted. In 1654, a Secretary was elected, and the records were regularly entered in a volume which has since disappeared. The destructive fire of 1764, in which Harvard Hall was burnt down, destroyed the Library, only some 200 or 300 volumes having been rescued from the flames, and many an interesting memento of the days which we have briefly passed under review was thus irrevocably lost[2].

It may however suffice, for our present purpose, if we have succeeded in shewing that whether we turn to Virginia, to New Plymouth, or to Massachusetts, the records clearly establish the fact that in each of these colonies the initiative as regards education was taken mainly by those whom Cambridge had educated, and at Harvard by Cambridge men alone. Nor is it less clear that those who carried on the work, although they affected to consider the condition of both the English universities deplorable, still retained, for the most part, the traditions of their past academic life and the methods of their former teachers. In theology, and more especially, in the interpretation of prophecy, the discourse of Joseph Mede[3] operated with singular potency. The

[1] *Life of Milton*, II. 587; see also Palfrey, *Hist. of New England*, I. 562. Palfrey's first three volumes appeared in the years 1858–1864; but in the opinion of Dr Charles Deane (writing in 1886) contained 'the best history of this section of our country yet written, as well for its luminous text as for the authorities in its notes.' Winsor, III. 344.

[2] *Early Records of Harvard College*. By Andrew Macfarlane Davis, A.M. 1895. 'Of 5000 volumes only 100 were saved, and of John Harvard's books but a single one. It bears the title of *The Christian Warfare against the Deuill, World, and Flesh*. London, 1634.' *Harvard College by an Oronian*. By George Birkbeck Hill, p. 287.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 21–25.

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first colonisers, as they listened by night in the recesses of the wilderness to those dismal 'roarings' which they held could only proceed from 'devils or lions[1],' no longer doubted that in the receding Indian they beheld the myrmidon of Gog and Magog, and that their own lot was now cast in those very regions where Satan was making his last stand; while the lucubrations of the Cambridge pundit over the Apocalyptic page found their counterpart in John Cotton's treatise of *The Churches Resurrection*[2]. And as the tidings of the events in England was borne across the Atlantic, the divines of Boston and Harvard discoursed of the thousand years, the Papacy and Antichrist, and sternly exulted in the thought that the final episode of the great drama of man's destiny had actually begun!

But before another decade had passed, the theologian had again changed his views. In their perplexity, the divines of London endeavoured to ascertain whether the pundits of the Jewish world held any definite opinion in relation to the question which had baffled the divines of Cambridge; and we hear, from Edward Winslow, of 'a godly minister of London' writing to 'Rabbi-ben-Israel, a great Dr of the Jewes, now living at Amsterdam, to know whether after all their labour, travells, and most diligent enquiry, they did yet know what was become of the ten tribes of Israel?' The oracle responded in terms sufficiently explicit. His answer, says Winslow, was 'to this effect, if not in these words, that they were certainly transported into America, and that they [the Jews in Holland] had infallible proofs of their being there.' And the governor of Plymouth Colony then proceeds to give it as his own opinion, that it was 'not less probable that *these Indians* should come from the stock of Abraham, than any other Nation this day known in the world. Especially considering the juncture of time wherein

[1] See *Bradford and Winslow's Journal* in Young's *Chronicles* (Plymouth), pp. 103, 155, 176.

[2] *The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the Fift and sixt verses of 20th Chap. of the Revelation.* By that Learned and Reverend John Cotton, Teacher to the Church of Boston in New England, and there corrected by his own hand. London, 1642.

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CH. II. God hath opened their hearts to entertain the Gospel, being so nigh the very year in which many eminent and learned divines, have from Scripture grounds, according to their apprehensions, foretold the conversion of the Jewes[1].'

[1] See Winslow's 'Epistle Dedicatory' to that remarkable tract *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested under the Hand of that famous instrument of the Lord Mr John Eliot*, etc. A 3 v. London, 1649. For Winslow himself, see *supra* (pp. 165-6). He was at this time in London, for the purpose of repelling the charges of intolerance and persecution which had been brought against the colonists of Massachusetts. *Life of John Winthrop*, II 347.

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CHAPTER III.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT TO THE YEAR 1647. (*Nov.* 1640—1647.)

CHAP

RETURNING now to Cambridge and the events which marked the rule of the party there in power, it would not be difficult to shew that, although important in themselves, they can hardly compare in enduring and far-reaching results with those which followed upon the labours of the exiles beyond the seas. The actual state of the university was, indeed, at this time regarded with almost equal dissatisfaction by both of the two great religious parties which divided the country at large, each of them alike admitting that at Cambridge as at Oxford there was much that called for energetic reform. But while Laud interpreted the word as implying a restoration of discipline and an improved ritual, together with the suppression of schism, the Puritan, whether at home or in New England, held that what was chiefly needed was the surrender of all that savoured of Roman doctrine and the revival of a more genuinely spiritual teaching[1]. Distrust and dislike of the existing system at

Discontent shewn by both parties in the University

[1] Cotton thus sums up the Puritan view in both the Old and the New England:...'it were necessary, that some experienced godly, learned nobles and ministers were deputed to visit and reforme the universities; that subscriptions to ceremonies and prescript liturgies were removed; that degrees in divinitie were not abused unto qualifications for pluralities and non-residency nor allowed in the ministers of churches to put a difference between brethren of the same calling....Here also special care would be taken for setting up of such preachers in both the universities, as whose spirit and gift and ministery might be exemplary patterns to young students.' *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England. Or the way of Churches walking in Brotherly equalitie or co-ordination, without subjection of one Church to another.* By Mr J. Cotton, Teacher of the Church at Boston, New-England. London, 1645.

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CHAP. III. Milton's indictment.

the universities was, in fact, becoming more and more the burden of the Puritan indictment; and Milton, in his pamphlets against prelacy (of which no less than five appeared within eighteen months of the assembling of the Long Parliament), insisted with all the power of his stern and glowing rhetoric, upon the manner in which the 'ingenuous natures' of the well-born English youth were being turned aside from 'the service of God' to that of 'prelaty,' fed as they were 'with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry,' to be 'sent home again with such a scholastic bur in their throats as both stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering[1].'

Such denunciations may well be supposed to have acquired additional force and were probably read with all the more attention, in that, nearly at the very time of their appearance, an endeavour was being made to prevail upon the new parliament to grant a charter for the establishment of a new university in the north of England, Manchester and York competing for the honour of becoming the seat of its foundation. In March 1642, Henry Fairfax transmitted to his brother, lord Fairfax, then in London, some 'propositions lately made at Manchester, in a public meeting there, concerning an university[2].' This document, which purports to come from 'the nobility, gentry, clergy, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the northern parts of England,' enforces the desirability of founding such an institution at that centre by arguments which it would be interesting to compare with those which, more than two hundred years later, eventually carried the proposal into actual effect. 'We are,' say the petitioners, 'inhabitants lying above two hundred miles from Oxford or Cambridge (few under one hundred) insomuch that divers gentlemen are induced to send their sons to foreign universities, or else to allow them only country breeding. The great charges of the other universities[3],

Petition of Manchester for a university.

[1] *The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelaty, by Mr John Milton.* London, 1641. This, as Masson points out, was published in 1641; see his interesting note, *Life of Milton*, II[2] 361, n. 3.

[2] *Fairfax Correspond.* II 271.

[3] See *supra*, p. 174 n.

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necessarily occasioned by the multitude of scholars; the dearth of provisions, the want of fuel and scarcity of lodgings, forcing many men of indifferent and competent estates, able enough to maintain their children in another convenient place of the kingdom, either to debar them of university breeding, to make them servitors, or, at best, to allow them only two or three years' maintenance, and then to provide them of a country cure, or, which is worse, without any degrees, without university learning, to procure them holy orders, and so obtrude them upon the Church, which (we speak from sad experience) hath occasioned many ignorant and unlearned ministers amongst us.' The avoidance of such a crying evil in the future,—the necessity for a learned clergy 'able to convince and discourage Papists[1],'—the opportunity that appeared to be now presenting itself of turning to best account the proferred aid of certain would-be patrons of the scheme,—the honour which would accrue to the northern counties, 'which, by reason of their distance from the Court and universities, have suffered a double eclipse of honour and learning,'—are all urged as weighty further considerations. With regard to the proposed locality, 'we apprehend,' say the petitioners, 'Manchester to be the fittest place for such a foundation, it being almost the centre of these northern parts, a town of great antiquity, formerly both a city and a sanctuary, and now of great fame and ability, by the happy traffic of its inhabitants, for its situation, provision of food, fuel, and buildings, as happy as any town in the northern parts of the kingdom. To all this we add the convenience of the College there already built[2], both large and

[1] The sentiment, common to the would-be founders of a university at Manchester and the actual founders of Harvard (*supra*, p. 189),—that 'an illiterate ministry' was an evil especially to be deprecated,—deserves to be noted. 'Do we ask,' says professor Mayor, 'whether rhetoric, logic, metaphysics (to say nothing of moral philosophy and systematic theology) may safely be banished from a great seminary of the Church; we must compare the Cambridge divines bred before and after that revolution, by which the mathematical and physical sciences supplanted our statutory course.' Pref. to *Nicholas Ferrar*, pp. xlv v.

[2] The reference is to Hugh Oldham's Grammar School. See Whatton (W. R.), *History of Manchester School*, pp. 9 23; Thompson (Joseph), *The Owens College* (Manchester, 1886), c. xxiii.

ancient, and now, as we understand, intended to this purpose by the piety and munificence of the Right Honourable James Lord Strange, a noble encourager of this great work[1].'

From York came two petitions,—one from the city, the other from the city and the northern counties conjointly[2]. Both embody similar arguments to those urged on behalf of Manchester, but the petitioners lay greater stress on the overflowing numbers and the dearness of living at Oxford and Cambridge as virtually excluding all but the sons of the wealthy. Scotland, it is urged, already possesses four universities, it is time that England had a third. Here the petitioners give expression to an emphatic disclaimer of anything like hostility to the two existing 'most famous universities, which, as they are so, we still hope they shall continue, the glory of Europe'; but there is also a plaintive reference to the fact, that those whom the North sends thither to study, rarely return to instruct the benighted regions which they have quitted, and that those who do so are the least eligible of the number. The claims of York are pressed without undue modesty,—its central and 'healthful' situation, its antiquity, its fame, its trade and commerce, and ready command of the commodities of life, being all successively alleged as rendering the city a fit centre for education. Even Alcuin, and the famous library of which he was the custodian, are not forgotten[3],—the latter, 'sometime the most famous in Europe, but being burnt about the time the university of Paris was founded,' might now, it is suggested, 'again be made to flourish by the help of charitable persons.' There are, moreover, already two colleges in York: one, 'the Bedron, well endowed,...with a large hall for the readers and good convenient lodgings for the students'; another, 'founded by St William, in king Stephen's time, which though now in

[1] *Fairfax Correspondence*, II 273 4. Macaulay, in referring to the later progress of our manufacturing towns says, very truly, that even in the seventeenth century 'their rapid progress and their vast opulence were sometimes described in language which seems ludicrous to a man who has seen their present grandeur.' *Hist. of England* (ed. 1849), I 339.

[2] As early as 1604 it had been proposed that a University, or at least a College, should be founded at Ripon. See Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. VII, no. 20.

[3] See author's *History*, I 9.

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another fee, is thought may be redeemed by worthy benefactors.' There are also 'fair houses, of late the dean and prebends, which, though now in lease, may in time expire, and remain unto some pious uses,' and lastly, there is already a printer and a press in the city. The scheme is finally described as 'tending very much to the honour of God, the happiness and advantage, not only of these northern parts but of the whole kingdom[1].'

Fairfax and his brother, by whom the petitions were forwarded, appear alike to have been disposed to support the claims of Manchester, notwithstanding their family relations with Yorkshire[2], although the former expresses it as his opinion that 'those well affected to the new universities,' which he adds '*include every member of our House*...will be in danger to oppose this.' He however admits that he 'much fears a happy issue of it,' seeing that 'the House has made an order to entertain no new matter till some of those great and many businesses we have grasped be ended[3].' And his misgivings were justified by the sequel. When, indeed, he spoke of the House as 'well affected' towards the universities, he simply meant, anxious for their maintenance as the two chief seats of learning in the realm; but it now began to be only too clear that parliament was intent on a policy which could not fail to result in the transformation of each into a community with different traditions, changed institutions, and another discipline; into something, in short, in which the advocates of the maintenance of the existing order would feel that they had neither part nor lot.

The election for the new Parliament had resulted in the return, for the university, of two representatives who proved distinguished benefactors at a later time,—the one, Henry Lucas of St John's College, secretary to the chancellor, Holland, and afterwards the founder of the Lucasian chair of mathematics; the other, Dr Eden, master of Trinity Hall, who liberally endowed that society with lands. Both were

[1] *Fairfax Correspondence*, II 274-280.

[2] Fairfax himself represented York in the Long Parliament. *D. N. B.*

[3] *Ibid.* II 180.

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returned by majorities nearly doubling the numbers polled by their opponents, but both eventually subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant. For each, the progress of events in the House can hardly but have had a special interest. The previous parliament had already appointed a sub-Committee 'to consider of the abuses of the universities in matters of religion,' and the importance of the work to be undertaken in this direction was now unmistakably indicated by the re-appointment of the above sub-Committee as a Committee from the House, entrusted with the same powers but also authorised 'to deal with all abuses in matters of religion and civil government either *done or suffered* by the universities[1].' The master of Peterhouse was, under this proviso, singled out for attack. It was alleged that he had been accessory to an endeavour to win over a convert to Popery by the bribe of a fellowship in the college[2]; while more practical ground was taken by the presentation of a petition[3] drawing attention to his 'superstitious and popish' innovations at Durham and also to the vindictive spirit in which he had urged on proceedings in the court of High Commission. Cosin, in fact, stood between two fires; for he had also used language, described as 'scornful, scandalous, and malicious,' with reference to the royal supremacy in the Church[4]. He was consequently sentenced to be sequestered

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 313.

[2] That the tendencies at Peterhouse under Cosin's *régime* were something more than anti-Puritanical appears to me unquestionable. Bargrave (*Hist. VII* (Cam. Soc.), p. 37) says that about 1649, when he first went to Rome, 'there were four revolters to the Roman church that had been fellows of Peterhouse with myself'; one of these was Richard Crashaw, the poet. Worthington in his *Diary* (ann. 1640, Jan. 16) says: 'There was one Mr Nicols put in prison here for speaking against the King's supremacy and seducing to Popery, he was Fellow of Peterhouse.'

[3] See Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, VII 44 ff. The petition against Cosin was presented by one of his own predecessors, Peter Smart, who had preached in 1628 in Durham Cathedral against the innovations there introduced. Smart is described by Gardiner (*ib.* p. 45) as 'an inaccurate, if not a consciously mendacious, reporter of things which had passed before his eyes.'—'an old man of most froward, fierce, and unpeaceable spirit,' says Cosin's biographer: *Life of Cosin* (prefixed to Oxford ed. of his *Works*), I Append. p. xxiii. Smart had been a schoolmaster at Durham.

[4] 'That the dean and chapter of that Church, whereof Dr Cosin was one, with many others, being invited to dinner in the town of Durham, Dr Cosin then and there spake words derogating from the King's prerogative: the words were these,—"the King hath no more power over the Church than the boy that rubs my horse's heels."' *Ibid.* p. xxvi.

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from all his ecclesiastical benefices and declared, 'in the opinion of this House, unfit and unworthy to be a governor in either of the universities or to continue any longer head or governor of any College[1].' For the present, however, he remained at his post at Peterhouse.

Early in 1641, an incident in the debate on the subsidy for the royal forces, again brought the two universities under the notice of the House. In the proviso exempting the two academic communities from the obligation to contribute to the subsidy, Cambridge was named before Oxford, and on her right to such priority being challenged, it devolved on Sir Simonds D'Ewes, the new member for Sudbury, to adduce what arguments he could in support of such a claim. His speech is in harmony with what we know about the orator himself,—a reserved and somewhat saturnine nature, regarding with the austere aversion characteristic of his party, the levity and profanity of the majority of those by whom he was surrounded, but not untouched by certain finer influences, such as had been brought to bear upon him as the pupil of Holdsworth at St John's[2], and with a decided aptitude and liking for antiquarian research and the spelling out of monastic records and civic registers[3]. On quitting the university for London, to study at the Middle Temple, he had carried on his labours, now among the records in the Tower, now in the archives of the Guildhall; and although his 'Journals of the Parliaments of Elizabeth' remained in manuscript, and it was his own first parliament, he had already obtained some reputation as an authority in questions of precedent and privilege, in relation to the House. As he glanced around him, it may be questioned whether any member, Selden and Holles excepted, would have appeared to him a very formidable antagonist in that particular line

[1] *Commons' Journals*, II 71 [quoted by Cooper, III 309–10].

[2] Of Holdsworth, his pupil always spoke in terms of the highest regard. See D'Ewes' *Autobiography*, I 107, 218, 428.

[3] According to Dr Jessopp, 'the voluminous transcripts from cartularies, monastic registers, early wills and records, and from public and private muniments which he ransacked with extraordinary diligence, constitute a very valuable apparatus for the history of English antiquities and law.' *D. N. B.* XIV 453.

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CHAP. III. of argument which he deemed suitable for the occasion, and notwithstanding his comparative youth (he was only thirty-eight), he spoke with the air and adroitness of a parliamentary veteran, 'having only a few fragmentary notes by him.'

He admits and explains the pre-eminence of Oxford men in the House.

At the outset, he intimated that, if the question at issue was to be determined by votes, Cambridge must submit to be defeated,—'for we all know,' he observed, 'the multitude of borough towns in the western parts of England which do send so many worthy members hither.' He ventured to suggest, however, that votes should be weighed as well as numbered, and proposed to his audience 'a more noble way' of deciding the controversy. Dismissing, accordingly, the fantastic arguments of Twyne and Dr Caius, as grounded on 'the dreams of the ancients,' he took up his stand on the evidence afforded in those 'exotic and rare monuments (not known to many),'—Gildas, Nennius, and the Saxon Chronicle. It was clear from those authorities that 'Cair-grant' (which was Cambridge) existed as 'a city of fame' as far back as the days of Penda; while as regarded its antiquity as a seat of learning, 'no man, I suppose,' said the orator, 'will question or gainsay that it was "a centre of study" in the days of king Alfred, that Henry Beauclerc was sent thither by his father "to be there instructed," or that "the most antient and first endowed college of England" was—Pembroke'[1]. D'Ewes's loyal courage and audacity of statement failed, however, to carry conviction home to those whom he addressed[2]; and in the bill, as it passed, and also in the 'Act for the further Relief of the Army and the Northern Parts,' Oxford took her rightful precedence.

Whether regarded as a city or a seat of learning Cambridge was prior to Oxford.

In the mean time, the action of the House in relation to more practical questions was prompt and unsparing. The

[1] *Parliamentary Hist. of England*, IX 182; *Somers Tracts* (ed. Scott), IV 313.

[2] Cooper (*A. and C.* p. 360) supposes the earl of Holland's letter to D'Ewes (*Autobiography*, II 289) to refer to this speech: it is evident, however, from the internal evidence, that the speech which Holland commended was that 'Concerning the Privilege of Parliament in Causes Civil and Criminal,' on the occasion of the arrest of the Five Members, and delivered 6 Jan. 164½. *Somers Tracts*, IV 315–6.

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Grand Committee for Religion formally resolved that the statute passed in 1616[1], imposing subscription on 'all that take any degree in Schooles,' was 'against the law and liberty of the subject and ought not to be pressed[2].' Some three months later, this resolution was extended so as to apply to subscription imposed on 'all graduates and students whatever[3].'

The university now addressed to parliament a letter and a petition[4],—the former in Latin, the latter in English,—on behalf of the menaced cathedral endowments, pointing out how 'the advancement of learning, the encouragement of students, and the preferment of learned men' were alike aided by such resources; while almost simultaneously a bill was brought forward in the House, by the opposite party, for restraining bishops and other ecclesiastics from 'intermeddling in secular affairs.' The Lords, however, on taking the measure into consideration, inserted a proviso, allowing the two universities to have justices of the peace from among their own Heads,—who were, at this time, with the exception of Dr Eden, all in clerical orders. Williams,—himself the last ecclesiastic who bore the great seal,—did not hesitate to express, from his seat in the House [5], his satisfaction at the introduction of this proviso; 'but for which,' he sarcastically observed, 'the scholars must have gone for justice to those parties to whom they go for their mustard and vinegar[6].' On the 4th June, the Committee for the Universities was reappointed, with instructions to prepare a bill for the better regulation of those bodies; and on the 28th of the month, it was formally declared by the House 'that neither of the universities shall be subject to the injunction of doing reverence to the communion table, either in the church of

[1] See author's *History*, II 458.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 309; cf. *Ib.* p. 104, also Wood-Gutch, II 323, 343.

[3] Cooper, *Ibid.* III 310; *Commons' Journals*, II 117.

[4] Both were presented to the House by Dr Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, and Holland's secretary (Verney, *Notes of the Long Parliament*, p. 76). Bargrave was a fellow of Clare College, and intimate with Father Paul. See *D. N. B.*

[5] Williams had been released from the Tower in the preceding November and was now associated with the party of compromise, especially on the question of the retention of the Book of Common Prayer. *Lords' Journals*, IV 174; Hacket, II 146.

[6] *Parl. Hist. of England*, IX 311.

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CHAP. III. St Mary in either of the universities, or in any church or chapel belonging to any college or hall within either of the universities,—by which they understand bowing and congeeing unto it and offering at it[1].'

Assessment of the colleges. An assessment to a poll tax made of the colleges, in the August of this year, shews the total number of members (exclusive of servants) to have been 2091, St John's standing first, in respect of numbers, with a total of 280, and Trinity next, with 277[2], the former society thus assuming the leadership which it continued to retain for nearly one hundred and twenty years.

Holdsworth as vice-chancellor. When we recall that Laud was now a prisoner in the Tower and that, only a few weeks before, Strafford had suffered on the scaffold, we shall better understand the changed feelings, the consciousness of being face to face with dire emergencies, which led Holdsworth,—whom we last noted as a protestor against the irregular continuance of the sitting of Convocation[3],—to deliver an oration[4] which may certainly rank as one of the most memorable in the history of the university. As master of Emmanuel, it had already devolved upon him to support the action of the Crown in opposition to the Commons; while his position as vice-chancellor, an office which he continued to hold for three successive years, from 1640 to 1642, necessarily imparted additional importance to his example. It was during the first year of his vice-chancellorship that Laurence Chaderton passed away in his hundred and third year, but with his interest in the affairs of his college manifesting itself almost to the last. He did not fail to discern Holdsworth's merits as an administrator, and without apparently intending to disparage the rule of his own more immediate successors, Preston and Sancroft, was heard to declare that Holdsworth was 'the only master he ever saw in that house[5].'

Death of Chaderton: 13 Nov. 1640.

His opinion of Holdsworth.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 314.

[2] *Corporation Muniments*, quoted in Cooper, III 314-5.

[3] See *supra*, p. 145.

[4] *Oratio solennis quam habuit...in Vesperiis Comitiorum Academiae Procancellarius, An.* 1641. Printed at end of Holdsworth's *Praelectiones Theologicae*, 1661; see *infra*, p. 215.

[5] See *Life* of Holdsworth by the late Bishop Creighton, *D. N. B.* XXVII 124.

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We have already seen[1] that, under William Sandcroft (Holdsworth's immediate predecessor), an attempt had been made by certain of the fellows of Emmanuel to bring about the re-enactment of the statute *de mora sociorum*, and that the attempt had been defeated,—that is to say, the fellows of the society had continued to postpone at pleasure proceeding to the degree of D.D., thereby prolonging indefinitely the tenure of their fellowships. At the suggestion of Sir Henry Mildmay (the grandson of the founder), however, measures were now being taken to restore what was justly regarded as having been an essential feature in Sir Walter's design when he drew up his scheme for Emmanuel College[2]. The fellows, on the other hand, again petitioned against the re-enactment of the statute, on the ground that they would thereby be subjected to restrictions such as were imposed on the fellows of no other college in Cambridge except Sidney, and that even at Sidney these restrictions had been materially mitigated[3]. In 1641, however, Sir Henry Mildmay defected from the royal cause of which he had thitherto been a supporter, and on the 2nd of July a bill for 'the confirming of the Statutes of Emmanuel College,' involving the re-enactment of the statute *de mora sociorum*, was read in the House of Commons for the second time. But while the bill was still in progress a case arose in the College which gave the House an opportunity for more definite interference. On October 16, there was an election to a fellowship. The master and four of the fellows voted for John Worthington, but six of the fellows for a Mr T. Hodges. Out of these six, however, there

[1] Vol. II 317.

[2] See *Ibid.* II 316.

[3] See 'Petition from Emanuel College to the Committee of the House of Commons for ordering the Statutes of that College, Dec. 1640': 'May it please you to be informed that there is no college in that university where the Fellows are peremptorily compelled to take their degree of Doctor at their time, but only in this and *in Sidney College*, although the statutes were in a sort verbatim taken forth of ours, yet the executors of the Foundress, intrusted with that foundation, did think fit to allow them seven years longer than was permitted to us, after they had considered the inconveniences of this statute.' Baker MS. B pp. 88–89; see also *Documents*, III 525 and 575. Singularly enough, the petitioners appear to have been totally ignorant of the fact that the statute *de Mora* had already been altogether repealed at Sidney (see Vol. II 317) in the year 1614. *Documents*, III 575–6; Edwards (G. M.), *Sidney Sussex College*, pp. 70–71.

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CHAP. III. were three who, having failed to proceed to their doctor's degree when of sufficient standing to do so, would be held to be disqualified if the statute *de Mora* were to be carried into effect. Holdsworth, accordingly, and those who supported him protested against the validity of their votes; while the voters, ignoring their own disqualification, vindicated their choice on the ground that Hodges came from one of the two counties, Essex and Northamptonshire, to which the founder himself had assigned a preference[1]. Worthington's supporters, on the other hand, contended that such preference was only to obtain *ceteris paribus*, and was not intended to override merit[2]. The question was at once referred to the House of Commons; where, on Oct. 21, an order was passed forbidding the master to admit either of the candidates until the Committee appointed to consider the bill had decided on the point at issue. A sub-Committee had, however, to be re-appointed for this special purpose, which did not send in its report until early in 1642, when a resolution passed the House, declaring Worthington to be the candidate whose election must be held valid, while Wright, Hall and Holbech, were declared '*non socii*, according to the statute *de Mora Sociorum*, any dispensation to the contrary notwithstanding[3].'

Decision of the House of Commons: 2 March 1642

Apart from the fact that Worthington's merits were undeniable and that he was afterwards promoted to the mastership of Jesus College, being already distinguished as one of the ablest preachers of his day, as the valued correspondent of eminent scholars, and editor of the much esteemed writings of Joseph Mede, the names of his supporters would alone suggest that the House of Commons was in the right. Three of those who voted with Holdsworth afterwards became heads of colleges: Benjamin Whichcote, provost of King's;

Worthington's appointment and character vindicated

[1] Vol. II 312, n. 4.

[2] How little personal merit was allowed to weigh with the 'six,' is to be seen from the following minute, signed by Cudworth: 'Mr Sarson, in his chamber told me that he acknowledged *a vast difference* between Mr Worthington and Mr H. in worth, but was determined to the inferior by the clause of the statute, *ob quod comitatus Essexiae et Northamptoniae*, etc.' See *Reasons against the election of Mr T. H.*, 16 *Oct.* 1641. Heywood and Wright, II 560–5.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, II 52–53; Cooper, *Annals*, III 307, n. 1; Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel*, pp. 90, 91.

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John Sadler, master of Magdalene; Cudworth, master of Christ's; each of them prominent figures in the history of learning, who will claim no small share of our attention in a subsequent chapter. Of three of the disqualified voters, on the other hand, Thomas Holbech, although he afterwards became master of Emmanuel, held office for only five years, while he attained to no distinction beyond its walls; Hall, along with Wright, had been chiefly distinguished by the pertinacity with which they both urged their claims to dues from 'the Pinchbeck property'; while Harris refused to recognise his superannuation and even to leave the college, and was ultimately summoned before parliament as a delinquent in the following year[1]. On the whole, the case deserves to be recorded as exemplifying the real value of an occasional appeal from the narrow sympathies and personal jealousies of a small society to a less biassed tribunal without.

It was while the question of Worthington's election was still in suspense, during the Cambridge Commencement of July 1641, that certain members of the House of Commons arrived from London to grace the ceremonials by their presence. On Holdsworth, as vice-chancellor, it devolved to welcome the guests, and the oration which he now delivered must take rank as one of the most important ever delivered on a like occasion. In the preceding March, the Lords had nominated from their number that memorable Committee of whose labours Laud, now a prisoner in the Tower, augured so gloomily; and a sub-Committee, largely composed of Cambridge divines, of whom Holdsworth was one, had been appointed to assist them by 'preparing matters for their cognizance[2].' In the belief of Fuller, whose uncle Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, died heartbroken during the sittings of this latter body, their labours might have been blessed to the saving of the Church had they not been prematurely termi-

[1] Shuckburgh, *Ibid.* 78, 95.

[2] 'The bishop of Lincoln, having the chair in both' (Fuller-Brewer, VI 188); 'with authority given him,' adds Hacket, 'to call together those Assistants whom the Lords had named to consult for peace, and to stop the breaches which sedition had caused.' *Life of Williams*, II 146. Among the 'Assistants,' were Usher, Morton, Hall, Samuel Ward, Hacket and Holdsworth. Kennet's *Chronicle*, III 105.

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nated by the action of the presbyterian party in the following May. As it was, when Holdsworth came forward on the above occasion as the mouthpiece of the university, it was with a melancholy consciousness that the hopes of his party had been scattered to the winds, while the cloud which overhung his college remained still undispelled.

At the outset, consequently, he found himself compelled to admit that it was in no festive mood that the university welcomed its guests. Even on the most felicitous occasions, he observes, academic rejoicing had always been tinctured with a certain austerity; but such was now the condition of the community, so uncertain or rather hopeless were the prospects of learning, so tottering the fortunes of the Church, that moans and plaints were far more fitting than exultation, joy, or congratulatory strains,—the trappings of woe, than festal adornment. 'I can tell you nothing,' cried the orator, 'this year,—a year whose star seems wrapt in cloud,—of aught that is joyous or prosperous; the occasion calls not for graceful, well-turned periods, but rather for deep sighs, loud sobs, and broken utterance, such as may betray rather than declare the incredible grief of the university not only for her own misfortunes but also for those of the Church!' Far, however, is it from *his* purpose, he avers, to cast the slightest aspersion upon parliament and its proceedings; the university can only deplore that its written appeals have been in vain, can only hope that its grief may yet move the legislator to compassion. Up to this time, religion in England had worn not merely an air of peace and calm, it had also been splendid and magnificent. 'Our Church,' he exclaimed, 'is happier far than others; she traces back her origin to no popular insurrection, has instituted no maimed and mutilated priesthood, no novel discipline destined soon to disappear; but whatever stands forth to view as confirmed by successive ages, approved by Councils, defined by ancient Fathers, and originating in Apostolic times, this she has restored, maintained, and handed down for our observance.... But now, how all was changed! The mind falters and refuses to record the insults, the contumely, the foul abuse, couched in

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terms of lowest scurrility and buffoonery, which were hurled at the discipline, *the liturgy*, the clergy, *the whole episcopal order*, nay at that very Church itself, which stood adorned by such great names. Even the Reformation itself was now inveighed against as something at once incomplete and corrupt, stained with the dregs of Popery and calling for further reform and cleansing.' 'I had imagined,' continued the orator, 'all inexperienced as I was[1], that what we call the Reformation had come to pass in times and was the work of men full of bitter hatred of the popes of Rome,—men of whom it would be impossible to suppose that they would wittingly have retained aught of that Superstition which had inflicted on many of them not only imprisonment and exile but even death. Surely, even to suppose so, is to pay scant reverence to those who were the champions of our Faith! If such indeed be the fate which is to overtake their fame, the extinction of true religion itself cannot be far distant. Come, fellow academicians, let us prepare the exequies! We will take our seats by the waters of the Cam, and weep when we remember thee, O Sion! We will hang our harps on the willows, and now at length bid a long farewell to learning. Farewell, ye stately ceremonies and thronged assemblies! Farewell, ye contests of scholars and honorable disputations, bright purple and adorning gown, maces, insignia, genius, polite learning, studies, order, discipline, and ye venerable foundations of our ancestors; and thou too, Religion, which hast so long adorned our Church of England!

CHAP. III.

and insists on the true spirit of the English Reformation.

Gloomy prospects of learning.

[1] 'Existimavi ego, homo rerum imperitus, Reformationem quam dicimus religionis divina providentia in ea tempora hominesque incidisse, qui post Mariae quinquennium persequutionis flamma erepti, infesto adversus pontificios odio ferebantur: vixdum sanctorum martyrum sanguis exaruerat, vix erant a ferro et vinculis confessorum cohortes laxatae, vix redierant qui se patria fortunisque omnibus religionis causa exuissent, vix a sanctorum oculis absterse erant lacrymae quas in cineres martyrum effuderant, cum primum de reformatione Fidei, de religionis restauratione consultabant. An quisquam est adeo delirus ut censeat, calente adhuc martyrum sanguine, flagrante Papismi odio, et injuriarum recentissimarum memoria, potuisse hos summos viros tam solute ac negligenter ad tam magno pretio redemptam Reformationem se accingere, ut istius Superstitionis reliquias ullas retinerent quam vinculis, exsiliis et sanguine expiassent?' *Oratio*, etc. p. 734. Cf. Vol. II 171-3 of author's *History*. This theory of the Reformed Church of England, as maintained in the reign of Charles I, is deserving of note.

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'Tis now the twelfth hour alike of the Muses and of the Graces[1].'

But he would not abandon all hope without a final appeal to Parliament,—'to those who, under the best of princes, held the Keys of the State in that famed assembly.' He appealed to each legislator to remember that the two universities were not merely seminaries of the Church, but were also the two eyes of the entire realm,—being not only the homes of the prophets, but fountains for society at large, healthful streams watering alike Church and State, schools in which the finest intellects were instructed in all that related to the conduct of life. Whatever harm befel the universities must needs prove detrimental to the whole land. Then, even as Alexander at Thebes spared the house of Pindar[2], let them guard the universities from overthrow! Let them only remember what great leaders, what defenders of the Faith, from the days of St Basil downwards, had been trained at like seats of learning; let them remember the men whom Oxford had educated,—that Oxford which, panic-stricken by the weight of her misfortunes, was now overtaken by a miscarriage. As for the array of like names at Cambridge, it was endless; before he could pronounce them there would have risen to the lips of those whom he addressed a succession of names,—now celestial spirits, who had sustained untiringly the fight for the Faith and had broken the power of pontiffs. Let them remember that these were all men whom the university had trained and that not a few of them had been bishops. To attack the episcopal order as a body[3] was, indeed, a fratricidal strife, which, to those who urged it on, would prove as fatal as did civil warfare to the Greeks of

[1] 'Valete, solennia et celebritates; valete, studiosorum certamina et honestae velitationes, et fulgor purpurae et togae decus, et fasces et insignia et ingenium et cultior literatura et libri et studium et ordo et disciplina et pia majorum instituta et quae diu in Anglia religio floruisti; in duodecima hora sumus et Musarum et Gratiarum.' *Ibid.* p. 735.

[2] 'The great Einathian conqueror bid spare | The house of Pindarus.'—Milton's sonnet, written some sixteen months later, on the eve of the anticipated assault on the City of London, almost suggests that the poet may have read some copy of Hobbsworth's Oration already in circulation; otherwise, both probably drew, independently, from Pliny, vii 29 § 109; or Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii 7.

[3] Referring to the Covenant.

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old, who perished in such conflicts long after their external foes, the barbarians, had been subdued. CHAP. III.

He urges the force of individual example.

With a final adjuration to the university to address itself vigorously to grapple with the impending crisis, and to each individual member, to let his own life and studies be such as might serve to enhance the fame and reputation of his Alma Mater, the vice-chancellor brought his fervid oration to a close. So stirring an appeal and protest against the doctrines of that same *Covenant* which, in another three years, was to be imposed upon the whole university, speaks forcibly for Holdsworth's grasp of the actual situation. Within three weeks of its delivery it had been reported to the Commons, who had forthwith referred the whole matter to a Committee[1]. At the same time the proceedings against Dr William Beale, which had been so abruptly terminated by the dissolution[2], were resumed, articles being now exhibited impugning alike the discipline and the doctrine which he advocated. He had preached 'presumptuously' against Puritanism; he had enforced all manner of ritualistic observances; he had been 'the sole encourager of Dr Cosins in his vice-chancellorship to tyranize in that jesuitical, popish, and canterburian religion'; while the peculiarly sinister imputation levelled against Cosin was now preferred against Beale himself, it being alleged that he 'did seduce and allure divers young students out of other colledges, promising them upon their conformitie great preferment in his colledge, which he did frequently[3].' Parliament took prompt action in order to repress such 'Romish' practices throughout the university. Heads of colleges were forthwith called upon to remove the communion tables from the east end of their chapels, to take away the rails and level the chancels. 'All

Parliament refers his Oration to a Committee.

Articles exhibited against Dr Beale: 6 Aug. 1641.

Consequent action of Parliament.

[1] 'Ordered that the information given concerning an Oration made in the University of Cambridge touching the decay of learning etc., by Dr Holdsworth the Vicechancellor, wherein it was alleged were great reflections on the Parliament's proceedings, be referred to a Committee.' Rushworth, pt. iii, i 355.

[2] See *supra*, p. 146; order had been given for the production of the articles, Oct. 15, 1640; *i.e.* a fortnight before the opening of the Long Parliament.

[3] Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions during the Puritan Period*, II 442–4; Baker-Mayor, pp. 629–30.

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crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity, and all images of the Virgin Mary' were to be 'taken away and abolished'; tapers, candlesticks and basons were to be removed; and all 'corporal bowing' at the name of Jesus or towards the east end of the church was to be discontinued[1].

Charles, in the mean time, had shewn his sense of the value of Holdsworth's services by appointing him one of his own chaplains, and somewhat later offered him the see of Bristol, a perilous honour which, amid the storm of unpopularity then descending on the whole episcopal order, the master of Emmanuel deemed it prudent to decline. His loyalty remained, however, unshaken; and when, in the following November, the king returned from Scotland, having secured, as it was fondly hoped, the allegiance of that country by his timely concessions, the university poured forth its congratulations in a collection of occasional verses wherein Holdsworth's contributions, as those of the vice-chancellor, served both to usher in and to conclude the series. Forming, as these effusions do, a bulky pamphlet of nearly one hundred pages[2], and composed, as they are, in various languages,—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, English, and Anglo-Saxon,—their subscriptions sufficiently attest the remarkable unanimity of the leading men in the university at that critical juncture. Whatever sinister interpretations men elsewhere might place on the Irish Massacre and the 'Incident,' Cambridge at least was determined to put the most favorable construction on

[1] *Commons' Journals*, II 278, 287 [quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, III 316].

[2] *Irenodia Cantabrigiensis: ob pacificum Serenissimi Regis Caroli è Scotia reditum Mense Novembri* 1641. Ex Officina Rogeri Daniel, Almae Academiae Typographi, 1641. The chief contributors are: R. Holdsworth, Acad. Procancellarius; S. Wardus, Praefectus Coll. Sidneyani; R. A. Brownrigg, Aul. Cath. Praefectus; Rich. Love, Praef. C. C. C.; Rich. Sterne, Praefectus Coll. Jesu; Henr. Ferne, S. Th. Profess.; Tho. Gaud, Regal. LL.D. Jur. Civilis Professor Regius; Henr. Molle, Regal. Orat. Acad. publ.; Abrahamus Whelocus, Bibliothec. pub.; N. Hobart, Coll. Regal. Soc. Senior, Academiae Procurator; Jacob. Duport, S. T. B. Graecae linguae Professor; J. Beaumont, Coll. S. Pet. So.; N. Culverwell, Mag. in Art. Coll. Emman. [the author]; Guil. Retchford, Art. Bac. Aul. Clar. [one of the two contributors in Anglo-Saxon]; R. Cudworth, M.A. Coll. Emman. Socius [one of the contributors in Hebrew]; A. Cowley, Trin. Coll.; John Cleveland, Fellow of St John's College.

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the royal policy and implicitly avow its disbelief in the aspersions cast upon Charles's good name.

But the dangers which Holdsworth had foreboded now came on thick and fast. In the following December, the Grand Remonstrance was carried by Parliament to the king at Hampton Court; couched, as it was, in language which might almost seem to glance directly at the recent speech of the vice-chancellor, it embodies a distinct intimation of a design to reform and purge 'the fountains of learning, the two universities,'—'in order,' say the Remonstrants, 'that the streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land[1].' Before January had passed, the famous 'Protestation' 'to defend the true Protestant religion[2],' which in the preceding April had been sent by Cromwell and Lowry to the burgesses of the town, was imposed as a declaration obligatory on both universities. In the following month it was reported to the House that notwithstanding the recent order against subscription on proceeding to degrees, students, on graduating, were still sometimes pressed to make formal record of their unalterable loyalty to King and Church; and Sir Robert Harley, Strode, Cromwell and Hampden were accordingly instructed to draw up letters of remonstrance addressed to both universities[3]. About the same time, the claim of these bodies to be exempted from contribution to the loan for the defence of the kingdom was rejected by the House. The Committee for the Universities was again revived; while a petition from the gentry and commoners of Cambridgeshire to the House of Lords urged upon the attention of that body, among other measures,—to be undertaken 'with as much zeal and speed as the pressing necessity of the times require,'—one for the 'purging of the universities[4].'

Language of the Grand Remonstrance at Hampton Court: 1 Dec. 1641.

The Protestation imposed on the university.

Irregular subscription prohibited.

Resistance of both universities to the forced Loan.

The universities to be purged.

[1] Rushworth, *Hist. Collections*, III, vol. I 450.

[2] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, IX 353-4; Cooper, *Annals*, III 311, n. 2 and 317.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, II 425. The same practice, however, is observable, long after, in the Bishops' Registers of this period: see *infra*, c. IV and Appendix (F).

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, III 319, 320. 'Our blessed parliamentarie worthies,' wrote Vicars (*Parl. Chron.* p. 40) in the same year, 'have given us great hope of timely purging the two famous fountains of our Kingdom,

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It was while this ferment was at its height that prince Charles, not yet twelve years of age, paid a visit to the university, where, two days later, he was joined by his royal sire. Joseph Beaumont of Peterhouse,—recently appointed 'guardian and director of the manners and learning' of the students of that society over which he was afterwards to preside,—described, in a letter to his father, the reception of the prince, and characterises it as wanting in 'no circumstance of honor which the court about him or the university could give.' The king on his arrival, he says, was 'highly pleased' to learn how the prince had been received, and prolonged what he had designed to be a private visit into a public stay of some hours. Holdsworth, as vice-chancellor, presented him with a handsome bible, while Dr Collins, the provost of King's, presented another to the prince. The master of Trinity, Dr Comber, greeted his monarch in a set oration; and at St John's the public orator discharged a like courtesy. Both these addresses, however, seemed thrown into the shade by that of Cleveland who, in a succession of bold but brilliant metaphors, managed to compliment his monarch in such felicitous terms that the latter, we are told, 'called for him, and with great expressions of kindness gave him his hand to kiss, and commanded that a copy of the address should be sent after him to Huntington, whither he was hastening that night[1].' 'As the statue of Memnon,' said the poet, 'became vocal in the rays of the rising sun, so the university, but lately plunged in grief, has become eloquent in the sunshine of the royal presence[2].' It was on this occasion, also, that Cowley, now a minor fellow of Trinity, composed, as already noted[3], his play of *The Guardian*. Charles banqueted at

Oxford and Cambridge, from the much myrre and mud of Romish inoculations.' John Vicars, gibbeted by Butler in his *Hudibras* (I i 617) and by John Goodwin as 'Babshakeh Vicars,' was a member of Queen's College, Oxford. He attacked both Cavaliers and Independents with almost equal virulence.

[1] Cleveland's *Life*, prefixed to *Works*, ed. 1687; letter from Beaumont to his father, *Archaeologia*, XVIII 30; Cooper, *Annals*, III 321-2; Baker MS. XXXIII 235-6.

[2] 'Memnonis statua solaribus percussa radiis vocalem musicam dedisse fertur: habent vel hi parietes chordas magicas, quas minima vultus vestri strictura quasi plectro animavit.' Cleveland, *Works*, p. 135 (ed. 1687).

[3] See *supra*, p. 111.

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CHAP. II

Charles at St John's.

St John's, surveyed the chapel and the library, and, Dr Beale himself being absent, did not scruple to say a kindly word on his behalf, declaring that until the charges against him were clearly substantiated he was determined to hold him guiltless[1]. The university, charmed with the royal condescension, rose to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Beaumont subscribed his letter to his father as written on 'the best day of my life'; while on the following Sunday, which was the anniversary of Charles's accession, Holdsworth, preaching at Great St Mary's, could venture to hold up the condition of the nation at large to the admiration of his audience as even more than satisfactory. 'Never,' he declared, 'were the riches of the kingdom so great, its peace so constant, the state of it for all things so prosperous[2].' This complacent tone is certainly somewhat surprising when we note that the words were spoken within two days after the presentation of the Kentish Petition to Parliament, and that on the Monday following upon Holdsworth's discourse that petition was rejected[3].

Holdsworth's sermon at Great St Mary's: 27 Mar. 164

His optimistic tone not confirmed by the contemporary evidence.

The Kentish Petition.

The Kentish Petition[4], although in itself little more than a somewhat doubtful claim to represent the predominant feeling of the resident gentry round about Maidstone, had its value, in Gardiner's opinion, as an indication of the 'distracted condition' of the whole country, and, it may be added, of both the universities. It pleaded, on the one hand, for the full execution of the laws against the Catholics; on the other, for the maintenance of episcopal government, and for the establishment of a Synod, which was to be empowered to decide upon all disputes concerning doctrine or ceremonies. It called for the suppression of 'schismatical sermons and

[1] Beaumont's letter, *u.s.*; Baker-Mayor, p. 217. Baker asserts that Charles 'did Dr Beale the honour to accept an entertainment from him in the college': the Master, however, being at that time under the censure of the House of Commons, probably deemed it more becoming to absent himself.

[2] *A Sermon at St Maries on the Day of his Majesties happy Inauguration*, p. 27.

[3] 'The Kentish Petition,' says Gardiner, 'may fairly be accepted as embodying the spirit which was soon to animate the King's supporters in the Civil War.' See *Hist. of England*, x 179–80.

[4] This noteworthy manifesto must not be confounded with the petition of the Root and Branch party, *also emanating from Kent*, presented in Jan. 164½. See Gardiner, *Fall of the Monarchy*, i 57, 440–1.

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CHAP. III. pamphlets' and for the silencing of all laymen who, 'arrogating to themselves the rights of the clergy, devoted their energies to preaching up 'libertinism and atheism.' It also urged that no order of either House should acquire validity before the Royal assent had made it a statute of the realm. In short, it advocated the maintenance of precisely those institutions and restrictive enactments against which Milton, in his *Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*,—renouncing his previous *incognito*,—now appeared as the avowed antagonist of Andrewes, Ussher and Hall, and those other writers whose theories had recently found renewed exposition in the collection known as the 'Oxford Tracts[1].' But it was the bishopric as an institution, which was now recognised to be specially on its trial. 'I have no reverence for bishops,' observed Sir Edmund Verney to Hyde[2]; and the battle of Edgehill, at which, a few weeks after that utterance, the speaker fell, may almost be said to have been fought to decide the question of the maintenance or the abolition of the episcopal order. How closely that order was associated, in the academic mind, with the best interests and prevalent aspirations of the university, is a fact too clearly brought home to the student of Cambridge history at this period, to call for any further elucidation in these pages. The originally penniless lad, who, notwithstanding high promise and a genuine love of letters, could never have set foot in college had not his merit been discerned by some generous prelate, and who, frequently during his subsequent career in the university, found himself aided by endowments which bore witness to a like munificence in some preceding generation, until a well-earned success at length brought home to him the consciousness that he, in turn, might aspire to wear the mitre and to be a patron, could hardly but feel that, in his own experience, what Milton describes as 'the benefit of a wise and well-rectified nurture[3],' had been placed within his

[1] For a concise account of these seven pamphlets, see Masson's *Life of Milton*, II 363-9.

[2] Gardiner, *Hist. of the Civil War*, I 5.

[3] *Reason of Church Government*, cited by Masson, II 373.

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reach by members of that very Order which the poet himself was at this time so energetically assailing. Hence, in the preceding year, Ussher had drafted his scheme of a modified episcopacy, which he vainly hoped might serve to appease the scruples of more moderate Puritans; and hence, again, with a view to conciliate, the university had recently acceded to a request from the Commons to aid two poor students from Trinity College, Dublin, by granting them exhibitions[1].

Ussher's scheme.

Aid granted to students from Trin. College, Dublin.

Within a few weeks of the delivery of Holdsworth's oration, another notable discourse,—this time from the university pulpit,—bore witness to the fact that rapid changes had already taken place during the interval. On the 31st May, Thomas Stephens, master of Bury St Edmund's School, preached from the text *In those days there was no King in Israel; every man did that which was right in their own eyes*[2]. Like Holdsworth[3], he could still recognise the material prosperity of the realm, but the eight weeks which had intervened enabled him to discern the dangers ahead far more clearly. 'If these scattered drops,' cried the preacher, 'which fall so fast, do fore-token a black storm a coming...we need not go farr to seek a cause.' 'We who enjoy all those blessings which a peacable government can inrich a land with, we which sit every man under our own vines and our own fig-trees partaking of the fatnesse of the land,...we which now hear the bells toll quietly to bring us together to the publick service of God, which, were it not for this government, we might expect would be jangling in a more dismal tune, ringing a funeral peal to the town or city,—that we

Sermon before the university by Thomas Stephens: 31 May 16

He denounces the prevailing disloyalty.

[1] *Commons' Journals*, II 557. Although Romanists were supposed to be debarred from admission at Trinity College, 'the authorities of the College,' says its historian, 'studiously avoided any public enquiry into the religious tenets of undergraduates. Until 1794 no student was required to make any declaration of his creed at entrance, and it appears that even those who lived within the walls were not forced to attend the services of the chapel if known to be Dissenters.' *Trinity College, Dublin*. By W. Macneile Dixon (1902), p. 45.

[2] Judges, xxi 25.

[3] Stephens appears to have been personally known to Holdsworth, for he tells us that the latter, in his capacity of vice-chancellor, called upon him to preach a second sermon, but this was never delivered. See Preface to *Three Seasonable Sermons: the First preach't at St Mary's in Cambridge, May* 31, 1642. *The Others designed for publick Auditories but prevented*. By Tho. Stephens, M.A. London. The volume was not printed until the Restoration, the Preface being dated 'Bury St Edm. June 6, 1660.'

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Protestants, should conceive a mischief against the King... and lift up the finger against the Lord's Anointed[1]!' In language that must afterwards have seemed almost prophetic, he assailed with bitter sarcasm the denouncers of the Laudian ritual. 'Force open the doors, break down the windows, let the spies enter and the armed men keep the passage! But once in, 'tis not the altar and rails will serve them,—no, the vestry and the library, yes, the poor man's box shall be suspected to have a golden image in it! Nay there is no place secure, there is an idoll in the desk; away with the Book of Common Prayer, teare it to pieces! There is an idoll in the pulpit too, or rather the priest of idolls; hale him, pull him out, tear off the sacred vestments from his superstitious shoulders: the ephod and the teraphim will not suffice, the surplice and the hood; cherubims and seraphins must all away, nay the very stones of the pavement shall be torne up, because men kneel upon them; "Thus, O God, do they break down the carved works of thy house with axes and hammers[2]."'

If the ferment in the university was but the reflex of the excitement that prevailed throughout the entire realm, Trinity College, in turn, appears to have offered within its own limits an epitome of the contention in the whole university. It is at this great crisis, indeed, that this society begins to assume that high position among the colleges which it has almost ever since maintained; and if Dr Comber might lament that his mastership had fallen upon evil days, he might find consolation in the fact that his own college had prospered under his rule. In the earlier years of the century, there are traces of favoritism in elections and of negligence on the part of the tutors, much resembling the condition of the neighbouring society under the misrule of Owen Gwynne, although the complaint of Arthur Jackson probably represents a somewhat exceptional experience[3]. Under

[1] Stephens' *Sermon*, u. s. p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 18-19.

[3] Jackson entered at Trinity circ. 1616; and his biographer tells us that he was under the tuition of 'one so little minding the faithful discharge of that great work he undertook, that I have often heard him say, he might have been half a year absent, and his tutor not known it.' *Life* (pre-

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Comber, however, a marked reform is observable. The *Admissions*, from the year 1635, were regularly kept and carefully preserved; his example as an indefatigable student and his remarkable attainments as a scholar encouraged humanising studies[1]; and there is to be discerned not only an improved standard of taste in literature, and more especially in poetry, but also a juster sense of the limits to be observed in Biblical criticism and interpretation. In 1642, when, as we have already seen[2], Arthur Jackson (now rector of St Michael's in Wood Street) was petitioning parliament to sanction the printing of Richard More's translation of Mede's Apocalyptic studies[3], the scholars of Trinity,—availing themselves of the licence which marked the royal visit,—put forth a collection of satirical predictions, among which it was foretold that 'the bare profession of being a member of the Latin Church...shall plainly appeare to be a publike sign and the marke of the Beast[4].'

Increased attention paid to modern languages and the belles lettres.

Arthur Jackson: b. 1593(?). d. 1666.

Contrast in the tone of the scholars in relation to current prophecies.

Trinity, at this time, as Mr Ball observes, was especially 'favoured by the poets[5]'; and, subsequent to the deaths of Donne and George Herbert, a succession of versifiers and play-writers may be cited in evidence. Hugh Holland, the poet of travel and author of the *Cypres Garland*,—and Thomas Randolph, whom Duport eulogises as the Ovid of the age[6]—were both fellows of the society. But there were

Development of poetry among its members:

Hugh Holland: d. 1633.

T. Randolph: b. 1605. d. 1635.

fixed to Jackson's *Annotations on Isaiah*), pp. 1-2.

[1] 'Adde to this his incomparable dexterity in the Easterne and Westerne languages, as Hebrew, Arabick, Coptick, Samaritane, Syrinck, Caldee, Persian, Greeke and Latine, in which he was most excellent; likewise the French, Spanish and Italian, which he understood and could speak. This provision he stored himselfe with, partly at home here, and partly abroad in his travells.' Funeral Sermon by R. Boreman, B.D. *delivered in Trinity Colledge Chappell the 29 of March*, 1653. 'Panegyrick' prefixed, p. 8. See also the *Epitaphium* by Duport, *Ibid.* and in *Musæ Subsecivæ*, p. 491.

[2] *Supra*, p. 21.

[3] The order was given 18 Apr. 1642, and the volume appeared in 1643 as *The Key of the Revelation*, with a preface by Dr Twisse.

[4] *Certaine Prophecies presented before the Kings Majesty by the Scholers of Trinity Colledge in the Universitie of Cambridge*. Printed at London for T. B. 1642 [Univ. Lib. Z. 23. 11].

[5] *Notes on Trinity College*, pp. 89, 90.

[6] Duport (Jas.), *Musæ Subsecivæ*, pp. 469-70. See *supra*, pp. 109-10. The tribute of Duport is characterised by more genuine feeling than he usually evinces. 'Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus; | Hæc tua culpa fuit, te placuisse nimis,'—such is his verdict on his friend's career.

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instances in which these tastes, in themselves refining and elevating, were also accompanied by a recklessness and licentiousness that recall the days of Nash and Greene[1]. Andrew Marvell appears to have 'gone down,' once and again[2], under circumstances which must have seriously prejudiced his prospects of academic success; and he eventually quitted the university in 1641, leaving behind him no more memorable achievement than some verses in the *Musa Cantabrigiensis*. It may however be conjectured that the reputation which he subsequently acquired by his knowledge of continental languages, is not altogether to be dissociated from the influence of the example set by the master of his college. Cowley, whom, in 1642, we find busied with the composition of his *Davideis*, had already won his fellowship; but early in June, when the university was again dispersing through fear of the plague, the unhappy end of Sir John Suckling in Paris became known in England. It was but little more than fifteen years since, at the age of sixteen, he had entered as a fellow-commoner. He had gone down without taking a degree, but not without having already given evidence of attainments beyond his years. His sparkling verse, if it rarely attained to excellence, gave suggestion of a genius capable of better things; while his *Session of the Poets* and his just appreciation of Shakespeare indicated a critical discernment above the level of his time.

If Holdsworth had ever contemplated the delivery of another oration at the approaching Commencement, his design was frustrated by a Grace passed on the 6th June for the discontinuance of all sermons, lectures and exercises until the authorities should deem it safe for the university to

[1] See Vol. II 432.

[2] According to his biographer, Cooke, Marvell first quitted Cambridge under the influence of certain Jesuits, who persuaded him to transfer himself to London; but finally left (after proceeding B.A.) about the time when we find the following entry in the *Conclusion Book* of Trinity College—'Sept. 24 (1641): It is agreed by the Master and eight Seniors that Mr Carter, Dominus Wakefield, *Dominus Marvell*, Dominus Waterhouse, and Dominus Maye, in regard that some of them are reported to be married, and the others looke not after their days nor nets, shall receave no more benefitt of the college, and shall be out of their places, unless they show just cause to the college for the contrary in three months.'

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reassemble. Six days later, an Ordinance of the House of Lords nominated him a member of the Assembly of Divines and the nomination was approved by the Commons[1]. His measure of offence, in the eyes of the latter House, was indeed not as yet filled up, but it was very shortly to become so.

The royal appeal for a loan: 29 June 1642.

Before June had passed, the loyal feeling of those who remained in the university was put to very practical test by a royal appeal, dated from York, for aid to enable the Crown to cope with the levies and the loans which Parliament was collecting,—collecting moreover, Charles' letter went on to say, 'upon false and scandalous pretences (and which we have sufficiently made appear to be such by our proclamations and declarations, and by the declarations of our lords and counsellors here present with us) that *we intended to make war upon our Parliament.*' Royalty accordingly desires 'the assistance of our good subjects for our necessary defence.' 'By our perpetual care and protection of such nurseries of learning,' it is further urged, 'we have especiall reason to expect their particular care of us, and their extraordinary assistance to our defence and preservation'; and 'our colleges out of their treasuries,' individuals 'out of their particular fortunes,' are consequently called upon to contribute,—'interest of eight pounds per cent.' being promised when the money is repaid, which it shall be, 'justly and speedily as soon as it shall please God to settle the distraction of this poor kingdom[2].'

The Cambridge response.

The response of the university was singularly prompt. As early as the second of July, some at least of the colleges had paid their quota and still possess the receipt given by

[1] *Lords' Journals*, VI 92. The year '1643' in Cooper, *Annals*, III 324, n. (5), is a misprint.

[2] Heywood and Wright, II 450-1; Baker MSS. x 114; Wood (*Annals*, II 438) prints 'upon *a* false and scandalous pretence,' [which, adds the Oxford letter, 'we have sufficiently made appeare to be such by our *actions* and declarations] ..that we intended to make warre upon our Parliament, horse is still levied and *plate* and money is still brought in against us, notwithstanding our declarations and proclamations to the contrary.' In all important points the two letters are however identical; but that to Cambridge is dated: 'Given at our Court at York the 29th of June, 1642'; that to Oxford is dated: 'Given at our Court at Yorke Julii the seventh, Anno D'ni 1642.'

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the royal agent[1], John Poley, fellow of Queens' College and proctor for the year[2]. Queens' College gave £185, of which amount its loyal president, Edward Martin, whose sympathy with the Anglican party had, as we have seen, already been practically attested[3], contributed £100; St John's gave £150; Sidney £100[4]. For some reason which does not appear, Charles's appeal to Oxford was not written until more than a week after that sent to Cambridge[5]; but the response of the sister university was equally prompt and yet more liberal. On the letter being read, Wood tells us, 'the whole Convocation consented that *whatsoever money the university was possessed of*, whether in Savile's mathematical chest, Bodley's, or in the university chest, should be lent to the king[6]'; and on the 20th July, Sir Edward Nicholas, the secretary of state, was able to report that Oxford had 'voluntarily sent in £10,000 to the king' and Cambridge 'a faire proporcion also,' such proportion amounting to £6000[7]. On the whole the compliance of both universities was highly encouraging, and might well seem to suggest a means of supply which could be relied upon until the source itself was exhausted. The royal letter, moreover, contained a significant allusion: it spoke of 'the

[1] The receipt sent to St John's College, for money handed over from the college treasury by Dr Beale, is printed in Baker-Mayor, p. 632; also in *Life of Dr John Barwick*, p. 22.

[2] Poley's services in the royal cause were so highly valued that, a few months later (10 Oct. 1642), a Grace was passed to enable him to appoint a substitute in his office of proctor: 'Cum Magister Johannes Poley modo electus ad officium procuratoris hujus academiae Regis negotiis detentus sit adeo ut huic congregationi muneri suo subeundo adesse non possit, placeat vobis ut dictus Johannes Poley ad dictum officium admittatur et jurejurando astringatur sub persona Guilielmi Quarles procuratoris sive substituti suum hac causa legitime constituti; et ut dictus Guilielmus Quarles in absentia Johannis Poley praedicti omnia quae ad ipsius officium spectant, aeque ut si ipse praesens foret, exequatur.' *Liber Gratiarum* Z, p. 441; see also *Life of Barwick*, p. 22 n.

[3] See *supra*, p. 115.

[4] MS. Baker, D 118-20. The *Acta Collegii* at Sidney contains the following entry: 'Jul. 2: 1642. A Hundred Pounds taken out of the Treasury for the King's use: It was ordered by the Master, Mr Garbut, Pendreth, Haine, Ward, being the major part then present, that 100 lib. should be taken out of the Treasury for the King's use and so much plate as hath been given to the Master and Fellows for Admissions of Fellows Commoners should be set apart in lieu of it till it be repaid.' Baker (*u. s.*) has 'Bendreth' for Pendreth; but see Cooper, *Annals*, III 357, and Edwards, *Sidn. Coll.*, p. 95. Pendreth was Seth Ward's tutor.

[5] See *supra*, p. 229, n. 2.

[6] Wood-Gutch, II 439.

[7] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I* (1642), CCCCXI, no. 84.

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plate and money still brought in against us' by Parliament (*supra*, p. 229, n. 2). The hint was readily taken; and, if we may credit Clarendon, the heads of houses now proceeded to invite the royal attention to the wealth of the colleges in this respect, 'which lay useless in their treasuries, there being enough besides for their common use[1].' It is certain that, within a few days of the receipt of the contributions which had already depleted the coffers of Oxford and Cambridge, another royal letter arrived in which it was intimated that his Majesty, 'being informed of the further readiness of all or most of our colleges in Cambridge to make offer of depositing their plate into our hands for the better security and safety thereof,' and having further received intelligence of a 'sequestration' intended upon the same, 'thereby to deprive us of their good affections to our service and to employ the same against us,' had thought good to signify that 'what plate soever any of the colleges shall resolve to commit into our custody by delivering it to this bearer to be transported to us, we shall receive as a further testimony of their loyal affections to us.' Then follows a promise to restore the plate again 'to its utmost value,'—such promise, in turn, being accompanied by a release of the colleges from any statutable obligation which might seem to run counter to the royal request, and an instruction to each 'to take a just account of what plate shall be committed to us, and of the full weight thereof, and of the names of the donors; that the same proportion, in the same manner may be again returned to them when it shall please God to end these troubles[2].'

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Charles offers to take care of the remainder the plate in each college and to be responsible for the same 24 July 164

The idea that the value of ancient plate could be given back by restitution of its exact weight in silver, a little reminds us of the condition imposed by Mummius on the captains charged with the transport of the works of art at Corinth to Italy; but again the compliance of each university appears to have been unhesitating and unquestioning[3]. It is

Compliance of the colleges.

[1] *Hist. of the Rebellion* (ed. 1720), n 21.

[2] Baker MSS. x 366-7; 'Register of Letters in S. John's College Treasury,' 403, 404.

[3] The following entry in the Rental Book of St John's College, under the year 1635, seems to shew that

probable, however, that not a few members of the university still cherished the hope that Charles would never find himself reduced to the necessity of actually melting down the plate for conversion into coined money, and the authorities appear, both then and long after, to have maintained the specious plea that the design of the senders was 'not at all to foment any war, which was not at that time begun[1].' But with such representations the facts seem hardly in unison; and Cromwell, at this time member for Cambridge, on marching upon the town, to intercept the convoying of the plate, found himself confronted by the trained bands of Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire under the leadership of the sheriffs of those counties Sir Richard Stone and Sir John Cotton.

Of the best type of Charles's supporters in the university at this crisis, the two Barwicks of St John's are noteworthy examples. Both natives of Westmorland and educated at Sedberg school, they inherited the strong royalist traditions of their county and ably upheld them in their college. John, the elder, now thirty years of age, rendered good service under Dr Beale, in superintending the conduct of affairs, while Peter, his brother and afterwards his biographer[2],

it was a practice to sell College plate when no longer serviceable: '*Memorandum*: that those pieces of College plate hereafter specified having growne old and uselesse were sold att London by order of the Master and Seniors who did then purpose that the money should goe towards the Organs which since was wholly payd for with Mr Bouthes money.' A list follows, the articles enumerated being 'pots,' beakers, and bowls. In 1647 when 'taxes were very high and the college stock very low,' a similar expedient was had recourse to at Corpus Christi College (Masters, p. 149); while at St Catherine's, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, a sum of £[illegible] 16s. 2d. was thus realised, partly to defray the expenditure on new buildings. See Dr G. F. Browne's *St Catherine's*, pp. 141-4.

[1] See petition of the university to the House of Lords read 7th October 1643, printed in Cooper, *Annals*, III 359. So also the writers of the *Querela* (p. 4), 'And therefore, lest our plate should become a bait to have our libraries rifled...we thought it our wisest course to secure all by securing that in His Majesties hands.' In the *Act of Sequestration* (31 Mar. 1643), sending 'money, *plate*, horse,' are all included as forms of subsidy rendering the offender liable to sequestration of his estate. Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, I 38.

[2] Peter Barwick's account of his brother (composed in Latin) was not written until 1671, when he was far advanced in years, and cannot certainly be accepted as a strictly accurate narrative of the events of nearly thirty years before. See Preface (pp. 8-9) to *Life of the Reverend Dr John Barwick, D.D., sometime Fellow of St John's College in Cambridge, and immediately after the Restoration successively Dean of Durham and St Paul's. Written in Latin by his Brother Dr Peter Bar-*

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although not yet bachelor of arts, was a keen and deeply interested observer of all that went on, both within and without the college walls. John, to quote his brother's expression, was resolved 'not to perform his duty by halves,' and by his exertions no less than 2065 ounces of plate ('grocer's weight') were collected. Of this a list was drawn up, and at a meeting of the seniority, held August 8th, it was formally agreed that the same 'should be sent to the king's majesty and deposited in his hands *for the security thereof* and service of his majesty according to the tenor of his majesty's late letters[1].' At Queens' College, 'by the unanimous act and consent of Master and fellows,' a like ready response was made, 591 ounces of plate and 923 ounces of 'white plate' being collected. In a receipt bearing date August 3, John Poley, the royal agent, acknowledges the arrival of the same, and in a preamble to the list of several articles, expressly attests that they have been delivered 'upon his majesty's royal promise of restitution either in kind or full value according to the quality of the plate[2].' As secrecy in forwarding this treasure seems hardly to have been contemplated, and was probably impracticable, the accounts of contemporaries bring before us a singular scene: the crates containing the plate standing in the chief quadrangle of the respective colleges,—the streets thronged with spectators waiting to see each convoy set forth,—while a lively expectation of an actual encounter between Cromwell's soldiery and the royalist forces within the town itself added not a little to the excitement that prevailed among the lookers-on[3].

Plate sent from St John's and Queens' Aug. 1642.

wick, formerly Fellow of the same College and afterwards Physician in Ordinary to King Charles II. London, 1724. It may be observed that the very title-page contains a misstatement, Peter Barwick never having been fellow of St John's College; he however justifies himself in making this assertion on the ground that he had been nominated and presented to a fellowship by 'bishop Wrenn' when the latter was a prisoner in the Tower. See Preface, p. 2; also Baker-Mayor, p. 536.

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 623; Heywood and Wright, II 452–4.

[2] *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Communications*, I 241–252. 'Inventory of Plate sent to King Charles I by Queens' College,' etc. Communication by C. H. Cooper (with notes); also printed in Searle's *History of Queens' College*, pp. 517–521.

[3] Kingston (A.), *East Anglia and the Great Civil War*, p. 59. The following, from *Prayers of Mr George*

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Foremost among Charles's most enthusiastic supporters was Barnabas Oley, president of Clare, an energetic Yorkshireman in the prime of life, chiefly remembered in later times as the editor of George Herbert's *Remains*[1]. His enthusiasm, however, was happily blended with a certain coolness of judgement which led him, at this juncture, to conclude that the treasure of Clare would be far safer in his own keeping than in the king's; and, by advancing a large sum from his private resources, he succeeded in getting the college plate consigned to his special care and thus preserving it intact down to the Restoration. To him, accordingly, the society is indebted for the fact that its celebrated triad of drinking cups[2], presented by 'Dr' William Butler[3], continues, along with other rarities, still to adorn its banquets. The authorities of Caius[4], Trinity Hall[5], Corpus Christi, St Catherine's and Christ's[6], appear also to have evaded spoliation. From King's a certain portion reached the royal quarters at Nottingham, the remainder was intercepted[7]. As regards Trinity, there appears to be some doubt both as to when and to what extent the society responded to the royal appeal[8]. At Magdalene, although Dr Rainbow in the

[1] *Swathe* [of St John's, M.A., 1626] *Minister of Denham in Suffolk*, p. 34, shews that such a collision was anticipated: 'Aug. 13 [1642]: O My good Lord God, etc. I praise the for preventing bloodshed at Cambridge upon Thursday, about the quarrel of the college plate, which was taken by the Parliament as it was going towards the King.' See *The Schismatics delineated* by *Philalethes Cantabrigiensis* [Zachary Grey], Append. I. Lond. 1739.

[2] For Oley's energetic discharge of his duties as a 'Country Parson' see Letter from J. Worthington to T. Hearne. Aubrey's *Letters*, II 79.

[3] See *Illustrated Catalogue of the Loan Collection of Plate exhibited in the Fitzwilliam Museum, May* 1895. By J. E. Foster and T. D. Atkinson. Camb. 1896, p. 24. Butler, says Mr Wardale, 'gave us our three oldest pieces of plate known respectively as the "Poison Cup," the "Falcon Cup," and the "Serpentine Cup."' *Clare College*, p. 107.

[4] See author's *History*, II 545; also *Lives of Nicholas Ferrar* (ed. J. E. B. Mayor), p. 12, n. 1. 'So great was his reputation that he was always known as "*Dr* Butler," although he never took the M.D. degree.' Wardale, *u. s.* p. 106.

[5] Venn, *Annals of Caius College*, III 301.

[6] 'Dr Eden was a Parliamentarian, and his College plate stopped at home.' Malden, *Trinity Hall*, p. 139.

[7] 'The college was not devotedly loyal—it sent neither plate nor money.' Peile, *Christ's College*, p. 160.

[8] Austen Leigh, *King's College*, p. 127.

[9] Ball (W. W. R.), *Notes on the History of Trinity College, Cambridge*, pp. 91, 92. A letter, preserved in the muniment room, dated 'Westminster, 17 Aug. 1649,' records that 'Mr Rhodes and Mr Samwayes,

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following year subscribed the Covenant, the society suffered severely, and with difficulty succeeded in saving its splendid silver-gilt chalice and cover of 1587[1].

The sense of loyalty to one's own college and of repugnance to the alienation of interesting memorials of each society's past history, which once alienated, could never be replaced, conflicted indeed very perceptibly, and at times painfully, with the yet higher duty of loyalty to the Crown, while rarely in the history of Cambridge has either sentiment been productive of such bitter antagonism between the civic and the academic communities. Already both Town and Gown were arming; and the former, under the guidance of their representative in parliament, were likewise collecting plate for the aid of the forces under his command; they had also provided themselves with muskets, and, if we may credit Barwick, did not scruple to fire into the windows of obnoxious students[2]. The university, in self-defence, collected like weapons, and on the 20th of July it was reported to parliament that fifteen chests of arms, designed for the colleges, had been brought surreptitiously into the town, and that of these Cromwell had seized upon ten, his designs on the rest having been thwarted by the scholars of Trinity. It was now ordered by the Commons that he should 'keep the said armes for the peace and safeguard of the town of Cambridge,' while any further supplies of arms to the university from London were at the same time forbidden[3]. Prior to these occurrences, Cromwell had been actively engaged in arming and equipping the parliamentary forces in the surrounding county, a work on which he had bestowed not only his best energies but also no small portion of his private fortune. On the 15th of July, the Commons had ordered that he should be repaid one hundred pounds, and they now received the gratifying intelligence that he had arrived at

Town and university alike arm.

Seizure of arms by Cromwell.

fellows of Trinity College, are proved Delinquents for sending plate to the King, and yet remain Fellows of the said College.' The Bursar's accounts also contain an entry: 'Bestowed on the soulders and those that watched the plate in the New Court' [*i.e.* Nevile's Court]. Letter from Rev. A. H. F. Boughey.

[1] Purnell (E. K.), *Magdalene College*, p. 208.

[2] *Querela*, p. 4.

[3] *Cooper, Annals*, III 326-7; *Commons' Journals*, II 675.

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the centre of resistance, had seized the magazine in the castle at Cambridge, and had succeeded in preventing the departure of no small portion of the plate destined for the service of the king[1]. Another portion had narrowly escaped seizure when already on the way. 'Lowler Hedges,' by which term Barwick appears to designate the present Lolworth[2] (a village some six miles distant from Cambridge on the road to Huntingdon), was selected by Cromwell as the place where to await the treasure which had been already sent on. But, according to the narrator, he was at the head of nothing more than 'a disorderly band of peasants on foot,' while the plate was convoyed by 'a small party of horse.' This force, again, was commanded by Barnabas Oley, who, cautious on behalf of his own college, exhibited no lack of courage in the cause of his king. Anticipating danger, and possessing an accurate knowledge of the by-roads, the president of Clare conducted the convoy so as completely to evade the intercepting force and in this manner arrived safely with the treasure at Nottingham. There 'he had the honour to lay at his majesty's feet this small testimony and earnest of the university's loyalty at that very time when the royal standard was set up in the castle there, summoning the king's good subjects from all parts to the performance of their faith and true allegiance[3].'

With respect to another portion of the plate, however, Cromwell was more successful. On the same day that the royal standard was erected at Nottingham, parliament received

[1] 'Mr Cromwell, in Cambridgeshire, had seized the magazine in the Castle at Cambridge and hath *hindered the conveyance of the plate from that university*, which, as some report, was to the value of twenty thousand pounds, or thereabouts.' *Commons' Journals*, II 720. Cooper (*Annals*, III 28, n. 2) appears to confuse the plate which Cromwell sought to intercept on the high road with that which was actually prevented from leaving the town.

[2] 'Low'worth' in Lyson (*Britannia*, II) seems to be the transcriber's form; see also Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, II 20–21.

[3] *Life of Barwick*, pp. 26–27. The exact coincidence of the two events may however be doubted; for the writer [p. 27, note o] gives the 25th of August as the date of the erection of the royal standard at Nottingham, an event which Dr Gardiner assigns to the 22nd. *Hist. of England*, X 219. It is amusing to read in the *Quarels*, p. 5 (see *infra*, p. 238), of 'one Master Cromwell,' whose 'designes being frustrated' 'his opinion as of an active subtile man [was] thereby somewhat shaken and endangered.'

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intelligence that the plate sent from Magdalene College had been 'stayed as it was going to Yorke' and order was forthwith given that it should be brought to the metropolis, 'to be laid up in the Chamber of London, till this House take further order[1].' The plate at King's was similarly intercepted, while that of Jesus College was only saved by burying it in a place of concealment, where it was found after a lapse of ten years[2]. Sidney College evaded the requisition by contributing £100 and setting aside so much plate as hath been given to the Master and fellows for admission of fellow commoners,' in lieu of the money 'till it be repaid[3].' In the mean time the care of the 'town of Cambridge' had been especially confided to Cromwell, and although the university was not named in his instructions, an injunction subsequently laid upon Roger Daniel, the university printer, 'not to print anything concerning the proceedings of parliament without the consent or order of one or both houses of parliament[4],' gave sufficient intimation that the academic community could expect no exemption from the severities of martial law, while events at Colchester and Canterbury already afforded ominous presage of the lengths to which uncontrolled fanaticism might proceed.

Cromwell is successful in intercepting the plate of Magdalene and of King's;

that of Jesus College is successfully concealed,

that of Sidney saved by evasion.

On finding himself virtual dictator at Cambridge, Cromwell's first step was to arrest the three Heads who had been most active in collecting and forwarding the plate. The chapels of St John's, Queens' and Jesus were surrounded during the hours of service, and Beale, Martin, and Sterne were taken into custody. The untiring activity of the first

Cromwell assumes the supreme authority and orders the arrest of Drs Beale, Martin, and Sterne.

[1] 'Die Lunae, 22 Augusti, 1642': *Commons' Journals*, II 731 [Cooper, *Annals*, III 329]. It was not until the following February that order was given by the Commons that this plate should 'be referred to my lord of Manchester, to be disposed of for the use of the publick, as his lordship shall think fit.' *Commons' Journals*, III 389. For the residue which the college succeeded in saving, see Mr Purnell's *Magdalene College*, p. 208.

[2] '1652: for digging up the plate, 12s. For entertaining those that discovered it, £1. 8sh. 2d.' Worthington's *Diary and Correspondence*, p. 178. In Fowler's *Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (ed. 1893), p. 228, we find an instance of an endeavour on the part of some of the Royalists (the only one that has come under my notice) actually to *return* some of the more ancient plate; an endeavour which was happily successful. This was in 1653.

[3] Baker MS. D 120.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, II 751 [quoted by Cooper, *Annals*, III 332].

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in the royal behalf marked him out as the chief offender; while Martin, in becoming a member of Convocation, had aggravated his original offence of licensing the *Historicall Narration*. Dr Sterne's inoffensive career, prior to his recent compliance with the royal behest, might fairly have pleaded in his behalf; but he, too, had recently been putting up a new organ in the chapel at Jesus, although at the time of his arrest he appears to have been engaged in nothing more heinous than the erection of the new chambers on the north side of the entrance court[1].

According to their own statement, the arrest of the three Heads was effected 'with all possible scorn and contempt, especially Cromwell behaving himselfe most insolently towards them, and when one of the doctors made it a request to Cromwell, that he might stay a little to put up some linnen, Cromwell denyed him the favour; and, whether in a jeere or simple malice, told him *that it was not in his commission*[2].'

On receiving the intelligence of their arrest, parliament at once transmitted the following mandate to Cromwell:

Sept. 1, 1642.

It is ordered by the Comittee of the Lords and Comons appointed for the safety of the kingdome, That the Bishop of Ely, Dr Martin, Dr Beal, and Dr Sterne bee safely conveyed by you to Blackwall and from thence by water to the Tower of London, where they are to bee kept, till further direction bee given.

To Captaine Oliver Cromwell. P. Wharton. Essex. [John lord] Roberts. Ph. Stapleton. Anth. Nicoll[3].

After a humiliating journey to London, during which the people in the villages 'were called to come and abuse and revile them,' Dr Wren, and the three Cambridge heads were

[1] '... novi aedificii in atrio exteriori, versus plagam aquilonalem, prima fundamenta ponunt; aeternum sc. Musaeum domicilium, juxta et nominis ... monumentum. Hinc tam praeclare operi dum ultimam admovebat manum gliscebat bellum illud presbyterianum.' *Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiensis*, a I. Shermanno, p. 40. Cf. Willis-Clark, II 173.

[2] *Mercurius Rusticus*, pp. 114–5.

[3] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 474.

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paraded through the streets of the capital in triumph; 'and though,' says the *Querela*[1], 'there was an expresse order from the Lords for their imprisonment in the Tower, which met them at Tottenham High crosse...yet were they led captive through Bartholemew Faire, and so as farre as Temple Bar, and back through the city to prison in the Tower, on purpose that they might be houted at or stoned by the rabble rout[2].' In popular disfavour, Wren undoubtedly might claim the foremost place. Ever since his resignation of the mastership of Peterhouse in favour of Cosin and his promotion to the see of Norwich, his mischievous activity in East Anglia had earned for him a widespread and unenviable notoriety. The 'new impositions' which he introduced, says D'Ewes, 'were, many of them, conceived to be so dangerous and unlawful, as divers godly, learned, and orthodox men either left their livings voluntarily, or were suspended and deprived in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, because they would not yield unto them[3].' Dr Beale saw Cambridge no more; and, if Barwick's statements are to be relied upon, his subsequent trials and sufferings, terminating in his pathetic end abroad, might compare with those of the primitive martyrs. It

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Unpopularity of Wren in his diocese.

Subsequent experiences of Dr Beale.

[1] *Querela Cantabrigiensis: or a Remonstrance by way of Apologie for the banished Members of the late flourishing university of Cambridge.* By some of the said Sufferers. Anno Dom. 1647 (p. 5). This graphic sketch, written within three years after the events which it narrates, was mainly the work of John Barwick, others contributing,—according to his brother, 'others of the university, each taking a particular account of the sufferings of his own college.' *Life of Barwick*, p. 32. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, I 113 *l*. This forms the basis of the statements in the *Life*, and Thomas Baker (Baker-Mayor, pp. 219-20) appears to accept its statements as trustworthy. The above edition and that which bears the imprint 'Oxoniae, Anno Dom. 1646' are nearly identical.

[2] The 'purpose' appears to have been realised, for, according to the *Mercurius Rusticus* (pp. 474-5), 'as they passe along, they are entertained with exclamations, reproaches, scornes, and curses, and considering the prejudice raised in the City of them, it was God's great mercy that they found no worse usage from them.' In the Tower, order was expressly given that they should hold no communication with Laud.

[3] *Autobiography*, II 141. Cf. Prynne's assertion, quoted by Heylyn (*Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 309), that 'in all queen Maries time no such havoc was made in so short a time of the faithful ministers of God in any part, nay, in the whole land, than [? as] had been made in his diocese.' That he actually drove a considerable industrial element into the Low Countries is denied by Churton: see Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, II 82–83.

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appears to be beyond question that during the next three years he was exposed, along with the other three prisoners, to hardships and indignities which, had passions been less deeply stirred, would scarcely have failed to evoke remonstrance and redress[1]. Baker, no lavish bestower of praise, declares him to have been 'a person of such eminent worth and abilities as rendered him above the reach of commendation[2].'

The sufferings of the recalcitrant members of the university at Cambridge were also not inconsiderable. The rejection of Charles's overtures by the Houses of Parliament, and their formal Declaration on the occasion, involved the denunciation of the loyal Heads as 'delinquents' and consequently liable to the penalties of confiscation and even death. The mere threat of confiscation, says Gardiner, 'converted many a lukewarm supporter of the King into an enthusiastic partisan[3].' Parliament found the necessity for vigorous action more urgent than ever, and on the 20th December, the Association of the Eastern Counties (comprising Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire) was formally constituted[4]. The response of these rural populations was singularly prompt and unanimous. 'One may imagine,' says Mr Kingston, to whom we are indebted for a fuller account of this episode than is to be found in any preceding writer, 'the growing force of armed men marching in from the broad acres of Norfolk and Suffolk, from the far-away corners of Essex, from the stagnant Fens, and from the hills of Hertfordshire, to the rendezvous at Cambridge[5].' A

[1] Heylyn's statement (*Ib.* p. 468) that on March 14 (1641) Laud 'had soon brought him off a plot for sending him and bishop Wren, his fellow prisoner, to perpetual exile in New England; and that Wells, a factious preacher, which came lately thence, had had wagers of it; but when the matter came in agitation in the House of Commons it appeared to be so horrible and foul a practice that it was generally rejected,' is borne out by Barwick and by him made to include Beale, Martin and Sterne. *Life of Barwick*, pp. 40-41. According to Cole (MS. xlviii 260) 'when the three masters were committed together, Dr Beale got an exchange and so was enlarged.' This however is in direct conflict with Peter Barwick's account (*Life*, pp. 41-42), and also that of the *Querela* (pp. 5-6) and is not sanctioned by Dr Bigg in the *D. N. B.*

[2] Baker MSS. xxxii 318.

[3] See *Great Civil War*, i 21-22.

[4] The addition of Huntingdon (May 26) and Lincoln (Sept. 20) in 1643, made the number *seven*. Husband, p. 807.

[5] *East Anglia and the Great Civil War*, p. 85.

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petition from the university, on the other hand, addressed to both Houses, expressed the hope that 'the liberall sciences' might be 'as prevalent as the mechanical'; and the petitioners, who describe themselves as 'intruding not with swords, but knees which had not yet been bended,' pleaded pathetically the cause of the *Incarcerati*,—those 'pillars of their dejected Mother University,' whose lot they compared with that of 'Joseph in the pit or S. Peter with the jaylor.' At the same time, they indignantly repudiate the charges of 'Romish' innovations brought against the college chapels and intimate that, like the ancient Christians, they are ready to defend their Anglican forms of worship[1]. During the months of January and February, indeed, the apprehension of an attack by the royalist forces invested Cambridge with a strategic importance scarcely inferior to that of Oxford. Prince Rupert advancing from Wiltshire, and Lord Capel from his ancestral seat at Hadham Hall, compelled Cromwell to send, right and left, urgent messages to the Association for aid, a summons which resulted in his soon finding himself at the head of an effective force of 800 horse and foot, while a volunteer army, estimated at from fifteen to thirty thousand, poured into the town. The alarm quickly subsided; but when the rustic levies had disbanded, the parliamentary general's first care was to fortify Cambridge against any future attack; while, in order to raise the requisite funds, an appeal was circulated in the surrounding villages which the officiating clergyman was instructed to read aloud in church on the morning of Sunday, March 12. It enforced the necessity for prompt contributions,—at least £2000 was required[2]. From the 9th to the 22nd of March, 'colonel Cromwell' himself was away

The university petitions Parliament.

Apprehension of a royalist attack on Cambridge.

Parliament appeals to Cambridge shire for aid (12 Mar. 1643) while Cromwell proceeds to fortify the town.

[1] 'Againe, wee are ready with our lives and bloods to present all collegiate chappels, if that they lay in our power, as well *in interioribus quam in exterioribus*, not acknowledging more or lesse divine Service then with what as in former times our more primitive Christians did with erected bodies and drawn weapons stand to the Doxologie Creed and Responsals to the Church.' *The Petition of the Gentlemen and Students of the Universitie of Cambridge. Offered to both Houses upon Wednesday, being the 5. day of Januar.* 1643. *Upon the Arrivall of that Newes to them of the Bishops late Imprisonment. With their Appeale to his most excellent Majesty.* London. Printed for John Greensmith. 1642.

[2] Bowtell MSS. II 123, quoted by Mr Kingston, p. 92.

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at Lowestoft, Norwich and King's Lynn, repressing royalist demonstrations, but by Wednesday the 22nd he was back in Cambridge and the necessary works were now pushed on apace.

Amid the surrounding din and confusion, the fate of Lionel Gatford, arrested on a cold night in January in his chamber at Jesus College, of which he had long been a fellow, awakens the sympathy of the scholar. He had stolen up from his rectory of Dennington 'for the convenience of the library,' says Walker; in reality, to compile his pamphlet setting forth the doctrine of the Church in relation to obedience to the King. He was now hurried up to London to be confined in Ely House. There, notwithstanding the difficulties of his position, he contrived to publish a sermon inveighing against Anabaptists and other disturbers of the Church's peace, which Parliament deemed it necessary to refer to the consideration of the committee at Cambridge. It was not until after the Restoration that Gatford again saw his church and parsonage at Dennington, both by that time in a ruinous condition[1].

In the mean time the above petition, together with certain energetic representations made to the Lords in Parliament by the earl of Holland, as chancellor of the university, at length moved them to a formal effort to shield the academic body from the impending peril. A 'Protection,' promulgated 4 March 1643, enjoined 'that no person or persons whatsoever shall presume to offer any outrage or violence either by themselves or others unto any of the colledges, chapels, libraries, schooles, or other buildings belonging to the said university or to any the scholars or publique ministers thereof; nor plunder, purloyne, deface, spoyle, or take away any the bookes, goods, chattels, or houshold stuffe of or belonging to the said university, or any college there, or to any scholar or publique minister thereof, under any colour or pretence

[1] *Registers of Jesus College.* In 1631, Gatford, a native of Sussex, had been appointed vicar of St Clement's: like Hobbsworth, he originally belonged to the Puritan party, and when questioned by the 'Tryers,' 'When he was converted?' made the well-known reply, 'When the Puritans turned rebels.' Walker, *Sufferings*, etc. II 255.

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hatsoever, as they will answer the contrary to this house at their utmost perils. And that divine service may be quietly performed and executed throughout all the said university according to the settlement of the Church of England, without any trouble, let, or disturbance, untill the pleasure of the Parliament be further signified[1].' To this mandate Cromwell gave little heed; while his soldiery, judging from the recorded evidence, appear to have taken a mischievous pleasure in violating each particular behest. Houses were forthwith pulled down to furnish material for the defence of the Castle, while six 'fair bridges' of stone and timber,—being those of St John's, Trinity, King's, Garret Hostel, and 'two at Queenes,'—were demolished. The orchards, 'woods and groves,' were cut down and publicly sold,—'to a great value,' says the *Querela*, 'when by an ordinance' (referring to the above 'Protection') 'they were declared not sequestrable[2].' The western range of Clare College was at this time in course of construction by John Westley, under the direction of Barnabas Oley, whose taste and energy as a restorer presented a singular contrast to the destroying zeal of the Puritan[3]. The works were now stopped, the materials which lay ready to hand being taken to fortify the Castle; and when John Evelyn visited Cambridge twelve years later, he found the buildings still uncompleted[4]. The 'old court' of St John's, to use Barwick's expression, 'was converted into a prison for his Majesties loyall subjects,' the authorities not allowing the owners 'to remove any bedding or other goods, whereof the

Their mandate ignored by Cromwell's soldiery.

Injury to the college resulting from the measures for the defence of the Town.

St John's College converted into a prison for the disaffected.

[1] *Lords' Journals*, v 636; Cooper, *Annals*, III 339.

[2] *Querela Cant.* (ed. 1647), Pref. A 3. 'These protections proved only the shutting of the door after the steed was stolen; for to prevent their having any effect, whilst they were in progress, a warrant was suddenly issued and violently prosecuted by the lord Grey of Warke to col. Coke, lieut.-col. Bridon, etc., authorising them to enter into the houses of all papists, malignants, etc. that have, [illegible] have, refused to appear at [illegible] contribute to the parliament.' Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, I 108.

[3] Throughout his career, from his own college and his college living at Great Gransden to the stalls of King's College Chapel and the walls of Worcester Cathedral, the restoring hand of Barnabas Oley is still to be traced. See Wardale, *Clare College*, 129-132; and for his eminence as a college tutor, a valuable note in *Lives of Nicholas Ferrar* (ed. J. E. B. Mayor), pp. 303-4.

[4] Willis-Clark, I 100; Wardale, pp. 67-72.

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gaoler could make any use or benefit, but renting them all out together with the chambers at above five hundred pounds *per an.*[1]'

The efforts on behalf of the royal cause had already almost emptied the coffers of the colleges, and the demands of parliament for like aid met with no response. But in the last week in March, Cromwell[2] returned to Cambridge, and in conjunction with lord Grey of Wark applied additional pressure. On Good Friday, the thirtieth of March, the Heads assembled 'in the public schools' to take the whole question into consideration. The debate was a protracted one. The day waned. Suddenly the building was surrounded by soldiery. The intimation was sufficiently clear; but Holdsworth, who presided as vice-chancellor, was a man of courage, and his example appears to have confirmed the assembly in a unanimous refusal to grant supplies to parliament. The whole body were accordingly kept prisoners in the schools until after midnight, 'without food, firing or bedding, being many of them threescore yeares old and upwards[3].' 'And for no other reason,' continues the narrator, 'but only because they could not in conscience comply or contribute anything to this detestable warre against his Majesty. Yet they, notwithstanding all terrours and ill usage, the day following this their imprisonment did constantly and unanimously avouch and declare before the then generall of the Association, that it was against true religion and good conscience for any to contribute to the Parliament in this warre[4].' Harsher measures were now resorted to. It was near quarter day, and either the bursars of the different colleges had already received many of the rents, or the tenants had the money stored up, ready to be paid over. These funds were now forcibly seized[5], and compulsion, in

[1] *Querela*, p. 14; *Life of Matthew Robinson* (ed. Mayor), p. 9, n. 2.

[2] '—formerly a member of that house which he then so abused.' *Ib.* p. 10.

[3] Worthington (*Diary*, p. 18) says: 'D^rs and Presidents of Coll. were detained in the Schools by a guard of soldiers till one of the clock at night.'

[4] *Querela*, p. 8.

[5] *Mercurius Aulicus*, Apr. 22; Cooper, *Annals*, III 342. A statement confirmed by the following entry in the Bursar's books of St John's College: 'taken by violence out of the Bursar's studye by Captaine Mason

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one direction, soon developed into open molestation in another. Christ's College, at this time, was entitled to a preference in the appointment of the Lady Margaret preacher[1], and Dr Power, the senior fellow of that society, had already been Preacher for nearly thirty years[2]. He was, however, debarred, by the statute of the foundress, from holding other preferment[3], while the obligatory duties of the office were limited to the preaching of six Latin sermons in the course of each academic year. Power's remarkable tenacity in his tenure of the post was regarded possibly with envy by other aspirant divines, and certainly with aversion by many who, unable to understand his discourses, regarded him as a mere college drone. One of his six sermons had to be delivered on the eve of the commencement of each term, and on the day before Easter term, 1643, as the preacher, now in his sixty-seventh year, was crossing the market-place to Great St Mary's, there to deliver his discourse *ad clerum*, he found himself pursued by a mob of soldiers, shouting after him, 'a Pope, a Pope[4],' and vowing 'high revenge if he offered to goe into the pulpit.' 'Whereupon,' continues the narrator, 'the church was straightways filled with great multitudes, and when some who accompanied the preacher told them that it was an university exercise, and to be by statute performed in Latine, they replyed, they knew no reason why all sermons should not be performed in English that all might be edified[5].' As it was, Dr Power himself was fain to

Popular demonstration against the Latin sermon.

who broke open his chamber and studye doores, in the presence of divers fellowes, Aug. 8, 1642, £11. 6. 4.' *Expense necessarie*, 1642–3.

[1] *Endowments of the University* (ed. 1904), p. 68.

[2] *Graduati Cantabrigienses* (ed. 1884), p. 664. Power's lengthened tenure was surpassed, however, by that of Dr John Covel, master of Christ's, who held the Preachership from 1680 to his death in 1722. After which, no 'Christian' appears as preacher until 1865, when Dr Swainson filled the office for a single year. *Ibid.*

[3] 'Volumus etiam quod predicator predictus nullum omnino habeat beneficium.' *Endowments*, u.s. p. 69; Hare MSS. III 40.

[4] Dr Peile observes that 'possibly because of his suspected leaning to Popery, he seems for many years to have taken no part in college business.' *Christ's College*, p. 160. This, however, was probably simply owing to the fact that Power's preachership debarred him from filling any college office. See *Endowments*, u. s.

[5] *Querela*, p. 11. That the narrator is not here endeavouring to magnify a trifling incident into one of real gravity, is evident from the Grace which it was found necessary to enact in the following September: '19 Sept. 1643. Whereas the Terme

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beat a retreat and take refuge in his own college. Similar outrages followed; and even gowns and hoods as worn by ordinary graduates, were threatened with destruction, while in St Mary's the Book of Common Prayer was wantonly mutilated[1]. The soldiery quartered in the colleges were under little or no restraint; 'commons' disappeared in hall; books, from the scholars' chambers; the furniture was burnt; much of the carved work in the chapels was pulled down; monuments were defaced; and even the crosses on the towers were removed. In St Mary's, at Cromwell's express injunction, a beautiful carved cross was 'ruined,' although it 'had not a jot of imagery or statue work about it[2].' Towards the close of the month, we learn with little surprise that the scholars were beginning to quit the university or rather were sent away, owing to their manifest disaffection towards the new rule[3].

In the following May, Holdsworth, now in his third year of office as vice-chancellor[4], was arrested on the charge of having permitted the royal *Declarations*, originally printed at York, to be reprinted at the University Press[5]. As the charge admitted of no denial, he was forthwith conveyed to London and there placed in confinement in Ely House. Here, his treatment was, in the first instance, extremely lenient:

appeareth and the statutes require that there should be a Latine sermon to introduce the same: may it please you that for the avoiding of the like tumult which *threatened some danger* to the preacher in the beginning of the last Terme, the said Latine sermon be for this time omitted.' Baker MSS. xxv 168.

[2] 'our Common Prayer-book was borne before our faces.' *Querela*, p. 11.

[3] *Querela*, p. 17; 'Mar. 22. for taking downe the Crosse over the bell Tower,' *Rental Book* (1634–49) of St John's College, *sub anno* 1643.

[4] Heywood and Wright, II 457.

[5] '... we adde D. Holdsworth, whose universal approbation put upon him the troublesome office of Vice-chancellorship for three yeeres together in the beginning of these troubles; yet before his triennial office was expired, his person was seized upon and imprisoned' etc. *Querela*, p. 7. 'It is a high point of perfection,' wrote Holdsworth, 'to be able to transforme such a place: a prison into a study,—meditation doth it: into an oratory, its donne by devotion: prayer can turn it into a sanctuary, and can bring to pass, that where Socrates is, the prison is not: of those prayers, I beseech you, let me partake.' Letter to Ward, 7th June 1643: Tanner MSS. LXII, fol. 107.

[6] *His Majesties Answer to the Declaration of the Houses of Parliament, concerning the Commission of Array: Of the first of July*, 1642. Printed by his Majesties speciall commaund, At Cambridge. By Roger Daniel, Printer to the famous Universitie, 1642 [Bowes, pp. 28 and 515].

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he was allowed to preach, and, although Brownrig at Cambridge discharged the actual duties of the vice-chancellorship, continued to sign documents as still holding the office. Meanwhile his name appeared in the list of divines summoned to attend the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly which stood convened for the first of July; along with him were nominated Brownrig, Samuel Ward (the master of Sidney) and Dr Love (the master of Corpus)—the two former representing the university, the last-named, the county of Derby[1], and all three having been selected as moderate Episcopalians, invited to assist at that 'more perfect Reformation' of their Church, which it was the prescribed task of the Assembly to devise[2]. But before June was over, Brownrig had again been elected vice-chancellor; and when the Assembly opened, failed to appear, pleading the ties of office, as 'too large a complement[3]'; he had, undoubtedly, heavy burdens resting at this time on his shoulders, for he continued to fill the mastership of St Catherine's for four years subsequent to his promotion to the see of Exeter in 1641. But in the mean time, the occurrence of other events had still further strained the relations between the House and the university. Bereft of its Head and sorely burdened with heavy exactions, Cambridge had ventured, early in June, to address to Lords and Commons a pathetic remonstrance, detailing its woes and petitioning for relief: 'our schools,' it pleaded, 'daily grow desolate, mourning the absence of their professors and their wonted auditories; in our colleges our numbers grow thin and our revenues short; and what subsistence we have abroad is, for the most part, involved in the common miseries; frighted by the neighbour noise of war, our students either quit their gowns or abandon their studies; our degrees lie disesteemed and all hopes of our public Commencements are

Appeal for relief addressed to the Houses of Parliament by the university: 5 June 1643.

[1] Fuller-Brewer, VI 247. Dr Love was at this time rector of Eckington, in East Derbyshire, having been presented to the living by king Charles in 1629.

[2] See the List, with the preamble, in Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, I 42–44.

[3] MS. note by Thomas Baker to copy of Scobell (I 42) in St John's College Library. On the 14th July Brownrig's letter was read before the Assembly, 'wherein he excuseth his non-appearance in the Assembly, from the tie of the vice-chancellorship in the university, that lay upon him.' *Journal of the Assembly* in Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 5.

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blasted in the bud.' The petition concludes with the humble prayer that the Lords will be pleased to exempt 'our poor estates from all such rates and impositions, and to vouchsafe such freedom to our persons, not giving just offence, as may enable us the better to keep together[1].' This petition was referred by the Lords to the Commons; the Commons referred it to a Committee, who were especially instructed to consider the case of Dr Holdsworth and the state of Emmanuel College,—'by what means he came into that place' (the mastership) 'and whether by his demeanour since, he hath not forfeited the said place,'—his 'delinquency in licensing books to be printed in prejudice and to the scandal of Parliament,'—also 'a letter written by him touching the bishop of Yorke's books, bestowed many years since by him upon the College of St John's in Cambridge[2].' They are likewise to consider what governors of the university, colleges, or others, have sent plate to the king'; and are finally empowered 'to send for parties, witnesses, papers, records[3].' An incomplete entry in the Commons' Journals leaves us altogether in the dark with respect to the subsequent action of this Committee,—the Committee of Religion as it was termed; but the disorganisation and depression which now weighed down the whole academic community are painfully attested by a Grace, passed a few days before, for dispensing with the usual Commencement ceremonies. 'At a time,' says this document, 'when studies are at an end and men's minds are so deeply stirred and dejected, when our vice-chancellor has been torn from us, and when no inceptor in theology presents himself to afford occasion to the professors for taking their wonted places on the benches; when the hope has vanished of assembling those whose presence has been wont to shed lustre on your comitia, and the unhappy times offer no prospect of our being able to observe the customary ceremonies, may it please you that all creations both of inceptors in the respective faculties (should there be

[1] *Lords' Journals*, VI 80; Cooper, *Annals*, III 347 8.

[2] The archbishop of York is, of course, John Williams, who was Holdsworth's tutor at St John's. Of the 'letter' referred to, nothing is now known.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, III 124, 134.

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any) and of masters of arts, and all proceedings appertaining thereto, be privately held in the New Chapel[1] on the 3rd and 4th of July and that on this occasion the public celebration yield to public calamities[2].' It was in anticipation of the action of the Assembly rather than of Parliament, that John Pearson, at this time a resident fellow-commoner of King's College and scarcely thirty years of age, now ascended the pulpit of St Mary's, and delivered an eloquent and cogent defence of 'Forms of Prayer.' It was no 'new sin, though great,' urged the preacher, that 'the functions of the clergy should be irreverently invaded and the ministry of reconciliation profaned by a promiscuous intrusion,'—to 'conspire to disrobe the Spouse of Christ, to disinherit the Church,' was 'as old as Edom, and Moab, and Gebal, and Amalek,'—even those who 'studied to rob them of their learning' might point to 'the apostate Julian as their predecessor,'—'but that they should take away our prayers too, the proper weapons of our Church, this is beyond all precedent!' 'Did reverend Cranmer therefore first sacrifice his hand, because it had a part in the liturgy? If nothing else, methinks Master Calvin's approbation should keep it from an utter abolition; or it must be a thorough reformation indeed, that *must reform Geneva from superstition*[3].' Foreboding the decision of the Assembly, he concluded with a peroration of solemn irony: 'What if the Council of Toledo enacted a day's repetition of the Lord's Prayer? Alas, they pretended but to one Holy Ghost among them all. We are like to have divers spirits in one. They were chosen but by the clergy.

John Pearson, bp. of Chester: b. 1613, d. 1686.

His sermon in defence of Forms of Prayer.

[1] 'in novo sacello,' more ordinarily termed 'nova capella.' 'The ancient Graces of the Senate are invariably dated from the "New Chapel of the University" (*nova capella Universitatis*), and though the Reformation put an end to its employment as a chapel, the ancient name "New Chapel" was retained until the eighteenth century. The room was divided into the Regent House and non-Regent House, which Fuller characterises as "having something of chapel character and consecration in them," and the two are frequently spoken of together as "The Regent House."' Willis and Clark, III 19–20.

[2] Baker MSS. xxv 167.

[3] Sermon on 'The Excellency of Forms of Prayer, especially of the Lord's Prayer,' printed in *The Minor Theological Works of John Pearson* (ed. Churton), II 97–111. On the probable date of this sermon see the editor's note, *Ibid.* p. 97. Pearson had resigned his fellowship at King's in 1640.

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These shall be elected by a representative body of a whole kingdom. Besides, they never had any yet out of America. *We shall have some of Columbus's discoveries, and of the spirit which moves upon the Pacific waters.* Therefore, to conclude in a word, whosoever will not freely submit his judgement with all the obedience of faith to the determination of such a synod, he deserves no better than—to be counted a member of the catholic Church[1]?

In the mean time Cromwell was pushing on the construction of the defences, and a month later was able to report to Parliament that 'our town and Castle are now very strongly fortified, being encompassed with breast-works and bulwarks[2]'; while intelligence that the royal forces were again advancing to the attack caused the Commons to issue a fresh summons to the Associated Counties for a contribution of two thousand foot to the defence of the town. This, in turn, was quickly succeeded by an ordinance for the raising of 6500 horse under the command of Manchester, by whom the colonelcy of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire division of this fine body of cavalry had been conferred on Cromwell. The commander and his colonel, who was only three years his junior, must have been well known to each other, belonging as they did to old families of the same small county of Huntingdon, and educated at the same Cambridge college; while, although the former was supposed at this time to incline rather to the presbyterian party, the latter to the Independents, there was at present no divergence, either political or religious, between them. On the completion of the works at Cambridge, Cromwell found himself free to advance to the aid of Willoughby at Gainsborough. After capturing Burghley House and expelling the royalists from

[1] Pearson Churton, II 110-1. The allusion in the last sentence but one is to the returning exiles from New England (*supra*, p. 198, n. 2) is especially deserving of notice.

[2] MSS. Rutell, II 135; Cooper, *Annals*, III 350. The work of fortification appears to have involved the destruction of some of the tenements of the poorer classes, for which the occupants were afterwards compensated. See *State Papers Dom.*, 1649-50, Vol. II. Peterhouse was ordered 'for the fortification of the Castle' in no less than 1108 feet of 'hewen timber' which the college valued at £55. 8*s*. See Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 214.

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CHAP. III.

Encounter near that town and death of Charles Cavendish: July 28.

Stamford, he hurried northwards. In the skirmish which took place near Gainsborough with the regiment commanded by Charles Cavendish (the younger scion of that illustrious House, whose oft-repeated generosity has inseparably associated its name with that of the university), Cromwell achieved a brilliant victory. The royalist force was not only put to flight, but its gallant commander fell, slain in the morass by one of the enemy's officers. Brief as was the advantage that resulted, this episode, in Gardiner's opinion, really proved the turning point in the war, from the evidence which it afforded of the excellence of the parliamentary cavalry and of Cromwell's resources as a general[1]. The advance of Newcastle's army, however, temporarily changed the aspect of affairs. On the 30th July, Cromwell abandoned Gainsborough, which on the following day capitulated to the royalist forces. Finding Stamford untenable, he fell back on Peterborough, while the captured defenders of Burghley House were sent on to Cambridge. Here the Committee had already received from him an urgent summons,—'Out, instantly,' said the missive, 'all you can...there is nothing to interrupt an enemy but our horse, that is considerable ...Neglect no means[2].' 'It was not merely the fortune of the associated counties that was at stake,' observes Gardiner; 'if Newcastle could break through Cromwell's scanty band of troopers, London, and with it the whole Parliamentary cause, would be gravely imperilled[3].' At such a crisis, the measures taken by the Committee were not characterised by much consideration for the enemy within the gates. The captives in St John's College[4], on the other hand, numbering over two hundred, were many of them men of good family, and exhibited a *sang-froid* and 'insolence' which somewhat embarrassed their custodians; while, according to the complaint of the Committee to Lenthall, audacious scholars held converse with them in the street from beneath their windows, or even made their way into their chambers,

The retreat before the advance of Newcastle.

The prisoners sent on to Cambridge.

Cromwell's appeal to Cambridge: Aug. 6.

Sympathy with them on the part of the scholars.

[1] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, i. 221-6.
[2] *Letters*, Carlyle-Lomas, i. 147-9.
[3] Gardiner, *u. s.* i. 225.
[4] In 1647, rooms in the first court are several times described as 'wholly ruinated' 'when this Court was made a prison.' *St John's Priory Book*, pp. 115, 151, 161, 163.

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bringing intelligence, from time to time, of all that went on without[1]. In the first court of St John's, Dr Ward shared the hardships of captivity with the more buoyant spirits by whom he was surrounded,—the tedium of his confinement being alleviated by the companionship of his servitor, Seth Ward, his devoted disciple and friend, and afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who had voluntarily accompanied him thither[2]. But the privations which he underwent, combined with his advanced age and the intense summer heat, eventually broke down his health, and when, at last, the feeble old man was permitted to retire to his own college, it was only to die, and there, in the following September, he passed gently away. Not a little pathetic, this, the closing scene! Rudely roused, in his last days, from solemn musings on prophecy and such concern as a mere onlooker might take in the fierce conflict which shook the realm, to hear the very din of battle in the usually tranquil streets and to expire under the surveillance of a rude and hostile soldiery! Such, however, was the fate of Samuel Ward, of whom it may without exaggeration be affirmed that, whether regarded as an administrator in his own college[3], as an influence in the university, or as a divine whose reputation extended far beyond the academic limits[4], he was surpassed by none in his generation. Fuller, to whom both Sidney Sussex College and its master were alike cherished memories[5], cannot record the story of such an end

[1] MSS. Baker, xxxiv 102.

[2] Pope (Sir Walter), *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 13. 'Under Dr Ward's long and paternal rule, Sidney College,' says Mr Edwards, had 'reached the zenith of its prosperity. The total number of residents at this time must have been about 150. The entry of 46 in 1632-33 is the largest in the whole history of the College.' 'It may be noted,' he adds, 'that these 46 students were distributed among 13 tutors.' *Sidney Sussex College*, p. 94.

[3] 'I have been informed that Sir Francis [Clark] coming privately to Cambridge, to see unseen, took notice of Doctor Ward's daily presence in the hall with the scholars' conformity in caps and diligent performance of exercises; which endeared this place to him. Thus the observing of old statutes is the best loadstone to attract new benefactors.' Fuller, *Worthies*, i 173.

[4] The ability he displayed at the Synod of Dort led Episcopius to pronounce him the ablest divine of that assembly. Hacket's *Sermons*, ed. Plume, p. xxvi.

[5] Fuller himself never succeeded in gaining a fellowship, having missed one at Queens' College owing to the restriction then existing as to counties; while at Sidney, his uncle, Dr Davenant, although on excellent terms with Dr Ward, was unable to get his nephew elected a

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unmoved. 'As high winds,' he concludes, 'bring some men the sooner into sleep, so I conceive the storms and tempests of these distracted times invited this good old man the sooner to his long rest, where we fairly leave him, and quietly draw the curtains about him[1].'

Election of his successor in the mastership.

The election of Ward's successor in the mastership, which took place in the following week, afforded another opportunity for the exercise of tyrannous interference on the part of Cromwell's soldiery. The statutes of the foundation, as we have already noted[2], provided that, in the event of its appearing undesirable to elect to the office any one of the existing fellows, choice should be made, in the first instance, from among those of Trinity College. In pursuance of this statute, a majority of the fellows of Sidney now brought forward the name of Herbert Thorndike, who, as having formerly filled the offices of college tutor and senior bursar at Trinity, might reasonably be assumed to be well qualified as an administrator; while his reputation as a writer had been established by the publication of an able tractate *Of the Primitive Government of Churches*, which had galled Puritanism to the quick. At this time, however, he was living in comparative retirement at his rectory of Barley to which he had been instituted by Laud, in succession to Ralph Brownrig, on the presentation of the Crown[3]. Among his adherents was Seth Ward, to whom we are indebted for a knowledge of some of the incidents of the election. Thorndike's nomina-

Herbert Thorndike: b. 1598, d. 1672.

fellow (see *Life of Fuller* by Bailey, pp. 94-96). Fuller, who entered at Sidney 21 Oct. 1628, resided there as a fellow-commoner (Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 425). Subsequently, according to his anonymous biographer, he was offered a fellowship but preferred a prebendary stall at Salisbury, offered him about the same time: 'they were both eximious preferments as the times then were, the estimation of either being equally great *mutatis mutandis*; but the doctor's inclination biassed him to the more active and profitable incumbency' (Fuller-Brewer, I vi).

[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 320.—'whose dying words (as if the cause of his martyrdom had been written in golden letters upon his heart) were breathed up to heaven with his parting soul, GOD BLESSE THE KING.' *Querela*, p. 9. 'He was the first person buried in the chapel of the college which he had ruled wisely and well for thirty-three years.' Edwards (G. M.), *Hist. of Sidney Sussex College*, p. 111.

[2] Vol. II 362.

[3] Thorndike was the third of three remarkable men who filled in succession the incumbency of Barley,—Andrew Willet (f. of Christ's Coll.), author of the *Synopsis Papismi*, Brownrig, and himself. *Letter from* Rev. J. Frome-Wilkinson.

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tion was opposed by a minority who brought forward the name of one of their own number,—Richard Minshull, neither then nor subsequently in any way known to fame, and who, although he had voted for himself at the nomination, it was foreseen would be in a minority[1]. Such elections, in those days, were regarded in the light of a religious ceremony, and it was usual for each elector, before recording his vote, to receive the communion. John Pawson, the first of those to vote for Thorndike, was already, in compliance with this custom, on his knees before the altar rails of the chapel, when a body of soldiers forced their way in and hurried him off to prison[2]. The number of those who would have voted for Thorndike was thus reduced from nine to eight, the number for Minshull being the same. Cowed by this sudden exhibition of physical force, Thorndike's supporters decided, however, to carry the contest no further; and, without entering the chapel, took their departure, contenting themselves with a formal protest against the legality of the proceedings. Minshull was accordingly declared elected. An appeal was forthwith made by the defeated party to the king at Oxford, and a royal *mandamus* presently appeared on the chapel door. But among Minshull's supporters was Robert Bertie[3], a brother of the earl of Lindsay, and the influence which he was able to exert through that nobleman at Court was sufficiently potent to bring about the withdrawal of the *mandamus*. The election was accordingly

[1] Mr Edwards notes that Minshull 'was a student with Cromwell and now espoused his cause.' He also cites from the *Acta* of the College some interesting details. *Sidney Sussex College*, pp. 117-8.

[2] Walker bluntly sums up the proceeding as 'a horrible outrage,'—'haling Mr Pawson from the sacrament, and throwing him into prison, which was to make way for the election of Mr Minshull into the mastership.' *Sufferings*, etc, in Heywood and Wright, II 502-3. 'Though since he hath proved himself an arrant honest man and is rewarded for it with a fellowship in St John's.' *Querela*, p. 18. Walker, on the other hand, who gives Pawson's Christian name as 'Samuel' (instead of *John*), implies that he obtained his later preferment by submitting to 'the plunderers.' Pawson was elected to a fellowship at St John's by order of Manchester 11 Nov. 1644 (Baker-Mayor, p. 296). In 1645 he was treasurer of the society. *Bursar's Books*.

[3] 'Of whom I find this note, *Regis mandato adhuc unus, temporum injuria pulsus*. He was ejected by the earl of Manchester, 8 Apr. 1644.' Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II 159; see also Collins, *Peerage*, II 15.

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confirmed, Thorndike himself withdrawing from further opposition on his successful rival's consenting 'to pay him and the fellows the charges they had been at, in the management of that affair, amounting to about an hundred pounds[1].' For forty-three years, accordingly, Richard Minshull continued to guide the affairs of his college.

The Lady Margaret professorship, as well as the mastership of Sidney, had fallen vacant by the death of Dr Ward; and the appointment being by election and vested in those doctors and bachelors of divinity who had also been regents in arts, was practically in the gift of the university. But the stipend was slender, and, as we have already seen[2], king James had sought to augment the endowment by appropriating to it the rectory of Terrington in Norfolk[3]. His design, never having been confirmed by parliament, had failed to become operative, and one Alice Davers, a Cambridge lady, 'out of her pious disposition to advance learning and religion,' had sought, somewhat later, to remedy this defect by making over to Dr Ward and his successors a piece of garden ground in the parish of St Edward's. In the quaint language of the legal grant, it was her aim 'to encourage as well the said Samuel Ward as his successors, readers of the said lecture

Mrs Davers endowment of the chair 1624.

[1] The 'charges' were probably those attendant upon the appeal at Court and the procuring the *mandamus*. The late A. W. Haddan was of opinion that on this occasion 'as on other matters of more general importance, Charles sacrificed his friends in the vain hope of conciliating his enemies.' *Life of Thorndike* in Thorndike's *Works* (ed. 1866), VI 190. The whole narrative, which Walter Pope may be assumed to have had direct from Seth Ward, is to be found in his *Life* of that divine, p. 14.

[2] Vol. II 505.

[3] See Cooper, *Annals*, III 18–19; *Endowments of the University* (ed. 1904), pp. 57–58. Vol. LXX of *State Papers (Dom.) of Charles I*, no. 64, gives an undated petition to the Crown suggesting that the revenues of the rectory of Terrington should be appropriated to establishing a *new* lecture 'which shal be the Chancelors lecturer which will bring the Chancelorship of Cambridg into some proportion with that of Oxford for that Chancelor bestowes all dignities himselfe and this of Cambridg gets none....' 'my lord Cooke,' the petitioners go on to say, 'hath promised the Bedells to direct there a course for settling this annexacion without overthrowing the foundation of the lady Margrette.'...'my lady Margrett's lecture wold be kept for young divines *pro Tirocinio* to make them sitt after for ther other lecture; soe shall ther be 3 divinity lectures everyone 2 a week whereas nowe divers dayes wante lectures.' As Laud did not succeed to the chancellorship of Oxford until 1629 and Coke died in 1634 this petition must have been prior to the latter date although registered in a volume relating to 1648–9.

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for the time being, in his and their painful discharging of the duties belonging to the said lecture, by adding some small means of livelihood towards the better maintenance of the said Samuel and of his said successors, as also for divers other valuable considerations[1].' With more courage than discretion, the university now elected Holdsworth to the vacant chair, notwithstanding that he was actually still in confinement in Ely House; while an attempt was at the same time made to carry into effect the royal grant of the rectory of Terrington, by entering a *caveat* with the bishop of Norwich, 'for the preserving the universities right and title to the said rectory indemnified,'—'his lordship to be at the same time desired...not to give admission to the same to any other' [*i.e.* than Holdsworth] 'upon what claime or title soever[2].' With respect to bishop Hall's cordial co-operation, so far as it lay in his power, the university could have little misgiving, for his loyalty and unselfishness were beyond question. But he had himself only recently been liberated from the Tower, and was now, in his new diocese of Norwich, sufficiently occupied in offering such resistance as he was able to the officials on whom it devolved to put in force the Act of Sequestration[3],—efforts fruitless to avert that ejection which was soon to follow[4].

By parliament, Holdsworth's election was regarded as a highly contumacious act, and he himself was the first to pay the penalty, being forthwith removed from the comparative freedom of Ely House to strict confinement in the Tower[5]. Three days later, it was ordered 'that neither vice-chancellor nor deputy vice-chancellor, nor proctor; nor any other, to

[1] See *Trusts, Statutes, and Directions*, etc. (Camb. 1857), pp. 15–17.

[2] Baker MSS. xxv 168: for circumstances which led to the abandonment of this project, see *infra*, p. 279. Holdsworth, although elected, was never admitted to his office as professor. Le Neve, III 655.

[3] Gardiner's description of this measure as 'an ordinance sequestrating the estates of all who gave assistance to the King' (*Hist. of the Great Civil War*, I 116) must appear, to those familiar with the evidence for the sufferings of the royalist party at this crisis, hardly to suggest the actual scope of its application.

[4] See Hall's pathetic account of his own treatment in his *Hard Measure* (ed. 1660), pp. 56–62.

[5] According to Shuckburgh (p. 93), 'in order that no officer of the university should have access to him to tender the oath of admittance to the office.'

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whomsoever it may belong, according to the statutes of the university, do presume to admit him, or suffer him to exercise that place or receive any profits thereunto belonging until it appear from this House that he hath satisfied the justice of parliament[1].' CHAP. III

By none of the colleges similarly bereaved, was the loss more keenly felt than by Emmanuel. 'Be assured, Sir,' wrote William Sancroft to Holdsworth, after an interval of more than a twelvemonth had elapsed, 'even in the midst of all this silence I have continued one of those many, who mourn in secret for your restreint and begin to be out of conceit with their owne liberty, when they observe that an eminent and indeclinable goodnesse is crime enough to make its owner obnoxious to a prison[2].' A few months later, he wrote, '—proud Tarquin's riddle is now fully understood; we know too well what it is *summa papaverum capita demere*. But I had not thought they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow; nay, whole universities and whole churches too; they have outdone their pattern in that, and 'tis an experiment in the mastery of cruelty far beyond Caligula's wish[3]. Ah! Sir, our Emmanuel College is now an object of pity and commiseration..... A small matter would prevail with me to take up the resolution to go forth any whither where I might not hear *nec nomen nec facta Pelopidarum*[4].' It was not until October 1645, that Holdsworth obtained his release, 'in regard of his great indisposition of his health,' and under promise not to go more than twenty miles from London. His university consequently saw him no more; but in 1647 he was permitted to visit Charles at Hampton Court, when the king conferred on him the deanery of Worcester. It proved an empty honour, for he died in 1649; bequeathing his fine library, numbering over 10,000 volumes, to the college, on condition, however, that a fitting room was provided for their reception. It 'was the expectation of acquiring them,' says the late librarian of

[1] *Commons' Journals*, III 265.
[2] Tanner MSS. LXI 64.
[3] Suet. *Calig.* c. 30.
[4] Tanner MSS. LXI 267; words of a tragic fragment, thrice cited by Cicero. See Ribbeck, no. 119.

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Emmanuel, 'which first gave Sancroft the idea of providing a new library[1].' Ultimately, however, but not until after the Restoration, the bulk of them went to the university, under circumstances to be narrated in a subsequent chapter.

The clause in the Act of Sequestration relating to colleges, hospitals and schools, involved the forfeiture alike of lands and revenues by those colleges which had sent plate to the king[2], and the hand of the sequestrator now bore hardly on most of the foundations at Cambridge. Another petition from the university, in the following October, addressed to Lords and Commons and signed by the incarcerated vice-chancellor, gave expression to the general dismay. It described how 'certain men,' 'upon pretence of some authority committed to them from the honourable Houses of Parliament, had begun to sequester the libraries and other goods of some masters of Colleges and the revenues of their colleges,' 'so that,' say the petitioners, 'there will be no means of subsistence left to any of the members of the said colleges though never so innocent.' They entreat, accordingly, that the action of a small minority,—designed as it was, only 'as an acknowledgement of duty to his Majesty, to whom some of them are obliged as to their royal founder, others as his sworn chaplains,—may not redound to the depriving of the members of the several colleges of all possibility to continue in this university[3].' These plaintive appeals met, however, with no response, and Cambridge had by this time become the head-quarters of the parliamentary forces in the eastern counties. Early in September, Cromwell himself was for a short time again seen in the town, but on the 5th he set out, by the orders of Manchester, for the north, and was next heard of as having effected a junction with the two other parliamentary generals at Boston[4]. Thither some five thousand troops had been sent from Cambridge to join him, and the royalist party in the town, deeming the

[1] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 189. See also pp. 189-192.

[2] 'Exemption could only be granted to those whose revenues or any part thereof have not been employed for the maintenance of the war against the Parliament.' Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, I 40.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, VI 246; Cooper, *Annals*, III 359-360.

[4] Gardiner, *Civil War*, I 280-1.

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CHAP. I

moment auspicious, resolved on a rising. Seizing the arms which they had secreted, they attacked the prison and liberated the inmates, and then proceeded to attack the houses of the townsfolk. It was with difficulty, and not without bloodshed, that they were driven off[1]. But before November had passed, Manchester reappeared. The royalist forces in the surrounding counties failed to march to the relief; and all further apprehension of their so doing had so far been removed that a garrison of little over five hundred was deemed sufficient to hold the place[2].

Rising against the parliamentary party by the Royalist townsmen Oct. 1643.

To this state of affairs, Oxford presented a complete and singular contrast. It there devolved on the university to garrison the town and to restore the fortifications which the parliamentary forces had destroyed in the preceding year; while the colleges, in compliance with the reiterated and pressing behests of royalty, sent in their ancient plate almost without reserve and lost it beyond all hope of recovery[3]. In July 1643, Charles and his queen made a state entry into the city, where the monarch set up his court at Christ Church and opened Parliament; Oxford, in short, now became the centre of the royalist resistance in the midland counties. The enthusiasm of the besieged was at first unbounded. The chancellor, Pembroke, as a proved traitor, was compelled to give place to the marquis of Hertford; the students, in the trenches, plied mattock and spade side by side with the townsmen; and before 1644 had passed away, most of the

Contrast presented by affairs at Oxford, 1643—4.

Combined activity of Town and Gown.

[1] *Parliament Scout*, no. 23; Cooper, *Annals*, III 361. At Oxford, on the other hand, the dominant royalists had to contend against an element of disaffection among the townsmen, who, as Wood tells us, 'notwithstandinge all the faire pretences they had made of joininge with the Universitie and the Kinge's troopers'...'nowe were altered and had made meanes to informe the parliament that whatsoever they had done in semblance to take part with the Kinge against the parliament's forces it was all at the sollicitation and instigation of the Universitie more then of theire owne proper inclination.' Wood, *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), I 59.

[2] Cooper, *u. s.*

[3] Wood's *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), I 94–95; as regards the scanty portions that escaped, see *The Colleges of Oxford* (ed. Clark), 1891, pp. 89, 125, 218, 341, 359, 387, 394, 414. Corpus Christi appears to have suffered least, but 'how the College contrived to retain its splendid præ-Reformation and Elizabethan plate is a question often asked, which cannot be definitely answered.' Fowler (the late Dr Thos.), *Corpus Christi*, p. 124. A summary of the plate sent is given in Tanner MS. ccxxxviii, no. 26, and has been printed in John Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa* (1791), I 227.

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'Academians,' to quote the language of Anthony Wood, 'had exchanged the gown and cap for the helmet[1].' Plague and conflagration visited, in turn, the devoted city; and, throughout the following year, 'the Acts' of the university consisted of little more than 'the conferring of degrees on those that were recommended by the chancellor.'...'No exercises performed in the Schools, they being employed as magazines for several commodities, or else used by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament by the King's command. In which time those lectures, disputations, examinations, etc. that were performed, were mostly done in the north chapel, joining to St Mary's Church[2].'

From all this disorganisation and confusion, it is a relief to turn to note the activity of Ussher, tranquilly pursuing his wonted studies. When, in 1642, Charles repaired to York, the archbishop had obtained leave to retire to Oxford, where his admission to the degree of D.D. dated as far back as 1626. Resolutely declining the summons to the Westminster Assembly, he now settled down, under the shadow of Exeter College, to carry on his researches at the Bodleian, preaching also regularly either at St Olave's or All Hallows, where the chaste and sober character of his discourses afforded a marked contrast to the forced imagery and fantastic rhetoric then fashionable in the pulpit. His chief literary labour, at this time, was that of superintending the printing, at the university press, of his edition of the *Epistles* of Ignatius[3].

Towards the close of the year 1642, Henry Ferne, fellow of Trinity College and one of the royal chaplains, had published his memorable discourse, *The Resolving of Conscience*, wherein, after passing under review the chief points in dispute between the king and his subjects, he pronounced that precedent and

[1] Wood-Gutch, II 470.

[2] *Ibid.* II 475.

[3] See Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* (1885), II. II 231–4. '...certain doctors and masters were ...appointed to take care and see that the effigies of the most learned Dr James Usher, archbp. of Armagh and primate of Ireland, be cut on a brass plate, with an elogium under it, to be prefixed to his *Annotations* upon Ignatius his Epistles, then printing in Oxford.' Wood-Gutch, II 474. The engraving was, however, eventually inserted in Ussher's treatise *De Symbolo*. *Life* by Ebrington, *Works*, I 235–6. The order appears to have been given when Ussher's departure, in anticipation of the siege, had already been decided on, for he quitted Oxford in the same month, along with prince Charles.

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equity alike were on the side of the former[1]. Holdsworth, as vice-chancellor, had authorised the printing of the pamphlet at the university press; and Roger Daniel, the printer, who appears to have also had a place of business in London, on being taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms and brought before the House of Commons, was able accordingly to produce his warrant. He was consequently allowed to go free; but Holdsworth, already obnoxious from the fact of his having dared to authorise the reprinting of His Majesty's 'Answer to the Declaration of Parliament[2],' had now become a marked man. In the month of May, he was brought up to London from Cambridge and confined in Ely House, and saw his university no more. Dr Ferne, apprehensive of sharing his fate, fled to Oxford, where he could indulge, with impunity, his royalist sympathies, through the medium of an unfettered press. The activity of the Press, at the sister university, during the time that the royalists held the city, was indeed almost phenomenal,—presenting, on the one hand, the strongest contrast to the sterility of the corresponding institution at Cambridge[3], and to the enfeebled condition, amounting almost to paralysis, of the work of instruction, in Oxford itself, on the other. Anthony Wood, it is true, tells us little more than that 'the scholars were put out of their colleges: and those that remained bore armes for the King in the garrison[4]'; but his concise statement has recently received considerable illustration at the hands of those

His Resolving of Conscience printed at the University Press: Dec. 1642.

Holdsworth, as licenser, is summoned and imprisoned.

Ferne repairs to Oxford.

The fortunes of the two University Presses at this juncture compared.

At Oxford the students are to a great extent ejected from the colleges.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 336-7; Bowes, *Cat. of Cambridge Books*, pp. 27, 82; *Biographical Notes on the University Printers*, p. 305.

[2] The 'Declaration' (2 Aug. 1642) of both Houses, of their reasons for taking up arms,—characterised by Gardiner as 'a most inadequate defence.' *Hist. of England*, x 215; Bowes, p. 28.

[3] Between the years 1639 and 1643 the Cambridge Press had put forth 58 separate publications, among which we find, in theology, the names of Andrewes, Davenant, John Dury, Thomas Fuller, Thomas à Kempis, Thomas Morton, Spelman and Thorndike; in classics, Ovid and Demosthenes; in poetry, Giles Fletcher and George Herbert; in philosophy, Eustachius, Magirus and Henry More. Between 1643 and 1646, the total dwindled to 20, among these being two editions of Bede, and a quarto volume entitled *Catalogue of remarkable mercies bestowed upon the seven Associated Counties*. (See Mr Jenkinson's List in Bowes, pp. 514, 515.) On the other hand, the controversial and theological treatises, as enumerated by Dexter, printed in England, amount in 1645 to 113, in 1646, to 124. *Congregationalism*, Append. pp. 53-64.

[4] *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), I 69.

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different scholars who have undertaken the task of specially investigating their college archives. 'From the date of the King's arrival in Oxford,' says the historian of University College, 'to the surrender of the city, there are but few facts to record specially bearing on the history of the College.' The keeping of the Register 'was never abandoned' but it 'gives little or no information on the events of the time.' There is, however, 'no evidence of any interruption in the life of the society, even of a temporary kind,' although 'numbers ran down to a very low ebb[1].' Balliol 'was used almost as a tavern by the Court and the soldiery'; and the Master, Dr Lawrence, 'fell into a settled state of melancholy[2].' Hart Hall was 'practically deserted[3].' Charles himself did not attempt to conceal from the Rector and fellows of Lincoln his conviction that the 'college was not likely to outlive him if he should be destroyed in the Rebellion[4].' Oriel postponed its Audits, and gloomily noted down in its Register, 'how crime stalked abroad unchecked and lawless rapine had usurped the place of law[5].' At New College the tower and cloisters were turned into a magazine; while 'it was found impossible to prevent the boys getting out of the choir school to see the university train-bands drill in the quadrangle[6].' All Souls, depleted by royal rapacity on the one hand and by non-paying tenants on the other, and unable to borrow, made shift with 'one meal a day' and solaced itself with the glorious death of Henry 'St Johns,' who fell, according to the Register, 'fighting *contra κυκλοκεφάλας*[7].' 'During this period,' writes the late president of Corpus Christi, 'we hear nothing especially of Corpus[8].' 'In the deanery garden of Christchurch, Mrs Fell buried the silver and gilt maces of the university bedels, which have never been recovered'; the

[1] Carr, *University College*, pp. 108–9.

[2] Carless Davis, *Balliol College*, p. 132.

[3] Hamilton (S. G.), *Hertford College*, p. 31.

[4] Andrew Clark, *Lincoln College*, p. 60.

[5] '... miseria temporum ingravascente ut ubique scelus impune grassetur atque Rapina sanctae legis rationem induat.' Rannie, *Oriel College*, p. 102.

[6] Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, p. 164.

[7] Grant Robertson, *All Souls College*, pp. 119, 120.

[8] Fowler (the late Dr Thos.), *Corpus Christi College*, p. 124; ed. 1893, p. 201.

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great quadrangle became a drilling ground[1]. We hear of Dr Kettell, the president of Trinity, as 'much grieved,'— having been 'wont to be absolute in the Colledge,'—now 'to be affronted and disrespected by rude soldiers'; and very imperfectly consoled by the fact that 'the nobility and gentry' made his college grove 'their rendezvous.' In 1644 and '45 there were here no entries whatever[2]. St John's, which 'still preserves the cannon shot which lodged in its gateway tower,' decided to send its Merchant Taylors' scholars to Cambridge[3]. Jesus College, 'dismantled into part of a garrison,' while it appears to have given shelter to Ussher, saw its Principal discharging the duties of bursar, and the fellows got their meals in the buttery[4]. At Wadham even scholars elect were excluded by the soldiery, and in 1645 not a single freshman was entered on the books[5].

Trinity.

St John's.

Jesus.

Wadham.

The distractions at Oxford had by this time risen to such a pitch, that certain members of that university deemed themselves justified in petitioning the Assembly at Westminster to take into consideration 'the contrival of a college some where about London,' where provision might be made for 'the godly and scholastic education' of younger students. They might thus, it was suggested, at once 'go on in their studies' and 'their time go on for their degrees[6].' The petition received a favourable response from the Assembly, and, when elaborated for presentation to the Lords, further suggested the appointment, in connexion with the projected college, of 'a sage and religious governor,' aided by 'twelve graduate scholars or more,' and that those who should be 'instituted by them' should be permitted to reckon their time for the taking of their degrees from their several

Progress of events at Oxford.

Proposed hall of residence for Oxford students in London.

Residence at the same to be held tantamount to residence at either Oxford or Cambridge as qualifying for a degree.

[1] Thompson (Hen. L.), *Christ Church*, pp. 55, 56.

[2] Blakiston, *Trinity College*, p. 128.

[3] Hutton (W. H.), *S. John Baptist College*, p. 155.

[4] Hardy (E. G.), *Jesus College*, pp. 103, 104. Mr Hardy, while considering that 'it may be true' both that 'Ussher was a member of Jesus,' and that 'he resided at various times in the college,' is baffled by the fact that the Buttery Books from 1642–51 'are missing.' 'In 1652,' he says, 'his name regularly occurs, but without entries for battel.' Ussher, he thinks, was probably attracted to the college by his 'deep interest in Welsh.' *Ibid.* pp. 100, 101.

[5] Wells, *Wadham College*, p. 56.

[6] *Lords' Journals*, VI 319; Cooper, *Annals*, III 361–2; Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 57.

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admissions thither, 'whenever,' says the petition, 'through the mercy of God, they shall with freedom repair to *either* of the universities.' It was on the occasion of the reading of this petition before the Assembly that Anthony Burgess, a former member of St John's College, and subsequently fellow of Emmanuel, rose from his seat, and suggested that the petition was one deserving of prompt attention. According to Lightfoot, he even took upon himself further to propose that 'some collops might be cut out of deaneries and chapters for the cherishing of young scholars[1].' The response of parliament to this appeal is not on record, but about the same time the society of Trinity College, sorely aggrieved by the operation of the Sequestration Act, ventured upon a separate appeal to the House of Lords, urging that the wrongs which they deprecated arose mainly out of 'a misunderstanding of the ordinance of parliament.' No ordinance, thus far, had authorised the sequestration of college lands, but already the sequestrator was in their midst driving even their cattle away! A proviso had enjoined that even the greatest delinquents were to have 'allowance for their maintenance,' but already the revenues derived from the lands, '*which are now our only relief*,' were proving insufficient 'to afford food and raiment,'—'we paying out to the three professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, and to poor, aged and impotent men, by our Benefactors appointment, near the sum of three hundred pounds *per annum*, and being about one hundred and sixty persons that depend upon the College for our livelihood[2].'

Edward Montagu, second earl of Manchester, and nephew of the founder of Sidney College, had been admitted a pensioner there in 1618,—two years later, that is to say, than Cromwell, to whom he was well known[3]. He had represented the county of Huntingdon in three successive parliaments, and in 1626, when but twenty-four years of age, had been raised to the peerage, through the influence of Buckingham,

[1] Lightfoot-Pitman, *Ibid.*
[2] *Lords' Journals*, VI 327.
[3] Cromwell was admitted (see *supra*, p. 48, n. 3) in 1616; Montagu, 27 Jan. 1618, at which date the former had gone down.

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with the title of baron Montague of Kimbolton. But by a second marriage he had become connected with the family of the earl of Warwick, and thus contracted those Puritan sympathies which led him to abandon the royalist traditions of his house and, ultimately, to his impeachment (along with the Five Members) for high treason. On the death of his father in 1642, he had succeeded to the earldom, and was at this time not only major-general of the parliamentary army in the eastern counties, but also lord-lieutenant of Huntingdonshire and one of the ten peers who sat, as lay members, in the Westminster Assembly; and into his hands parliament now consigned the chief direction of the affairs of the university. But even Manchester could not withhold his sympathy from his university at this ominous juncture, and in a letter to the House of Lords, dated from Cambridge, he ventured, while disclaiming all thought of suggesting any line of action on their part, to express his conviction that their lordships would deem it better to endeavour the reforming of the university rather than to hazard the dissolving of it[1]. It was on a dark December day that the petition of Trinity and Manchester's letter were both presented at the House of Lords, and the remonstrance which they conveyed appears to have been so far effectual that, on the sixth of the following January, a Declaration was promulgated by the two Houses to the effect 'that the estate, rents, and revenues of the university and of the colledges and halls of the university' were 'in no wise sequestrable or to be seized on.' Such revenues, it went on to say, were to be handed over 'to receivers or treasurers approved by Edward earle of Manchester[2], serjeant major generall of the parliaments forces in the county of Cambridge and the other associated counties, to be imployed for the respective maintenance of the said university, colledges, and

Letter of the Earl of Manchester 27 Nov. 1641

Presentation of same along with the Trinity Petition: 5 Dec. 1643.

Declaration of Lords and Commons concerning college estates: 6 Jan. 1644.

Manchester appointed financial controller of the university.

[1] *Lords' Journals*, VI 327; Cooper, *Annals*, III 363.

[2] Manchester's direct responsibility is strongly insisted on by Walker as regards Cambridge; but he qualifies his statement by admitting that the Earl was at Cambridge 'only some part of the time,' and occasionally acted by commissioners 'who prepared the matters for him, to which he afterwards put his *fiat*.' *Sufferings*, etc. Preface, p. xliii; cf. Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, II 21.

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halls.' The protection thus apparently vouchsafed was however to a great extent vitiated by an ensuing clause, which provided that 'neverthelesse' all rents or dividends 'payable to any Head, fellow, schollar, or officer of the said university, or of the said colledges or halls, being, or which shall be, a delinquent,' were to be handed over 'either to the Committee for Sequestrations sitting at Cambridge, or otherwise, as it shall be ordered by the said earle of Manchester[1].'

In the mean time, moreover, the more intolerant section of the Puritan party were conciliated by the knowledge that the suppression of abuses in matters of religious worship and ritual had been entrusted to far less scrupulous hands. Towards the close of the preceding August, the two Houses had already paved the way for a more direct and summary interference with the discipline of the university than that grounded upon established proof of delinquency. It had been decreed that throughout the kingdom 'all monuments of superstition or idolatry' should be overthrown,—a measure from which 'chappels, cathedral and collegiate,' were to be allowed no exemption; all altars and tables of stone that had not been removed 'before the first day of November in the year of our Lord God 1643,' were to be 'utterly taken away and demolished'; communion tables were to be moved from the east end and placed in the body of the church; and the rails about them to be taken away; the raised chancel was to be levelled with the ground; all tapers, candlesticks, and basons, all crucifixes and crosses, all images, and 'pictures of any one or more persons of the Trinity or of the Virgin Mary,' together with all superstitious inscriptions, were not only to be taken away but also to be '*defaced*.' The sole exception to this iconoclastic edict was a proviso that it should 'not extend to any image, picture, or coat of arms in glass, stone or otherwise, in any church, chappel, or churchyard,.....set up or graven onely for a monument of any king, prince, or nobleman, or other dead person *which hath not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint*[2].'

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 458–60.
[2] Scobell, *Acts and Ordinances*, I 54.

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CHAP. III.

William Dowsing at Cambridge: Dec. 1643 to Jan. 1644.

For the putting in force of these enactments in Suffolk and in Cambridge, parliament found an energetic if not a very discriminating agent in the person of one William Dowsing[1], a Suffolk yeoman, now verging upon fifty years of age. At the very time that parliament was extending its protection to the revenues of the university and the colleges, the said Dowsing, armed with plenary powers, filled with zeal, and in possession of a very elementary knowledge of Latin, was reducing to irretrievable destruction whatever in the churches and chapels at Cambridge appeared to him either to symbolise or express aught that was 'Romish,' whether in sentiment or observance. His own *Journal*, still preserved, affords incontrovertible evidence of the spirit in which he discharged his mission[2]. To each record of his Vandalic fury, he prefixes references to certain texts from the Old Testament, fortifying himself with that fancied analogy (so dear to the later Puritan) between the assumed mission of the party which he represented and that of Israel and Judah when marching against the idolaters whom they overthrew.

His visitation of the Colleges.

As early as the 20th December, John Worthington noted down in his *Diary*, that 'this week pictures began to be taken down in Cambridge by an order from the earle of Manchester[3]'; on the following day Dowsing, accompanied by 'officers and soldiers,' made his appearance at the ancient gate of Peterhouse. Cosin, doubly obnoxious as not only chief promoter of those 'Romish' innovations which so deeply moved the

His dealings with Peterhouse.

[1] According to Southey, *Doctor* (ed. 1848), p. 310, Dowsing's action on this occasion was conjectured by 'a learned critic' to have given rise to the expression 'to give anyone a *dowsing*,' in the sense of giving him a *hard blow*. This etymology is, however, sufficiently disproved by the fact that the word, used in this sense, is to be found in the *Mirror for Magistrates* (ed. 1559), but this, Professor Skeat informs me, is almost a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and no such use is cited in Murray's *Dictionary*.

[2] Baker MS. xxxviii [*not* xl.ii, as in *D.N.B.*] 455-8, 471-3. Printed in Append. to *The Schismatics delineated from Authentic Vouchers*, etc. By Philalethes Cantabrigiensis [Zachary Grey]. London, 1739. Grey, in his controversy with Neal, the Puritan historian, cites Dowsing's achievements as of special value in relation to his main argument: 'Be pleased, Sir, carefully to read over the Journal of Will. Dowsing, the famed demolisher of superstition in the university, town and county of Cambridge, and if his account of the terrible havoc he made will not convince you...I don't know what will.' pp. 22 23.

[3] Heywood and Wright, ii 566.

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wrath of Prynne, but also as prominently participant in the yet more recent offence of forwarding plate to the king, was presumably not in residence, for he is unmentioned in Dowsing's record. It was probably by his instructions that the east window, containing a Crucifixion after Rubens, had already been taken down and was thus saved from destruction[1]. The president, Francis, and others of the fellows were, however, spectators of the destruction which ensued. 'We pulled down,' says the narrator, 'two mighty great angells with wings, and divers other angells, and the four Evangelists and Peter with his Keies on the chappell door..... and about a hundred chirubims and angells and divers superstitious letters in gold.' Possessed of but slender knowledge of the language which he terms 'Lating,' he nevertheless parades his knowledge, or rather his ignorance, with much complacency: 'about the walls,' he continues, 'was written in Lating, *We praise the ever*; and on some of the images was written *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*; on others, *Gloria Dei* (sic) and *Gloria Patri*, and *Non Nobis Domine* on others.' At Pembroke College, on the following day, in the presence of some of the fellows, 'we broak,' he says, 'ten cherubims; broak and pulled down eighty superstitious pictures.' A warm altercation ensued. 'Mr Weeden told me he could fetch a statute book to shew that pictures were not to be pulled down. I bad him fetch and shew it and they should stand. And he and Mr Baldero told me, the clargie had only [sic] to do in ecclesiastical matters, naither the magistrate nor the parlament had anything to doe. I told them I perceived they were of Cuzen's (Cosin's) judgment, and I would prove the people had to do as well as the clargie, and alleged (*Acts* i 15, 16, 23) the 120 believers [who] had the election of an Apostle in the rome of Judas.' He cited Calvin and the *Institutes*; and adduced the example of king Josiah. The fellows, on the other hand, defended the presence of the cherubim by the example of Solomon in the temple.

[1] See Britton and Bingley's *Beauties of England and Wales* (1801), II 36. This *fact* may very possibly have given rise to the *legend* with respect to the windows in King's College chapel. See *infra*, p. 272.

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Then a dispute arose as to the legality of the entire proceedings,—one of the fellows, named Ashton, maintaining that 'laws made in time of warr were not of force.' 'I alleged *Magna Charta*, made in time of warr between Henry III and barrons, that was in force still, and Richard the Second's tyme the like. Ashton said the Parliament could not make laws, the King being away and so many members. I told them, their practice proved it, that chose fellowes by the greater number present, and that the King had taken an oath to seal what both Houses voted.' Caius College, on the same day, saw carried off, in the presence of the master (Batchcroft) and some of the fellows, no less than sixty-eight cherubim, 'with divers superstitious inscriptions in letters of gold.' At Queens' College, four days later, the record goes on to say, 'we beat down about 110 superstitious pictures, besides cherubim and ingravins[1]. And there none of the fellowes would put on their hats all the time they were in the chapell; and we digged up ther steps for three howers, and broake down ten or twelve Apostles and saints' pictures in ther hall.'

His proceedings at Caius, Queens', and St Catherine's.

At St Catherine's, Dr Brownrig, who now combined in his own person the triple dignities of bishop, vice-chancellor, and master of the college, awaited the destroyer with dignified composure. No Head, at this time, commanded more general respect from both parties, his administration during his previous tenure of the office of vice-chancellor[2]

Growing reputation of Dr Brownrig.

[1] By 'ingravins,' Mr Searle considers, we may probably also understand 'some of the brasses on the slabs in the floor.' *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 526.

[2] He had been elected to the office in 1637 and again in 1638. In the latter year, we find one 'W. S.' (probably William Spurstowe, the Smectymnuan, one of the fellows of St Catherine's who had elected Brownrig to the mastership and himself succeeding him in that office), writing as follows to Morton, bishop of Durham, who in his distant see still cherished a deep interest in everything relating to the university: 'Dr Bromwiche hath much reformed ye university. Not a scholler could I see at any taverne. Luxury is much restrayned from walkinge ye streetes and rovinge openly as it hath done. He preached an admirable sermon upon John 3. 19. last Christmas Day. If his notes come to my hands I will send them to you.' (Letter from W. S. to Morton, *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, 1638; *Morton Papers*, no. 31.) Three years later Brownrig was installed as Morton's chaplain and was presented by him to a prebendal stall in Durham Cathedral. His sympathy with the moderate party went, however, much beyond that of his patron, as is evident from the following extract,

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CH. III. having won for him especial esteem. Moderate as was his episcopalianism, the master of St Catherine's did not hesitate, however, to make known to his unwelcome visitor that he still deemed a church entitled to more reverence than any ordinary building, and even held that the communion cup was, as Dowsing phrases it, 'not to be used for no other use in any civil act.' Dowsing contented himself with pulling down 'St George and the Dragon, John Baptist, and Popish Katherine, St. to which the Colledg is dedicated.'

The following day was a Sunday; but on the Monday he resumed his work with renewed vigour. At Corpus Christi, the chapel, erected in 1578 but still unconsecrated[1], presented to his eye 'nothing to be amended'; but he paused when, on turning his attention on Benet Church, he heard that building designated a 'temple.' He was blandly assured by Dr Love that the word 'was a common name given to publique places set apart for worship, both among heathens and Christians,' and that 'in the churches of France they used not the word *ecclesia* for a church, but the other word,—*templum*[2].' The churchwarden of St Benet's, one Russell, was friendly to the parliamentary party and had already advanced money to Cromwell, but notwithstanding, Dowsing discerned 'seven superstitious pictures, fourteen cherubims and a superstitious engraving'; 'one was to pray' too, he observes, 'for the soul of one John Canterbury and his wife.' His attention was next directed to 'an inscription of a mayd praying to the Sonn' (for Son) 'and Virgin Mary; 'twas in

written when Morton's treatise (*De Eucharistia Controversia Decisio*, Cantabr. 1640) was passing through the press at Cambridge: 'I am much grieved for his booke. For both the Bish. of Lincolne and Dr Hacket told me from the mouth of him that corrects it (an accurate and judicious Scholar) that it was a very invective and bitter writing against the Lutheran tenets in that poynte in so much that Dr Brownrig had written unto his Lordship about it, to put all into a milder straine.' Hartlib to Sir Thomas Roe, 10 Aug. 1640. S. P. (Dom.) *Charles I.* vol. CCCCLXIII.

[1] See *supra*, p. 140, n. 2.

[2] This interesting fact, according to Love's own statement, had been communicated to him 'in the Rochell and in the churches of France *being ther when Rochell was besieged*.' This seems to shew that in the summer of 1628, when a fellow of Clare College, he had made a voyage to the French coast. His reference to what was then regarded as one of the strongholds of Calvinism as affording a precedent in the matter of usage, was probably not without effect. See Cooper, *Annals*, III 365; Masters-Lamb, p. 171.

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Lating, "*Me Tibi Virgo Pia Genitor commendo Mariae,*" A maid was born to me which I commend to you oh Mary!' (1432). 'Richard Billinford,' the sapient censor explains, 'did commend this his daughter's soule[1].' Dowsing's *Journal* contains, however, no mention of any consequent process of destruction like those above described, although it is certain that St Benet's itself suffered severely. We find, indeed, the historian of the college, when more than a century later he had occasion to refer to this episode, imputing something like remissness to Dr Love: 'it is much to be wished,' he writes, 'that the Master had used his interest with Dowsing whilst he was employed here in demolishing superstitious monuments, to have desisted from doing it in St Benedict's Church where so many of his predecessors were interred: or if this could not have been obtained of the enraged rabble who assisted him in the execution thereof, that he had at least preserved in writing what monuments of antiquity were then in it, which might have been of no small service in this undertaking[2].'

Destruction at Jesus, Clare, and Trinity Ha

A heavier hand was laid on Jesus College, Clare, and Trinity Hall[3], although the dates are not given with the same precision. In each instance a solitary fellow looked on[4], while chancel steps were dug up, and saints, angels, apostles and fathers rudely deposed. At Trinity College, the sole entry (Dec. 29)—'We had four cherubims, and steps levelled,'—implies that the injury done was slight. St John's does not appear to have suffered materially, but certain

and at Trinity, St John's, and King'

[1] Read *Me tibi Virgo pia Genetrix commendo Maria*. 'Dowsing's acquaintance with "Lating,"' observes Mr Goodwin (art. Dowsing in *D. N. B.*) 'led him to metamorphosise Dr Billingford into a maid recommending her daughter's soul to the Virgin Mary.' Billingford was chancellor of the university, and Master of Corpus Christi from 1398 to 1432. According, however, to Cole, the publication of Dowsing's journal in 1739 led to the restoration of Billingford's tomb 'from the oblivion it had laid in ever since.' See Dr Stokes' *Corpus Christi College*, pp. 33–34.

[2] Masters, *Hist. of Coll. of Corpus Christi*, pp. 149–50; Masters further observes, in a footnote, that Dr Love's 'tenant at Ickleton assisted Dowsing in levelling the chancel there' (*ib.*); Masters-Lamb, p. 178.

[3] 'The fine brass of Dr Hewke still exists, so perhaps was put out of the way.'...'But it is probable that some of the old glass was broken.' Malden, *Trinity Hall*, p. 140.

[4] At Jesus 'Mr Bogleston,' at Clare 'Mr Gunning,' at Trinity Hall 'Mr Culiard.' *Journal*, p. 51.

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inscriptions desiring prayers for the departed were demolished[1]. King's College, menaced in ambiguous utterance worthy of some ancient oracle[2], is also without any positive record of injury; although Austen Leigh admits that 'how the glass escaped remains a mystery'; but he considers that 'the popular legend which attributes the preservation of the windows to their having been taken down and buried in a single night, has neither historical evidence nor intrinsic probability to entitle it to any serious attention[3].' At Magdalene 'we brake downe about forty superstitious pictures, Joseph and Mary stood to be espoused in the windowe.' Sidney and Emmanuel, with their two unconsecrated chapels[4], alone remained intact, as presenting nothing that 'needed to be mended[5].'

Before January had passed, an 'Ordinance for Regulating the University[6],' entrusted to Manchester the task of carrying its decrees into execution: he was instructed to appoint a Committee with power to summon before them any member of the academic body and examine any complaint or testimony against him; and further, on sufficient evidence tendered by witnesses on their oath, to report such member

[1] The entry relating to St John's is scarcely intelligible (see Baker-Mayor, p. 639); and the following, in Mr Scott's opinion, have reference, not to the iconoclast, but to the College Auditor, whose name occurs annually. 1641: 'Jan. for Mr Dowsings supper, 1s.; for candles 4d. lb.; for bedmaking, 2s. 6d.'; in the 'Audit allowance' he appears as receiving 30s. St John's *Exital Book*, 1634-1649. The following entries in same during the same year,—'for new binding the great old Bible in the Hall,' 'to the glazier for mending and altering glasse in the windowes,'—probably refer, in the former case, to the removal of 'Romish' devices from the cover; in the latter, to making good certain like reforms in hall or chapel.

[2] 'Steps to be taken' (*i.e.* removed) 'and one thousand superstitious pictures, the ladder of Christ, and theves to go upon many crosses, and Jesus writ on them.' *Ibid.*

[3] *Hist. of King's College*, p. 130.

[4] See *supra*, p. 140, n. 2.

[5] Dowsing's *Journal*, pp. 51–52. The destruction wrought in the parish churches of Cambridge is described *Ibid.* pp. 52–53. Cooper has printed the portion relating to the colleges (*Annals*, III 364–367) from Baker, *u.s.* p. 267, n. 2, apparently unaware that it had already been published by Zachary Grey whose text is, in some respects, more accurate.

[6] This ordinance also extended to the seven Associated Counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Huntingdon and Lincoln, in each of which Manchester was directed to appoint 'one or more' similar Committees; while he, or the Committee, was empowered to administer the Covenant 'to all persons in any of the said associated counties and the isle of Ely, upon such penalties as are or shall be assigned by the parliament in this behalfe.' Heywood and Wright, II 460–462.

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to the said earl, who was authorized, in turn, 'to eject such as he shall judge unfit for their places and to sequester their estates, means and revenues, and to dispose of them as he shall thinke fitting, and to place other fitting persons in their roome, such as shall be approved of by the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster.' In dealing with such sequestered estates, he was authorized, however, 'to dispose of a fifth part for the benefit of the wives and children of any of the aforesaid persons[1].'

On the 5th February, the earl was further 'recommended by both Houses to take special care that the Solemn League and Covenant be tendered and taken in the university of Cambridge[2].'

In pursuance of these instructions, Manchester now repaired to Cambridge, taking with him his two chaplains, Simeon Ashe, of Emmanuel College, and one William Goode, both of whom afterwards distinguished themselves as active pamphleteers in vindication of his policy during his troublous official career. On his arrival, he opened his Court in Trinity, and warrants were forthwith issued calling upon each of the Heads 'to send unto me the Statutes of your College, together with the Names of all the Members of your Society, whether Fellowes, Schollars, or other Officers, and *also now to certifye me who are now present and who absent*[3].' This behest was closely followed by another, enjoining all absent members of each college to return to residence before the tenth day of March. When that day had passed, warrants were immediately sent to each Head, requiring him to certify the extent to which the members of the society over which he presided had yielded compliance with the foregoing command. Two days later, the Heads of Peterhouse, St John's, Queens', Jesus and Pembroke were formally ejected, the grounds of each ejectment being described in Manchester's warrant as 'the opposing the proceedings of Parliament and *other scandalous acts* in the University of Cambridge[4].' As

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 462.
[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 370.
[3] *Ibid.* III 371.
[4] The following was the form of instruction in compliance with which Manchester's officials proceeded to eject the non-compliant Heads: *I do eject Dr — from being Master of —*

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regards the above sentences of deprivation, it is probable that they are to be looked upon as formalities rather than as the outcome of proceedings subsequent to Manchester's arrival, and it is doubtful whether any one of the five Heads was in Cambridge at the time. Cosin, already sequestered from his ecclesiastical benefices at York and Durham, stood condemned by the fact of his undeniable activity in forwarding the college plate to the king, and, according to Walker, he became henceforth a wanderer on the face of the earth,—'continually harassed with pursuevants, messengers, imprisonments, etc., till they had quite hunted him out of the kingdom[1].' Beale, Martin and Sterne were all in close confinement at Ely House. Dr Laney, who is not named by Dowsing, was possibly a virtual prisoner in his own lodge at Pembroke; but it is certain that he soon after joined the king at Oxford. In the provinces, the expectations of the royalists that the leaders of the university would not fail to set the example of courageous resistance were thus to a great extent disappointed. 'God make our Mother wise and resolute,' wrote Sancroft from Fressingfield to William Dillingham at Emmanuel. 'The Covenant is here universally taken, and ye good people in Suffolk have so fully learnt the mystery of *As farre as lawfully I may*[2], that now nothing can come amisse to you, were it Mohammed's *Alkuran*[3].'

A more summary process sufficed for the eviction of the other college residents. On the 15th March eleven Commissioners[4] were appointed by Manchester to tender the

is *Cambridge, for his opposing the proceedings in Parliament and other scandalous acts in the University of Cambridge, and I require you to sequester the profits of his Mastership, for one that I shall appoint in his place, and to cut his name out of the Buttories, and to certify me of this your act in one day. Given under our hand and seal this* 13 *day of March* 1641. The ambiguity involved by the neglect to repeat the preposition is sarcastically commented on by the authors of the *Querela*, who observe that the Heads appear to have been ejected not '*for*,' but for '*opposing*,' 'scandalous acts.' *Pref.* A 4 v.

[1] *Sufferings of the Clergy*, II 60.

[2] These words are from the *Protestation* of May 1641. See Gardiner, *Documents* (ed. 1899), p. 156; also his *History of England*, IX 353. Sancroft's meaning is, that those who have already swallowed the Protestation are not likely to strain at the Covenant.

[3] Tanner MS. LXII 641.

[4] Their number was shortly after increased to 38; the names are given in Cooper, *Annals*, III 372.

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CHAP.

The Covenant tendered. Refusers ejected.

Covenant and receive the signatures, and on the same day Stephen Hall[1], a senior fellow of Jesus, and John Otway[2], a recently elected fellow of St John's, atoned for non-compliance by ejectment. But it was soon evident that considerable opposition was to be anticipated, and the number of Commissioners was accordingly more than trebled. They sat at the White Bear[3], opposite to Trinity, and here exciting scenes were occasionally to be witnessed, as a certain proportion of the absentees who had been summoned (with only twelve days' grace) to return into residence, presented themselves. Apprehensions of intervention by the royalists without, on behalf of the malcontents, were indicated by the mounting of a cannon on the Great Bridge, and on the 3rd April a second summons was sent round to the colleges. The net was now spread more widely: the Covenant could not be tendered to the absent, and absenteeism, accordingly, was declared to be adequate ground for ejection; resident fellows, already marked out as obnoxious, might evade expulsion by taking the Covenant, and the ordinance was accordingly now made retrospective in its operation,—any who were 'scandalous in their lives *or* doctrines' being declared liable to a like sentence; while mere 'opposition to the proceedings of Parliament' continued to afford a third but equally valid reason. Should any of those who were expelled subsequently return, their stay was not to be prolonged beyond three days, otherwise they would incur the penalty of imprisonment. The names of the ejected were to be cut out in the butteries, while their 'profits' were to be sequestered and reserved for their successors on their appointment.

General ejection absentees together effacement of their names a suspension of their stipends.

But even this variety of reasons might leave a loophole; and, according to Walker, others had to be 'discovered, for turning out those who could not be gone,' and here the zealous apologist brings a serious indictment against the Commissioners,—a charge, it is to be observed, resting solely on the authority of the *Querela*. The fellowship oath, then

[1] A native of Middlesex. '1612. Aulae Pembroch: alumnus, collatione R. P. Lanceloti Epi Eliens: fit socius.' *Jesus Coll. Register.*

[2] A Yorkshireman, adm. fell. 24 Mar. 16$\frac{3}{4}$. Baker-Mayor, p. 295.

[3] For the Bear Inn, see Smith (J. J.), *Camb. Portfolio*, II 389, n. 40.

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AP. III. as now, bound the fellows of each society not simply to loyalty to the college but also to mutual fidelity one to another,—they were to do nothing which might result in harm or loss to the society in its corporate capacity or to any of the fellows individually. According, however, to the authors of the *Querela*, the Commissioners, in direct contravention of any such oath, now tendered to each fellow 'a new legislative fangle called an Oath of Discovery, but [what] indeed was an Oath of Treachery,—a wild unlimited devise to call whom they would before them and make them accuse their nearest and dearest friends, benefactors, tutors and Masters, and betray the members and acts of their several societies, manifestly contrary to our peaceable statutes formerly sworne unto by us[1].' That the Commissioners, notwithstanding their strong sympathies, should have acted in a fashion which recalls to us the methods of the Spanish Inquisition, appeared to Thomas Fuller so highly improbable, that some ten years later he ventured to write to Simeon Ashe,—who, as Manchester's chaplain, was likely to be well informed on such a point,—to ask whether he had any knowledge of any such proceeding. Ashe himself had, in former days, been ejected from his living in Staffordshire on account of his refusal to read the Book of Sports, but his puritanism was of a moderate type, and when the Restoration drew near he was one of the divines who went to meet Charles II at Breda. In replying to Fuller, however, he distinctly disclaims all knowledge of any such oath having ever been tendered at Cambridge[2]; and 'for my own part,' says Fuller, 'I am satisfied no such oath was tendered by him, charitably believing that he would not cross his own doctrine, when, preaching to the Parliament 1640,.....he complained of the

[1] *Querela Cant.*, p. 20; Heywood and Wright, II 497-8. The use of the plural points perhaps to the joint authorship of this production.

[2] 'Truly Sir, I am so great a stranger to that oath of discovery which you mention, that I cannot call to mind the moving of any such matter, by the Lord of Manchester, or any who attended him. And as for myself, having been a sufferer upon the dislike of the oath *ex officio*, I have all along my life been very tender in appearing as an instrument in any such matter.' Ashe to Fuller, 10 July 1654. Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 320.

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strictness of university oaths[1],'—a candid conclusion which CHAP. few critics will probably now care to challenge.

On the tenth of March, Cromwell had again been seen in Cambridge, fresh from the capture of Hillesden House in Buckinghamshire, and here, probably, he received the news of the death of his eldest surviving son, who had fallen a victim to the small pox when serving in the garrison at Newport Pagnell[2]. The young Oliver, who was one of the combatants at Edgehill, had entered St Catherine's only three years before[3], attracted (it may be supposed) by the reputation of Dr Brownrig, under whose discerning rule the numbers of the college were at this time rising considerably above their normal level[4]. 'A civil young gentleman and the joy of his father,'—such is the account given of him by a contemporary pen; and it must have been with a heavy heart that Cromwell again left Cambridge to besiege Lincoln and win the battle of Marston Moor. It was after that decisive success that it devolved upon him, in turn, to send to his brother-in-law, Valentine Walton, that characteristic letter which told at once of the 'great victory' and of the death of young Valentine Walton on the battlefield,—'a gallant young man,' wrote the bereaved to the bereaved, 'exceeding gracious. God give you his comfort[5].'

Death of young C (March

In Cromwell's absence, one William Danes[6], formerly a member of Emmanuel, was entrusted with the direction of affairs at Cambridge, and again the *Querela*, in tones of vehemence which shake the credit of the writer, tells of a

[1] Fuller, *u.s.* p. 321. Walker's account of this correspondence (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, I 113) will hardly commend itself to the impartial enquirer. Baker, with his usual candour, evidently inclines to a like conclusion with Fuller. See Baker-Mayor, pp. 225–6. Cooper, however, holds that the story 'appears correct,' but thinks it probable that 'the oath was administered without the direction or *knowledge of the earl of Manchester and his chaplains*'! *Annals*, III 374.

[2] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, I 369.

[3] 'Oliverus Cromwell, pensionar: Huntingdon.' 1641. *St Catherine's Register*.

[4] 'The numbers of those who entered were much above the average from 1637 to 1646.' Letter from the Master of St Catherine's, 8 Nov. 1895. At Trinity, on the other hand, from 1638–9 and 1639–40 the admissions declined to 19 and 18 respectively, and in 1642–3 went down to 13, probably the lowest on record.' Ball, *Notes*, etc., pp. 91–2.

[5] Gardiner, *u. s.* I 450; Carlyle-Lomas, I 176–7.

[6] A.B. 1635; A.M. 1639. *Lib. Grat.* Z. 1620–1645.

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CHAP. III. tyrannical exercise of authority, which, we are bound to note, is recorded by no other pen[1]. Pressure, it would seem, had been used to induce the Senate to confer a degree upon a candidate who is described as 'such a man as the whole university in their consciences judged unworthy of it,' and 'because wee would not vote as they would have us, one Master Danes, formerly a member of that House which he then so abused, adding perjury to his former sinnes, came in a terrible manner (contrary to his oath formerly taken to his mother the University) and flatly denied the vice-chancellor leave to dissolve the congregation, unlesse he would first promise that the matter should be voted as they required. Whereupon sundry members of that Senate, being observed to make use of that statute-liberty and freedom which was essentiall to that assemblie, were forthwith seized on and imprisoned by the Committee in no better lodgings than the common court of guard[2].'

Under such auspices and with grounds of offence thus multiplied, the process of ejection amounted almost to a revolution. Walker eagerly records how 'five masters were ejected in one day and sixty-five fellows in another,' while he estimates the total of Heads and fellows expelled by Manchester as nearly 200, 'besides scholars, exhibitioners, etc. which probably might be as many more[3].' To these vague estimates, the researches of Cooper long ago supplied a certain corrective, while his account has been in turn modified by the investigations of the historians of their respective colleges. Generally speaking, however, the important distinction between those who were expelled (mostly in the years 1644 and 1645) on their refusal to subscribe the Covenant, and those who were ejected five years later, on their refusal of the *Engagement*, has not been sufficiently observed,—although, inasmuch as the former was mainly a religious, the latter, a political, test, they dealt with convic-

[1] Not even by Peter Barwick; John, however, it is to be noted, had left Cambridge just before. See *Life*, p. 45 n.

[2] *Querela*, p. 10.

[3] *Sufferings of the Clergy*, etc., pt. I 114; Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge University Trans.* II 501.

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tions materially differing in character[1]. The features which contributed to render the Covenant peculiarly obnoxious to both the English universities have also to be borne in mind, if we would adequately estimate the motives which actuated their stubborn resistance. As tendered at Oxford and at Cambridge, it called for the renunciation, not merely of episcopacy, but of all those grades of ecclesiastical office and dignity which culminated in the bishopric[2], and thus ran directly counter to the requirements of that notable *Etcetera* oath[3] which had been formally imposed on the resident members of the university only four years before. The great majority of the residents in 1644, consequently, found themselves summoned to commit, what they could only regard as a deliberate act of perjury; and it can hardly surprise us to find that such a demand was met, in most cases, either by evasion or by a direct refusal. In anticipation, probably, of the ordeal to which they were to be subjected, a large number of the fellows of colleges had already quitted Cambridge. Manchester now summoned them to return; and, on their failing to do so, their non-compliance was construed into a

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[1] As an illustration of this important distinction, I may cite the fact that a fellow, installed as successor to one who refused the Covenant, was, in not a few instances, himself afterwards ejected for declining to comply with the later test. At Peterhouse, for example, we find Howard Becher (intruded June 1644), Gabriel Major and James Ball (both intr. 1644), were all three ejected as refusers of the Engagement. In drawing this distinction I may further observe that it in no way contravenes the observation of Gardiner, that to Charles, 'the Scottish Covenant was much more than an assertion of Puritanism'; and, 'by its appeal from himself to Parliament and Assembly, was in his eyes something very like a declaration of republicanism.' He had even been heard to declare that all who took the oath 'would be glad of his ruin.' *Hist. of England*, VIII 338; *Hist. of the Civil War*, I 235. As tendered in England and at Cambridge, however, the Solemn League and Covenant required assent only to 'the reformation of religion in the Church of England according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches'; and the Westminster Assembly 'evidently intended to reserve to itself perfect freedom as to the form of church government which was to take the place of the old Episcopacy.' *Ibid.*, *Hist. of the Civil War*, I 273.

[2] 'That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and *all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy*),' etc. See *Reasons of the present judgement of the University of Oxford. Concerning The Solemn League and Covenant. The Negative Oath. The Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship. Approved by generall consent in a full Convocation*, 1 Jun. 1647. *And Presented to Consideration*, A 2 v. 1647.

[3] See *supra*, p. 144, n. 3.

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CHAP. III. refusal of the test. In this there was no great injustice; for, as the evidence shews, ample notice was given; and it is difficult not to infer that, with but few exceptions, their eventual return was purposely delayed. Of those who had remained in residence, the majority appear to have resolved to follow the example set by their respective college heads; and the refusal of the Covenant was followed by the ejection of the greater number and the confiscation of their property. With respect to this latter process we have interesting documentary evidence in a small quarto volume preserved in the Record Office[1]. It is dated March 1, 164⅘, and represents the official Report of the whole process of confiscation, from January the first, 1645, to Lady Day 1646. Under each college there is given a brief schedule of the contents of the room or rooms of each ejected occupant,—his books and his furniture, together with their estimated values, as appraised by appointed agents, whose names are duly appended. It is however clear that the owners were not only permitted to repurchase their property at the prices thus set upon it, but that a large proportion of them actually did so, either from their private resources or with the assistance of friends. The confiscation was, consequently, in not a few cases, reduced practically to the infliction of a fine,—a feature which makes it difficult not to demur to the wrathful language of the *Querela*, when it asks whether 'if the Goths and Vandals, or even the Turks themselves, had overrun this nation they would more inhumanely have abused a flourishing university!'

But even with these mitigating features, the amount of confiscation carried into effect must have come as an almost irretrievable calamity to scholars whose scanty incomes had been largely devoted to the acquisition of a library. The master of Peterhouse, who, according to Walker, was 'the very first victim,' suffered a peculiarly trying loss. Cosin's love

[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, Vol. dxl., pt. iii. This Report was probably sent in when the sequestrations *following upon the rejection of the Covenant* were finally completed; it consequently by no means implies that a certain proportion, probably by far the larger, had not been carried out some time before 1647.

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of books,—fostered as it had been by his tenure of the office of librarian to Overall, after the promotion of the latter to the see of Coventry, and signalized as it subsequently became by the library at Durham which bears his name,—had resulted in the formation of a collection which the sequestrators valued at no less than £247. 10*s.*, or more than seven times the amount of Thorndike's collection which stands fourth in value in the list[1]. At the first alarm, he would appear to have stowed away these treasures in the recesses of his college; but the secret of their whereabouts was soon betrayed, and the sequestrators thereupon caused them to be 'carried out of Peterhouse[2].' The entire collection was thus threatened with irrevocable dispersion, when Lazarus Seaman's ingenuity suggested a means of recovery. If some might hesitate to censure his predecessor's profuse expenditure on his private library, there could be no question, in Seaman's mind, as to the scandalous extravagance,—involving an outlay of considerably more than £500,—which had been going on in connexion with the new chapel[3]. The incoming authorities had already been gloomily pondering over the record, in Cosin's own handwriting, which exhibited the reckless outlay on both the exterior and the interior of the consecrated structure,—'the organs[4], the painted window, the Angells, the cherubim's heads, and the four statues of the Evangelists,' which along with 'other gaudies gone and lost,' had been swept away on the occasion of Dowsing's visit! It now occurred to Seaman, that the ends of justice would be best consulted by the late master's library being made over to the college from which he had been ejected. The former owner would thus be mulcted in a manner which

[1] 'It. a parcell of bookes of Mr Thorndike of Trin. Coll. prized by {Willm Crane / Anth. Nicholson} £32. 4. 0.' The libraries which stand second and third in the valuations, are that of Edmund Lincoln of Jesus (£80) and that of Nicholas Hall of Emmanuel (£40). *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, DXL, pt. iii, pp. 27, 23 and 34.

[2] Walker (Dr), *Peterhouse*, Appendix VII (pp. 213–218), where a series of memoranda labelled 'Passages concerning Dr Cosin's Library,' drawn up at the time and preserved in the College Treasury, are printed in full.

[3] See *Ibid.* Append. V (pp. 207–10). 'The Building of the Chapel.' Among those who 'donaria sua pie contulerunt,' Cosin himself appears as a donor of £300.

[4] The 'organum pneumaticum,' without its case, had cost £110. *Ibid.* p. 209.

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would be to him the severest punishment[1], while the society itself would be, in no slight measure, compensated for the squandering of its resources. Representations to this effect, signed by Seaman and the fellows, were, accordingly, laid before the Lords; and supported, as they appear to have been, by the recommendation of Manchester, met with prompt and effective response,—an order to the Committee of Sequestrations shortly after arriving, wherein it was directed that 'the library of Dr Cosens may be employed and annexed to the said Peterhouse[2].' Nor was it forgotten to suggest 'that right bee done unto *the scholer whoe enformed where the bookes were*...and that he have his allowance made unto him[3].'

It was on the thirteenth of March that Cosin was expelled, but Lazarus Seaman was not installed until the following April. In the interval, order had been given for the ejection of five recalcitrant fellows,—John Tolly, Joseph Beaumont (the future master), Richard Crashaw, Holder, Pennyman, and also of a bye fellow, Christopher Comyn†; the ejections of Tyrringham and Blakiston, a bachelor, followed in the ensuing June,—those of Patrick Maxwell, Synserfe†, Collett†, Sandys†, Aucher† and Warre†, on the

[1] In illustration of this, I venture to quote the language of George Vernon, the biographer of Peter Heylyn, when the latter, on joining the king at Oxford in 1642, was punished by the sequestration of his library, along with his other goods, all of which lay unprotected at his 'parsonage-house' at Alresford: 'the plunder of which he took deeply to heart, and ever accounted it the greatest of his losses: for nothing is dearer to a good scholar than books, that to part with them goes as much against his nature and genius as to lose his life; for he spendeth his days wholly in them, and thinketh that a horrible night of ignorance, worse than Egyptian darkness, would overshadow the world without their learning. *Omnia jacerent in tenebris*, saith Cicero, *nisi litterarum lumen accederet*.' *Life of Heylyn* by Vernon (ed. 1682), pp. 125-6; Cicero, *Pro Archia*, VI 14; *Life of Dr Peter Heylyn* by J. C. Robertson, prefixed to Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, I cxli.

[2] *Lords' Journals*, VII 94; Cooper, *Annals*, III 375.

[3] Walker, *u. s.* p. 217. 'Cosin's Library,' says Dr Walker, 'came back to Peterhouse. But it is probable that there was some leakage. Cosin himself, at a later time, reckoned his books in Peterhouse at 1,100. A MS. list in the Treasury, endorsed "Dr Cosin's Library," records 814 volumes, a number being marked as missing.' *Ibid.* p. 218. Dr Walker hints, darkly (p. 64, n. 1), at the illicit processes by which certain volumes found shelter in the libraries of St John's and Magdalene!

† Names thus distinguished are those of fellows on the 'Parke' or 'Perne' or Ramsey foundations and who, as such, had no votes. MS. note by Dr Walker.

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the zeal of Matthew Wren had adorned the interior of Little St Mary's, and there to derive in prayer and meditation a loftier inspiration for his muse[1]. On his election to a fellowship at Peterhouse in 1637, he found no less delight in contemplating the gorgeousness of the new chapel, a work which his muse had been employed to urge on with pathetic suasiveness[2]. His expulsion now drove him, along with four of the other fellows, to take refuge in communion with Rome. He repaired, in the first instance, to London, but ever haunted, it would seem, by the memory of those scenes of havoc and desecration which he had left behind; and in his *Steps to the Temple*, published in the following year, gave utterance to an impassioned prayer that the time might yet return, when

> God's services no longer shall put on
> A sluttishness for pure religion:
> No longer shall our churches' frighted stones
> Lie scattered like the burnt and martyr'd bones
> Of dead devotion, nor faint marbles weep
> In their sad ruines, nor religion keep
> A melancholy mansion in those cold
> Urns. Like God's sanctuaries they lookt of old;
> Now seem they temples consecrate to none,
> Or to a new God,—Desolation[3].

[1] See Preface to the *Steps to the Temple* (ed. 1646). The editor, whom Mr Lee conjectures to have been Thomas Car, gave the collection its name, 'Reader, we stile his Sacred Poems, *Stepps to the Temple*, and aptly, for in the Temple of God, under His wing, he led his life in St Maries Church neere St Peter's Colledge.' A 4 r., ed. A. R. Waller (Camb. 1904), p. 68.

[2] 'Nuper extructum et consecratum Martii 17 Anno D. 1632.' *Peterhouse Register* (1646–1719). Cf. Willis and Clark, I 31, 40–45. 'Cosin,' says the latter authority, 'introduced a gorgeous ritual into the chapel, together with the use of incense.' A full account of the ceremony of consecration is preserved in a MS. in Caius College Library (copied in Baker MS. v 245–248). On this interesting occasion, the bishop of Ely (as Visitor) was presented by the Master (Dr Wren) with a formal statement of the reasons which had weighed with the college authorities in building a chapel: among these are the inconveniences arising from the use of the neighbouring church; the irksomeness of being obliged to go beyond the college precincts in winter before sunrise, and after sunset in the evening; and finally, the facilities afforded, under such conditions, to the more disorderly members of the college (*male feriatis tenebrionibus*) of extending their rambles through the town during the rest of the evening. See Smith (J. J.), *Cambridge Portfolio*, II 486–7, who also notes that the use to which Peterhouse had put the Church of St Mary-the-Less was not without precedent, the students of Gonville Hall having formerly, in like manner, been accustomed to pay their devotions at St Michael's Church. So again the chancel of St Benet's once served as a chapel to Corpus Christi. See Masters, p. 55.

[3] See the lines, 'On a Treatise of Charity,' in *Steps to the Temple*

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while expulsions came thick and fast around him. Among them, the most noteworthy are those of Isaac Barrow (afterwards bishop of St Asaph) and the two poets, Joseph Beaumont and Richard Crashaw, of whom the former lived to become master of Peterhouse and regius professor of divinity, the latter, to enjoy in his own day a popularity, as remarkable, perhaps, as his real merits, but almost as brief as his own career. Barrow, however, had already fled, along with Peter Gunning of Clare, to New College, Oxford, where he was befriended by Dr Pink, the Warden, who appointed him chaplain of that society[1]. Crashaw, although he inherited the literary tastes of his father (the puritan poet of St John's), had already diverged widely from the paternal example in matters of religious belief. William Crashaw, the father, had been the follower and executor of William Perkins, and had edited some of his works[2]; Richard, the son, already stood identified with the opposite party. As an undergraduate at Pembroke, he had been distinguished by his love of art, his deeply devotional spirit, and not less by his fine poetic taste, fashioned mainly on classic models but also perceptibly influenced by that sensuous spirit which characterized the writings of certain contemporary authors (much studied by English scholars at this time) in both Italian and Spanish literature[3]. While still at Pembroke, he had ofttimes crossed the street to gaze on the ornate splendour with which

[1] See *Life of Rev. John Barwick* (London, 1724), pp. 34, 35 n., where Gunning's *Journal* is quoted: 'I went with my friend Mr Isaac Barrow to Oxford where I continued to the year 1646.' 'The sojourn of these two men' [*i.e.* Gunning and Barrow] 'in the College must have been brief, as their names do not occur in the "Visitors' Register."' Rashdall, *New College*, p. 169. In referring to Isaac Barrow, Mr Rashdall considers it 'unfortunate' that the society 'can claim only so slight a connexion with perhaps the greatest man, who was ever on the foundation of New College' (*ibid.*). Without venturing to call in question Barrow's claims to be thus estimated on a comparison with the long array of names that adorn the annals of the college of William of Wykeham, I would observe that this was *not* the 'eminent mathematician' (as Mr Rashdall supposes), but his uncle.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.* II 340.

[3] See the article in the *D. N. B.* where Mr S. L. Lee also takes occasion to point out the influence of Crashaw's genius on Milton, Pope and Coleridge. The late Dr Garnett, in his criticism of Marini, says: 'In some respects he might be compared to the Cowleys and Crashaws of Charles the First's time; but he is physical, while they are metaphysical; his conceits are less far-fetched and ingenious than theirs.' *Hist. of Italian Literature*, p. 275.

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new sphere of activity in the Oxford to which he had betaken himself, and where he had been incorporated M.A. soon after his arrival. He had by this time become especially obnoxious to the parliamentary party, as one who had not only refused the Covenant but had actually preached against it,—first, from the university pulpit, and subsequently at Tunbridge, where, when delivering a like discourse, he had seized the opportunity to call upon his congregation to contribute to the aid of the royalist forces,—an act of daring which had involved him in a short term of imprisonment[1]. To Gunning we may partly attribute it, that the voices which had been silenced at Cambridge now succeeded in making themselves heard at the sister university, which, sheltered for the time by the royal occupation, was destined, with the Surrender in 1646, to undergo the same ordeal as that which was then virtually at an end on the banks of the Cam. Shortly before Gunning's departure, the royalist party in the Associated Counties,—hoping to stem the tide already surging so strongly around them,—had addressed to the Heads and fellows of each college of the university an urgent 'Remonstrance.' 'The eyes of the whole land are now fixed upon you,' said the appeal, 'wee conjure you to make a timely and generall Declaration of your unanimous dissent from the taking of this Oath, so derogatory to the Honour of God, so destructive to the peace of the Church, and so prejudiciall, in the consequence, to His Majesties just rights and power[2]'; while a request was preferred '*that this our "Remonstrance"* be read in your Chappel, and (so far as without danger it may) imparted to the rest of the University.' This appeal was not destined to be without effect. No less than seven well-known members of the academic body[3] now came forward to champion the cause of

[1] Wood's account excites our commiseration: 'And being occasionally about that time in Kent (upon a short visit to his mother lately then a widow) he was hunted about and forced to lye in woods, and at length was imprison'd for having assisted some forces, belonging to the King at Tonbridge, with the charity he had moved a neighbouring congregation to by two sermons.' *Athenae*, II 763.

[2] Printed after title of the *Certain Disquisitions*.

[3] 'They who joined in the writing of this paper, besides Mr Barwick and Mr William Lacy of St Johns College, were Mr Isaac Barrow of Peterhouse, Mr Seth Ward of Sidney

the Church, by contributing to the compilation of another manifesto[1], wherein each writer took his assigned part in endeavouring to bring home to the understanding and conscience of every educated Englishman the arguments which served to establish some special main point, and thus make it clear that the repudiation of the Covenant was an imperative duty. According to Anthony Wood, Gunning had already, in his above-mentioned discourse from the pulpit of St Mary's, urged the university to authorize the publication of the manuscript[2]; but to such publication the sanction of the vice-chancellor was indispensable, and Dr Brownrig, who had by this time succeeded Dr Beale, interposed his veto[3]. The Cambridge press was consequently out of question, and there was not the slightest hope that such a

College, Mr Edmund Baldero and Mr William Quarles of Pembroke Hall, and that incomparable disputant against the schismatics, Mr Peter Gunning of Clare Hall, each of whom undertook his particular share of this wicked Covenant to confute; and bringing his part of the work *to Mr Gunning's chamber*, there they all conferred and agreed upon the whole'—*Life of Barwick*, p. 40; Lichfield's Postscript clearly indicates that the book was written at Cambridge: 'I cannot but admonish thee this one thing, viz. That I have gone exactly according to the copy, *even in those phrases which resemble the genius of the place where it was composed more than where it is published*, only the faults which have escaped, I desire may be imputed to me and those many transcribers through whose hands it passed before it could come to mine.' 'Postscript to the Reader.'

The complete title is as follows: *Certain Disquisitions and Considerations representing to the Consciences the unlawfulness of the Oath, entituled, A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation etc. As also the weakness and vanity of the Arguments used in the Exhortation for taking the said Covenant.* Published by Command. *Oxford*, Printed by Leonard Lichfield Printer to the University. 1644. Mr Madan, in his List of the *Thomason Tracts*, gives 'April 17' as the exact date of publication. Overton in his 'John Barwick' (*D. N. B.*) implies that the book was *printed* before Barwick left Cambridge, but Mr Jenkinson has no hesitation in pronouncing that it is not a production of the Cambridge press, while Mr Madan is equally convinced that it was not printed at Oxford.

[2] —'he vehemently and convincingly urged the University to publish a formal Declaration against the rebellious League.' Wood, *Athenae Oxon.* II 764. This rests on Gunning's own statement: 'I was expelled the University of Cambridge for preaching a sermon in St Mary's against the Covenant, as well as for the refusing the Covenant.' See *Life of Dr John Barwick*, pp. 33-35.

[3] The book, to quote the account of Dr Humfrey Gower (forty years afterwards), 'could not be published at Cambridge, because *one* man, who alone could hinder it, would not permit it to be done. But I have not only charity enough to hope, but sufficient reason to believe, that he soon repented of the opposition he had made and became quite of another mind.' *A Discourse preached in the Cathedral at Ely*, Sept. 1684, p. 17 [a funeral eulogy on Gunning].

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volume would be allowed to see the light by the censor of the press in London. On the 15th of the preceding October, the ten peers who remained at Westminster, and sat in the Assembly, had all taken the Covenant[1]; while Charles, on the other hand, had just been compelled to raise the siege of Gloucester, and doubts might reasonably be entertained as to how long he would be able to hold Oxford. It was resolved accordingly to print the volume in London; and to evade the licenser by *publishing* it at Oxford. It so happened that a trustworthy agent was at this time resident in the capital, in the person of John Barwick, who, having quitted Cambridge towards the close of the year 1643, was 'lying conceal'd,' to quote the expression of his biographer, 'in the great city, as in a great wood,'—having 'the management of the Kings affairs' and carrying on 'a private correspondence between London and Oxford.' Aided by Royston the bookseller, Barwick so far succeeded as to get the *Disquisitions* through the press, and the volume, with its Oxford imprint, was only awaiting the binder, when the parliamentary spies became apprised of what was going on, and the greater part of the impression was suddenly seized and burnt[2]. CHAP.

The society which had educated Matthew Wren and Richard Crashaw, and had recently condoled with the former in his imprisonment[3], was not likely to find much mercy at the hands of the Committee, and eventually suffered almost as severely as Peterhouse. The master, Dr Laney, described by Prynne as 'one of Laud's creatures to prosecute his designs in the university of Cambridge[4],' had already fled. 'I find,' says Baker, in a letter to a correspondent at Pembroke, 'he was a friend or acquaintance of Dr Cheyney Row of Trinity College, a bold and brave man, and so must your doctor have been, if he were like his companion[5],' and all The ejection Pembroke College. Flight of Dr Laney March 1643.

[1] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, I 287.

[2] *Life of Barwick* (*u. s.*), pp. 33–41; 45–47.

[3] 'Memineris Ridleium, Bradfordium, utrumque Pembrochianum.' 'Societas Pembrochiana' 'pridie Nonas Maii 1642.' [This Address from the fellows to their Master (Attwood, II 31) appears to have been presented to Wren on his liberation from the Tower.]

[4] See *Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 177, 359.

[5] *Register of Masters* in Pembroke Coll. MSS. Baker cites the Nalson MSS. as his authority.

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[1] 'hic solus, praeter Mag^r Balcanqual (cum, si tanti quidem erit, addas), non ejicitur Ann. 1644.' Attwood, II 70.

[2] Charles had quitted the castle on Sept. 23. Gardiner, *Civil War*, II 324.

[3] Pearson-Churton, I cxxxiii.

[4] 'But if you will return, and submit to your ancient Fathers, your King and Church, your magistrates and clergy,—observe and keep, and do, your ancient laws and customs, I dare warrant you, what God promises to the Rechabites, he shall perform to you.' Frank's *Sermons* (in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), II 443. Charles was so well pleased with the sermon that he gave orders that it should be printed.

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special allegations were made, but these having broken down[1], he was ejected simply as a refuser of the Covenant. Edmund Boldero, if we may credit the *Querela* (p. 25), was invited by Manchester to make a statement of the grounds of his refusal; but, on his compliance, was forthwith declared convicted out of his own mouth, and 'without further hearing committed to prison, where he continued a long time at excessive charges.' Of the remaining fellows, there were five,—John Randolph, Thomas Weedon, Roger Ashton, John Keene, and Anthony Bokenham,—who lived to be reinstalled at the Restoration; but John Heath and Henry May died before 1660; Thomas Lenthal (formerly of Christ's College) defected to Rome; while of John Vaughan, George Debden, William Quarles, and John Groot, no further record appears to exist[2]. Of the others, if such there were, Attwood, the chronicler of Pembroke, himself makes no mention. We only know that when Richard Vines, at the instance of the Committee, reluctantly accepted the mastership, he found it in a very depressed condition, the buildings dilapidated, the scholars mostly fled[3]. Among those who remained, however, there was a commencing bachelor, one William Moses, who had recently carried off one of the seven Greek scholarships founded in the college by Thomas Watts[4], and had already won the esteem of the society by his marked ability and studious disposition; while he was still further recommended to his Puritan seniors by his serious religious views, which

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Edmund Boldero: b. 1604, d. 1679. Master of Jesus Co. 1663–79.

Fortunes of the other ejected Fellows.

Installation of Richard Vines: b. 1600 (?), d. 1656. Master of Pembroke 1644–50.

William Moses: b. 1623, d. 1686. (Master of Pembroke 1655–60.) The first Fellow.

[1] '...I have heard him say that there were several frivolous Articles objected against him, such as his permitting Mr Tho. Wren (ye Bp's son) to were Prince Rupert's colors etc. But there was one Article that had weight in it if true, but being notoriously false he denied it, and desired to see, or know his Accuser, whom the Parliament Commissioners would not produce, but asked him if he had, or would take ye Covenant, which he refusing, they said it was enough, and so cast him out.' *Letter of H. Mapletoft of Huntingdon, dated May 19th, 1709, to his Cousin, 'Mr John Mapletoft, Fellow of Pembroke Hall.'* Attwood, II. This statement, if correct, is of value as indicating that the Committee preferred that the question of ejection should not appear to turn exclusively on the acceptance or rejection of the Covenant.

[2] Pembroke Coll. Registers: Attwood, II 58–75.

[3] Clarke, *Lives*, I 48.

[4] Thomas Watts of Christ's College, who died dean of Bocking in 1577. 'He conveyed estates at Ashwell Hertfordshire and Sawston Cambridgeshire to Pembroke Hall for the endowment of seven Greek scholarships in that college.' Cooper, *Athenae*, I 364–5.

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CHAP. III. dated back to the time when, as a schoolboy at Christ's Hospital, he had pondered over the pages of that notable treatise, the *Institutes* of Bucanus[1]. One of the new master's first acts was to recommend Moses to the Committee for institution to a fellowship[2].

At Caius College, Dr Batchcroft succeeded for a time in evading expulsion. His unostentatious but real services as an administrator, during the eighteen years that had elapsed since his election, had fully justified the unanimity with which the fellows had maintained their decision against the adverse influences of Court[3]; and, according to Dr Venn, 'he had achieved the rather rare distinction of never being involved in anything approaching to a quarrel with the fellows of the College[4].' The number of fellows here ejected as absentees or actual refusers of the Covenant, does not appear to have been more than eight or nine; but it is evident that, as investigations went on, Manchester gradually arrived at the conclusion that formal compliance, as regarded the Covenant, ought not to be allowed to shield those who were known sympathisers with the former *régime*. In June, accordingly, a further requisition was made, for 'the names of all such in your Colledge as have practized bowinge at the name of Jesus, adoration towards the East, or any ceremony in divine service not warranted by lawe[5],' and Batchcroft was at the same time called upon to furnish a list of all the fellows. After the lapse of a month, he complied with

[1] The *Institutiones Theologicae, seu Locorum Communium Christianae Religionis Analysis*, in the form of question and answer, by William Bucanus, Professor of Theology at Lausanne (Geneva, 1617). A manual designed to supply the religious enquirer with authoritative solutions of every difficulty that might present itself to the mind engaged on the study of Revealed Truth; the answers being taken mainly from Holy Writ itself, with occasional references to certain 'praestantissimi theologi.' E.g. *Cur Deus non statim condidit Mundum? Quid fecerit ante quam hunc Mundum creavit?* p. 59.

[2] *D.N.B.*, Calamy's *Account* (with Thomas Baker's MS. notes), II 83.

[3] See *supra*, p. 32.

[4] Venn, III 86. Batchcroft's goods, in his chambers, had however already been valued and were redeemed by himself, the amount being only £20. Dr Venn has printed the inventory, *Annals*, III 90. Walker states that Batchcroft had 'presented a certificate from leading Parliamentarians testifying to his affection to Parliament,—to his refusal to send any College plate to the King,—and to his contributing large sums of money to the Parliament. *Sufferings*, etc., II 145.

[5] Venn, III 88.

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the demand; and, according to his statement, eight fellows had, by that time, been ejected, ten were absent, and eight still retained their places[1]. Among those ejected at this time, and reinstated at the Restoration was Richard Watson, who had already been deprived of his mastership of the Perse School in 1642. He had rendered himself especially obnoxious to the Presbyterian party, by a virulent discourse on Schism, delivered from the pulpit of Great St Mary's; and now 'to avoid their barbarities,' fled to Paris, where his controversial spirit found fresh employment in disputations with the Romanists concerning the visibility of their Church[2]. William Moore, now a senior fellow, succeeded like the master, in postponing for a time his eventual retirement, shielded by his reputation as a scholar and already distinguished by those sterling services to learning which afterwards led to his appointment as university librarian,—'the model librarian,' as he was styled by his not less eminent successor, Henry Bradshaw. It is probable, however, that Moore's expulsion had been already contemplated, for his books and furniture had been appraised at £5. 10*s.* 0*d.*, of which the books constituted more than the moiety. And as his voice is said to have been the last to be heard reading the Liturgy in chapel before its discontinuance was enjoined by Parliament, so, ten years later, the reader himself was fain, eventually, to send in his resignation and voluntarily withdrew from the college in anticipation of the changes that were manifestly impending in the realm[3].

CHAP.

Richard Watson b. 1612. d. 1664.

William Moore: b. 1598. d. 1659.

His resignation of his fellowship 1647.

At Trinity Hall, Dr Eden, the representative of a society which was composed chiefly of laymen, and whose own sympathy with the parliamentary cause was a matter of notoriety, found no difficulty in taking the Covenant. He consequently not only retained his mastership, but his influence appears to have availed to secure the whole body of fellows from ejection[4]. In the following year he was nominated one of

Changes at Trinity Hall.

[1] Venn, *u. s.* III 89.

[2] *Ibid.* I 286; Walker, *Sufferings*, II 145; *D. N. B.*

[3] Venn, I 192; Bradshaw, *The University Library*, pp. 20–21.

[4] Eden had originally entered at Pembroke, but, to quote Mr Malden, 'the son by adoption had made "the Hall" peculiarly his own. This affection redounds the more to the

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the eighteen Commissioners appointed to direct the affairs of the Admiralty. He had, however, been for some years in failing health, and died within a few weeks of his appointment. The fellows of the Hall thereupon proceeded to elect the eminent John Selden as his successor, but before their choice could be formally sanctioned[1], further proceedings were stayed by an 'order of restraint' from Parliament; and it was not until the following October that the restraint was removed and Selden's election ratified, should he himself be willing to accept the office[2]. The great scholar, however, at once declined the appointment,—a decision which probably surprised none, it being well known that not only was the mastership very slenderly endowed[3], but that, in other respects, it could offer but few inducements to one whose sympathies were mainly with his 'mother Oxford.' Selden, moreover, was now keeper of the records in the Tower,—that same Tower wherein, six years before, he had suffered a rigorous confinement; and although exultation over a prostrate foe was foreign to his nature, he cannot but have smiled as he pondered on the nemesis which had overtaken his former persecutors. In their perplexity, the fellows now reverted to one of their own society, and in November, Robert King, doctor of the civil law and a late fellow[4], was elected, with respect to whom they reported to the Lords that he was 'such a one whose former services and good demeanour in the said College have made him very fit and capable of the government of the same[5].' The Lords raised

credit of Master and society,' he further observes, 'because politically they were a good deal divided.' *Trinity Hall*, p. 137. For an account of Eden's benefactions to the college, see *Ibid.* pp. 141-3.

[1] The letter from the fellows to Lord Holland soliciting his confirmation of the election as chancellor is among the Trinity Hall MSS. no. 20.

[2] 'Provided that John Selden esq^r^ who was elected to the said Mastership, before the sd. order of restraint, have free liberty to accept thereof, if he will. And in case he shall refuse, that then the said Fellowes may elect such a one, as shall be both fitt and capable by the said Statutes of the said Hall; and shall be allowed by both Houses of Parliament.' 15 Octobris 1645. Baker MS. xxv 384.

[3] In 1650 the master was in receipt of an income valued at only £17. *Ibid.* xxv 398.

[4] King had graduated M.A. from Christ's College in 1624 and his election to a fellowship at the Hall had taken place in the following year. Malden, *Trinity Hall*, p. 145.

[5] *Lords' Journals*, VII 678.

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no objection, but again the Commons interposed and refused their assent; nor was it until the following year, that the Hall found itself again possessed of a Head in the person of John Bond, a former fellow of St Catherine's, to whom, as a known Puritan and a member of the Assembly of Divines, Parliament took no exception whatever[1]. The only sequestrations at this college (if such they were) appear to be those of two members who were not fellows,—a 'Mr Hatley's' property, including 'bookes, 2 trunkes and other lumber,' being valued at £2. 10*s.* 0*d.*, and that of a 'Mr Lynne,' 'bookes and goods,' at £1. 1*s.* 0*d.*[2]

At Corpus Christi, Dr Richard Love presents the solitary instance of a Head who maintained his position down to the Restoration. His unique experience becomes all the more remarkable when we note, on the one hand, that he had been chaplain in ordinary to Charles I and had been presented by him to the living of Eckington in Derbyshire, while, on the other, he appears to have been largely indebted for his exemption from the general fate to the influence of colonel Walton, the regicide, who was his personal friend[3]. It was beyond the master's power, however, to shield, in like manner, the society over which he presided; and the two senior fellows,—Robert Tunstal, a Nottinghamshire man, who had held his fellowship some twenty-four years, and Edward Palgrave, of Norfolk, who had been elected only two years later,—were both ejected in April 1644[4]; and along

[1] Baker MS. xxv 381–397.

[2] The lists of fellows contained in the 'Warren' Collections, 'do not include the name of *Hatley*, and the only *Lynne* recorded is at a very different date.' *Letter from Dr Dale.* The materials collected by William Warren (a fellow of the Hall in the first half of the eighteenth century), although of value in relation to general details respecting the society, rarely supply much of personal interest. See Mr Malden's observations in his *History*, pp. 168–9.

[3] Masters-Lamb, p. 177. The sarcasm directed at Love in the *Mercurius Britannicus* (no. 22, p. 172), where, along with Bainbrigge of Christ's, he is described as one of 'the two learned neutrals of Cambridge that have been taking a nap and sleeping at our distractions,' probably points to his leading characteristic as a mediator between opposing parties.

[4] '.. under the pretence of non-residence,' says Masters, 'being, I imagine, the only crime that could be laid to their charge; for although they are taxed with several other misdemeanors, yet as these are not specified, so they were probably unknown.' Masters-Lamb, p. 176. One Thomas Briggs, who was ejected in the following January, incurred his

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with them went George Heath[1], a son of Sir Robert Heath, chief justice of Common Pleas. The father, who had been educated at St John's, was a warm patron of learning, a circumstance to which we may perhaps partly attribute the fact that both the master of Corpus and Whichcote are to be found coming forward to redeem the son's sequestered property[2]; and it seems reasonable to infer that the son inherited the paternal regard for letters when we note that while his books were valued at £14, 'his bed and other things' amounted to only £2. 10*s.* 0*d.*[3]

A year had elapsed since the appointment of the Committee, whose chief function it had been to expel those who refused the Covenant, and a second Committee was now appointed to take its place[4], especially instructed to enforce a like requirement on those who should be elected to fill the created vacancies,—a certificate under their hands to such effect being made an indispensable pre-requisite in the admission of the new comers[5].

In the midst of all the bitterness of feeling and deep depression consequent upon such changes and such spoliation, the benign influence of Whichcote stands out in bright relief. His distinguished merit had early attracted the notice of bishop Williams, who, according to the former's biographer, had ordained him deacon and priest on one and the same day[6]. This was in 1636, and before the year elapsed

fate on the more definite ground of 'a scandalous life and conversation, for swearing and drunkenness,' 'which parties,' says the Earl, 'is hereby required not to continue in the said University above the space of three dayes, *upon paine of imprisonment and sequestration of his goods*.' Masters-Lamb, p. 351.

[1] In Masters's *List of Members* (p. 26), Heath's election to his fellowship is given (note K) as in 1649 instead of 1641, but the error is corrected in Masters-Lamb, p. 355. He was shortly after sequestered from his living of West Grinstead.

[2] 'Rec. of Dr Love for the bookes of Mr Heaths by him to be med. £14.' 'Rec. of Mr Whichcott for some goods by him redeemed of Mr Heaths of Bennett Colt, £3.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Charles I*, PAX., pt. iii, p. 33.

[3] 'In the places of the three fellows thus ejected, Mess. Johnson, Kennet, and Fairfax, all of whom were Presbyterians, were elected.' Stokes (Dr), *Corpus Christi*, p. 104; Masters-Lamb, pp. 357-8.

[4] The original 'Ordinance for Regulating the University' ordained that 'the present committee for the association sitting at Cambridge shall cease when the Earle of Manchester shall have appointed another under his hand and seale.' Heywood and Wright, II 462.

[5] *Ibid.* II 463.

[6] See Salter's Preface to Whichcote's *Aphorisms* (ed. 1753).

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CHAP.

Whichcote had been appointed afternoon lecturer at Trinity Church. In that capacity he had already gained celebrity, when in 1643 he was presented by his college to the living of North Cadbury in Somersetshire. From thence, within little more than a year, he had been summoned back to the university by Manchester, to assume the provostship of King's College from which Collins had just been ejected, and it attests the profound respect which his character inspired, that he appears to have been admitted to that important office without being required to take the Covenant. He hesitated painfully before he could consent to occupy the place of Collins[1], whom he had so long known and revered; and his assent was finally given only on the understanding that his predecessor continued to receive half the income of the provostship. A 'small parcel of books,' valued at £5, appears to have been all that the sequestrator could appropriate of Collins' worldly goods, and that distinguished scholar now retired into comparative obscurity. Whichcote's generosity, combined with the slender stipend (dissociated from the rectory of Somersham) which Collins continued to receive as regius professor of divinity, enabled him to pass the remainder of his days in comfort[2]. We hear of him as resident in a large red brick house in Jesus Lane, facing the college, where he died, in 1651, at the age of seventy-five. With his removal, the society at King's College can hardly but have felt that they had lost their greatest living ornament. His administration, it is true, had once been challenged, but the Visitor, on enquiry, could discover 'neither carelessness nor covetousness'; between the two great contending parties in the university he seems, to a calmer age, to have held a just balance; his clear intellect discerned the value of the vast service rendered by the immortal Verulam to knowledge; he was the correspondent of the greatest

His appointment to Provost of King's College. Jan. 16[44]

His generosity to Collins.

Subsequent career of latter.

His merit as an administrator and scholar.

[1] Salter's *Preface*, u.s. 'The author,' says his editor, 'drew up a paper containing the reasons *pro* and *con* for his acceptance or refusal.'

[2] 'He was offered by the King the bishopric of Bristol in 1646, a time when the position of a bishop was becoming very precarious; but he preferred to live on in the town of Cambridge.' Austen Leigh, *King's College*, p. 131.

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CHAP. III. scholars of his time,—Vossius, Casaubon, and Sir Henry Wotton,—and to his friendship with the last his college owed the fine portrait of Father Paul which, until about the middle of the eighteenth century, continued to adorn its walls[1].

At King's College, contrary to expectation, only five fellows were ejected[2], a fact in which the influence of Whichcote may again, perhaps, be discerned; and only one sequestration, besides that of Dr Collins' books, is recorded,—that of 'Mr Young,' whose 'bookes, goods and furniture' were valued at £4.

Very different was the treatment which awaited the three colleges whose Heads,—Dr Beale, Dr Martin, and Dr Sterne,—had been doomed to a twelvemonth's imprisonment, first of all in the Tower and subsequently in Ely House or in the mansion of lord Petre. Their property had already been confiscated, they themselves were unable, even if willing, to appear, and a formal deprivation of office was accordingly the only remaining penalty left for the Commissioners to inflict. Dr Martin's pathetic description of his sufferings, drawn up three years later, proves that, beyond sparing his life, little mercy was shewn him[3]. A like severity seems to have characterised the treatment of his college, although only two sequestrations are specified in the schedule,—Dr Cox's 'bookes and goodes,' 'prized together'

[1] 'It was carried off about 1746 by the Rev. P. Montague to his college living, and it has not been possible to trace it since' (*Letter from Provost of King's*, 15 *Feb.* 1898). [Phil. Montague, M.A., 1732.] See also Cole MS. Brit. Museum, Add. MSS. 5815, p. 212.

[2] Sancroft, writing to Robert Sorsby, fellow of Emmanuel (13 Feb. 1641), says, 'At King's 30 summoned at once, *all refusers*, and daily expect their doom.' Tanner MS. LXI 271. Cooper (*Annals*, III 377) says 'six', but he erroneously includes Christopher Wase, who was only admitted a scholar in 1645. See Austen Leigh, *u.s.* p. 132.

[3] See his letter to Sir Philip Stapleton (the original of which is preserved in Queens' College) written in July or August 1647; printed in Searle's *Hist. of Queens' College*, pp. 480-1. Searle points out that 'Dr Martin was not only obnoxious for his warm zeal for episcopacy and church order, and for his activity and vigour on the royalist side, but also for the old story of his licensing the "Historical Narration"' (*Ibid.* p. 473). That he 'had stolen wheat-sheaves out of the field in harvest, and laid them to his Tithe-Shock,' we may fairly, with Walker (*Sufferings*, II 154), dismiss as mere scandal.

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at £9; and John Coldham's[1] books, which, in marked contrast to his furniture (valued at only £2), are appraised at £10. In no society, however, was the process of expulsion more summary. On the 8th of April, four fellows were ejected 'for not becoming resident in the said Colledge and not returning to the places of their usual residence there upon due summons given to that purpose.' On the following day, four more were ejected 'for refusing to take the Covenant and for other misdemeanours committed by them.' On the 11th of July, Thomas Marley was ejected for the same reason. In August Dr George Bardsey, Thomas Cox and Michael Freer were ejected 'for non-residence *and not appearing on summons.*' September saw the ejections of William Wells and Arthur Walpole for refusing the Covenant; and in 1646 and 1647 seven more fellows were intruded, of whom three succeeded to vacancies resulting from ejections, while four appear to have been added by Manchester to the fellowship list,—the total number of ejections amounting to eighteen[2]. As, moreover, all the scholars appear to have been ejected, it is probable that, in this instance, Walker's assertion, that the fellows' property in their rooms had been seized long before, holds good. So eagerly, indeed, did the sequestrators carry on their work, that we find that they even carried off a piece of plate the value of which they were subsequently required to refund[3]. 'According to the laws of the Admiralty,' says Fuller, his thoughts doubtless reverting to the pleasant days of his undergraduate career passed under the rule of uncle Davenant, the college 'might seem a true wreck, and forfeited in this land tempest, for lack

[1] A.B. 1627, A.M. 1631, S.T.B. 1638. *Grace Book Z.*

[2] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, pp. 529, 530, 540, 547, 549–50; Gray, *The Queens' College*, p. 172. 'They made,' observes Walker, 'a *Thorough Reformation* in this House, leaving neither *Fellow* nor *Scholar*. There are besides in this College 12 *Bible-Clerks* and four *Exhibitioners*. Whether they turned out any of them also (as is not improbable) I do not find expressly said.' *Sufferings*, II 158. Walker puts the number of those ejected at 19 (see *Ibid.* II 143 n.), but Dr Capel's ejection (p. 157) was owing to an illicit connexion (see Searle, p. 549); while the name of 'Chandler, B.D.' is not in the list of Fellows of this society.

[3] 'Paid back to Queenes Colledge for a peece of plate by us seized £2. 12s. 10d.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*), Vol. DXI., pt. iii, p. 47. See also, on this point, Wardale (J. R.), *Clare College, Letters* etc., pp. 8, 9.

CAP. III. of a live thing to preserve the propriety thereof[1].' His sadly jocose description is, however, challenged by Simon Patrick, who asserts that 'there were about a dozen schollars and almost half of the old fellows, the Visitors at first doing no more than putting in a majority of new to govern the college[2].' As regards this 'new' element, again, Fuller's comment, that they were 'short of the former in learning and abilities[3],' also calls for some modification. The mathematical genius of John Wallis probably lay somewhat beyond the range of the historian's observation, but the *Discourses* of John Smith, the Platonist, and the high reputation of Herbert Palmer, Dr Martin's successor in the presidency, might fairly have induced him to reconsider his verdict. A man of good family, unfeigned piety, considerable oratorical ability and great benevolence, Palmer presented a combination of fine qualities to which a poor personal presence constituted almost the sole drawback. But unfortunately his rule at Queens' was destined to last but three years, when he was removed by death and his place was filled by Thomas Horton[4]. Nathaniel Ingelo, 'a highly skilled musician,' is also justly regarded by the latest historian of the college, as entitled to rank as a fourth exception. He was transferred from his fellowship at Emmanuel to be Greek lecturer to the college; was the friend and correspondent of John Worthington; and author of *Bentivolio and Urania*, a fantastic romance in folio which reached its fourth edition, being written with a strong moral purpose and designed to counteract the growing scepticism of the polite world in the years which followed the Restoration[5].

No society was at this time regarded with less favour by

[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 322.

[2] *Autobiography*, MS. in *Patrick Papers*, p. 14 (Univ. Lib.); Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 541.

[3] A somewhat similar observation is made by Dr Peile, in relation to his own College (*Christ's College*, p. 165) and admits of less dispute.

[4] Mr Gray, in his interesting sketch, notes that Palmer was 'the son of Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham, near Canterbury, had been carefully educated at home by an accomplished father and a very religious mother, learnt French almost as soon as he could speak, and could, as he afterwards proved, preach in French as well as in English.' *The Queens' College*, pp. 172-3. Clarke in his *Lives* (1677), p. 183, says that Palmer was also distinguished as a College tutor and 'catechist.'

[5] *D. N. B.* XXVIII 432; Gray, *u.s.* p. 178; Worthington, *Diary*, etc., I 36; II 269, 270, n. 1.

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the dominant party than Jesus College, which had, for years past, been a noted centre of Laudian influence and had flourished conspicuously under the able administration of Dr Richard Sterne. Its new range of buildings on the north side of the entrance court had recently been brought to completion; the college was free from debt; its numbers were increasing. The skill with which Alcock had adapted the conventual structure to collegiate requirements still left much that appealed to aesthetic taste; while the chapel services were noted for their good music, elaborate solemnity and attractive decency. Fellow-commoners had recently multiplied; and half the existing fellows were men who had migrated from other colleges, but whom the societies which they quitted would gladly have retained. Charles Fotherby, a nephew both of Laud and of Martin Fotherby (a former bishop of Salisbury), came from Trinity; Edmund Lincoln, from Magdalene; Anthony Green and John 'Birlstone[1],' both from Christ's; Charles Bussey, vicar of All Saints, from Pembroke; Thomas Robinson, another nephew of Laud's and also brother of the keeper of the Tower, from Queens'; Richard Mason, from Corpus. A tame submission from a society thus composed was hardly to be looked for, and Ralph Blakestone, another of the fellows, had already been conspicuous by his bold denunciations of the enemies of the royal cause throughout the diocese of Norwich; while the president, Stephen Hall, on the arrival of Manchester in Cambridge, assumed an attitude of defiance which gained for him the distinction of being the first member of the university to have his property sequestered, the process having taken place on the 15th of March[2]. It was four weeks later,

CHAP. Jesus College Flourishing condition of the society at this time Ralph Blakestone Stephen Hall

[1] For Boylstone see *supra*, p. 271, n. 4. In *Register* of Jesus College his name stands as 'Joannes Boylston,' elected fellow in 1633. But in the vol. of *Subscriptions* (Univ. Registry) we find 'I do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these articles before mentioned and to all things therein contayned. John Boilston B.D. Junii 10° 1640.' In the schedule of the sequestrations, the name appears as 'Birlston'; the mere fact of the entry renders it somewhat improbable that either Allen (another fellow) or Boylestone had, as Mr Gray conjectures, 'accepted the Covenant' (*Jesus College*, p. 112), although neither of them were expelled until 1645. They may however have led the Committee to entertain hopes of their ultimate submission.

[2] 'He was also imprisoned three years in the Compter in Southwark.' Walker, *Sufferings*, II 22.

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that Manchester, in the college chapel, put the new master in formal possession. Thomas Young, whose name survives chiefly as that of the preceptor and friend of Milton, was better known in his own day as the author of the *Dies Dominica*, and also the Coryphaeus (the 'TY') of the five writers who, three years before, had made their appeal to the theological world under the collective pseudonym of SMECTYMNUUS[1]. Under his auspices, Jesus College soon became a totally changed society. Fifteen fellows were ejected, and their property sequestrated; the valuations ranging from £50[2], the price originally put upon 'Mr Lincoln's' library, down to 20s., the assessment of the modest furniture of 'Mr Mason.'

At Christ's College, Dr Bainbridge managed to hold his ground as master, but his nepotism was unavailing to maintain his relative, Christopher Bainbridge, in his fellowship, and along with the latter went Thomas Norton, William Brearley, and Thomas Wilding; while four junior fellows[3], none of whom were of three years' standing, shared their fate. A sentence of ejection was also passed on Power[4], but his advanced years pleaded in his favour, and Dr Peile inclines to the conclusion that the aged divine died within the college walls. The only other fellows who were not ejected were William Moore (or More), Ralph Widdrington,

[1] 'Young was a Scotchman, and had not graduated at either of the English universities. Such a man might seem to the divines' [at Westminster] 'eminently calculated to carry out that reformation, "as well of the statutes as of the members of the College," of which the Earl of Manchester gave warning in the mandate for his admission. Singularly little is to be gathered of his career as Master.' Gray (Arthur), *Jesus College*, p. 115.

[2] 'Rec. of Mr Brant Confeccioner for Mr Lincoln of Jesus Coll. his bookes by him redeemed £10. 00.' *State Papers Charles I (Dom.)*, Vol. ccxi, pt. iii, p. 34. An entry which brings home to us the patrician of Magdalene College employing a humble tradesman, to avoid the haggling with Manchester's functionaries as to what he was to pay to rescue his library from their clutches, and profiting, apparently, to the extent of £10 by the efforts of the negotiator.

[3] These were Gerard Wood, Ra. Tonstal, Ioh. Potts (?) and Tho. Huxley, all elected between 1640–42. 'Potts died before the end of 1644,' but Brearley 'was certainly a fellow 19 Nov. 1644,' and as 'nine fellows had been appointed before 8 March 1644,' the period of expulsions may be assigned as within the limits of the two later dates. Letter from Dr Peile, 23 Nov. 1907.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 245-6.

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and Henry More, the Platonist[1], whose first work, *The Song of the Soul*, had recently been given to the world. The sequestrations recorded are those of the goods of Norton, William Brearley, Wilding, and Michael Honywood. Of these the last, only, calls for notice. Honywood, who was, at this time, residing at Utrecht, had quitted Cambridge in 1643; and his absence must have been no slight blow to a society of which he had not only been the President, but, to quote Dr Peile's expression, 'the mainstay.' It was owing chiefly to his energy that the new 'fellows' Buildings' had been erected, and the college was at this time in his debt to a considerable amount for monies advanced[2]. His library, valued at £20, was now redeemed by his brother Henry[3]. His living, the valuable rectory of Kegworth in Leicestershire, was also sequestrated.

CHAP. I

Michael Honywood b. 1597. d. 1681.

At St John's College, on the 11th April 1644, the society was called upon by Manchester to admit John Arrowsmith as Dr Beale's successor. He was a Durham man, and had formerly been a member of the college, but had migrated to St Catherine's in 1642 on his election to a fellowship on that foundation, and was at this time a member of the Westminster Assembly, being especially employed in writing (at the request of that body) against the Antinomians. In the month following upon his installation (which took place in the college chapel) we hear of him as one of the preachers at Westminster on that memorable day of humiliation (17 May), when, as Baillie relates, the whole Assembly passed the hours from nine to five in praying and singing psalms and hearing sermons. Arrowsmith himself, on that occasion, preached for a whole hour. Notwithstanding a serious physical defect, —he had a glass eye 'in place of that which was put out by ane arrow,'—he discharged the office of vice-chancellor in the academic year 1647–8; while he appears throughout to have been an indefatigable student, his attainments as a theologian

St John's College. John Arrowsmith: b. 1602. d. 1659.

His [illegible] as Master

[1] The statement of Widdrington that both the Mores accepted the Covenant, is confirmed by that of Sancroft, who, writing to Sorsby in Feb. 164½, expressly says, 'the two Mores comply.' Tanner MS. LXI 271. See Peile: *Hist. of Christ's College*, p. 165.

[2] Letter from Dr Peile, October 1907.

[3] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles the First*, DXL, pt. iii, p. 33.

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CHAP. III.

being held in the highest esteem. His installation was preceded and followed by numerous ejections among the fellows of St John's,—the president, Thomas Thornton, William Bodurda a Welshman, and chaplain to bishop Williams, the three Barwicks, John, William and Peter, William Lacy, a Yorkshireman, who subsequently joined the army and became chaplain to prince Rupert; Richard Bulkeley, a native of Anglesey, who, indebted to a royal mandate for his fellowship, subsequently gave good proof of his gratitude by securing Anglesey for the royal cause, and finally himself falling in the fight in North Wales. A no less enthusiastic royalist was John Otway, on whom Peter Barwick bestows frequent encomiums, as one who '*first, of all the university of Cambridge*, was not afraid publickly and learnedly to defend the royal cause against the wicked association of those which were thence called the Associated Counties...*first of all* was thrown into prison for that heroick action, and being *first of all* expelled the university, courageously led up the first rank, as it were, of academick combatants[1].' Equally conspicuous, although in a different manner, was John Cleveland. The satirist of 'Smectymnuus[2]' and of Cromwell himself, could hardly hope for mercy; and abandoning his furniture[3], valued at only £3. 7*s*. 6*d*. (we find no mention of books), had already betaken himself to Oxford. We find only two other sequestrations recorded at St John's—(those of Dr Beale's property and Mr Bodurda's, amounting to £10. 15*s*. 0*d*. and £3. 18*s*. 8*d*. respectively)—a fact which may perhaps be ex-

Expulsion of Thornton, Bodurda, the Barwicks, W. Lacy, Bulkeley and John Otway.

Courageous opposition of the last to the Association.

Expulsion of Cleveland, already fled to Oxford.

Remarkable sequestrations.

[1] *Life of Barwick*, pp. 140-1. Otway was a Yorkshireman, who had been educated at Sedbergh School (see Platt's *Sedbergh*, pp. 35, 36, 71-75, 93, 98, 100-2, 106, 108, 111, 119-21, 193). On the occasion of his election to a fellowship at St John's, to which he was admitted 24 Mar. 1640, we find Gilbert Nelson, the master of Sedbergh, writing to the college authorities to thank them for their 'free election of Sir Otway as fellow' (Baker-Mayor, pp. 295, 510). 'Sir Otway' became, after the Restoration, *Sir John Otway*, in recognition of his distinguished services to the royal cause.

[2] See 'Smectymnuus; or the Club Divines' (*Works*, pp. 27-30), one of Cleveland's most trenchant pieces of satire.

[3] 'Perceiving the ostracism that was intended, he became a voluntier in his academic exile.' *Life* prefixed to *Works* (ed. 1687). The statement of Walker (*Sufferings*, II 150) that Cleveland died from the effects of his imprisonment is not corroborated by the writer of the *Life*, who (p. 4) distinctly refers the poet's death, which occurred two years after his release, to 'a disease at that time epidemical.'

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plained by the condition to which the whole college had been reduced by its conversion into a prison. 'There were but nine admitted of that great college that year,' says Henry Newcome, after recording his admission under Zachary Cawdrey (10 May 1644), 'and when I commenced master of arts there was but three commencers in our college[1].' At Emmanuel College in the same year, the admissions were 81, the record entry of the century on that foundation[2]. CHAP.

At St Catherine's, Dr Brownrig's services and known moderation sufficed to postpone his ejection, but only for a year[3]. He was then supplanted by another of the Smectymnuans, William Spurstowe[4], a divine of considerable eminence in his day, who had been educated at Emmanuel, but had migrated from thence to St Catherine's, where he was elected to a fellowship which he continued to hold until his preferment in 1637 to the rectorship of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire. Here he necessarily became acquainted with the squire of the parish, John Hampden,—at that time deeply interested in the foundation of the new settlement at Connecticut and also fighting his famous battle against the payment of ship-money,—and the friendship that resulted is said to have materially influenced Spurstowe's subsequent career; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that it may have been contributory to the decision of the Westminster Assembly in 1645 (when Hampden himself was no more) to nominate Spurstowe, himself a member of their body, to the mastership from which Brownrig had eventually been con-

[1] *Autobiography* (Chetham Soc.), p. 7.

[2] *Abstract of Admissions*, etc., 1584–1750.

[3] The ostensible reason of his imprisonment and ejection was 'the preaching the inauguration sermon of the King, wherein many passages were distasted by the parliament party.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 322. Brownrig was vice-chancellor at the time and had to give heavy bail for his appearance, on being temporarily released in order that he might give up his accounts. Two London merchants were his sureties. *Biog. Brit.*, ed. Kippis, II 674–6.

[4] The UUS representing his initials. 'It is an interesting fact that of the other authors, Edmund Calamy sent his second son Benjamin to St Catharine's, where he became a very successful tutor, and also his third son James; and Matthew Newcomen, who was protected by the influence of John Knowles our Tutor, sent his son Stephen to the College in 1660. Newcomen and Calamy had married two sisters.' Bishop of Bristol (Dr G. F. Browne), *St Catharine's College*, p. 111.

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strained to retire[1]. For the present, however, no further changes took place, and the sequestrator passed by the gates of the college hallowed by the memory of Sibbes.

Very different were the experiences of Magdalene College under Dr Edward Rainbowe, afterwards bishop of Carlisle. The son of a Lincolnshire vicar, he had received his earliest education from a mother who is said to have been acquainted with Latin, Greek and Hebrew; had subsequently studied under John Williams at the time when the latter was a prebendary of Peterborough; had followed him, on his promotion to the deanery of Westminster, to become a scholar at Westminster School; and in 1623 had entered at Christchurch, Oxford. Two years later, however, the countess of Warwick presented him to a scholarship at Magdalene College, and Rainbowe's academic career was thereby diverted to Cambridge. From 1630 to 1633 he was absent from the university and filled for a time a curacy in the Savoy Chapel in London, but was recalled in the latter year by the offer of a fellowship at Magdalene; here he was soon after appointed tutor and in that capacity achieved a marked success. In 1637 he became dean of the college and was also presented to the living of Childerley, near Cambridge. The earls of Suffolk were hereditary Visitors of Magdalene; and among Rainbowe's pupils were two sons of Theophilus, the second earl, who, according to Mr Purnell, also appointed him 'trustee of a settlement which he executed in 1640.' In 1642 he succeeded to the mastership, on the nomination of James, the third earl, 'who was thereby carrying out a promise made by his father[2].'

Rainbowe's appointment must be regarded as a turning point in the history of the college, suffering, as the society had long been, from the depression consequent upon the alienation, in the preceding century, of the college property

[1] Gardiner's estimate of the Westminster Assembly as, 'the creature of Parliament, and only authorised to give advice upon subjects on which Parliament desired its assent' (*Great Civil War*, i. 272), appears hardly to do justice to the fact that the House was often materially influenced by the representations of the Assembly and sometimes received petitions from it.

[2] *Hist. of Magdalene College*, p. 109.

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in London[1]. By his tact and ability, those influential connexions, which have ever since been one of the leading distinctions of the society, were developed and extended,—especially with the noble houses of Northumberland, Suffolk, Deincourt, Warwick and Orrery. Nor do such associations appear to have been in any way prejudicial to the growth of that genuinely studious element for which Magdalene was already noted. 'The scholars of this college,' says Fuller, 'though furthest from the schools, were in my time observed first there and to as good purpose as any. Every year this house produced some eminent scholars, as living cheaper and privater, freer from town temptations by their remote situation.' And he adds that, in 1635, when he was about quitting Cambridge, the society numbered 140, including 'officers and servants,' there being eleven fellows and twenty-two scholars,—the rest apparently (excluding the servants) being represented by a considerable number of pensioners, mostly of good family[2]. Manchester, who had recently, for the second time, contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Rich family[3], can hardly have been disposed to deal harshly with an institution under the especial patronage of the house of Warwick, but the society had been convicted, beyond all denial, of compliance with the royal demand for the college plate, and it was necessary to make an example. No less than nine of the eleven fellows were consequently expelled, among them John Howorth, who became master after the Restoration, and also vice-chancellor; his 'bookes,' valued at 13*s.* 4*d.*, and 'other goodes,' £3. 16*s.* 8*d.*, together with the goods of Mr Pullen, £7. 10*s.* 0*d.*,—subsequently 'redeemed by his brother,'—are the only two sequestrations at this college recorded in the schedule. How Dr Rainbowe himself 'got over the Covenant,' to quote Mr Purnell's expression,

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Fuller's testimony the high reputation the college his time

Rainbowe continues master nine of fellows expelled

[1] See Vol. II 195–6. The whole story of the process whereby 'some seven acres in the heart of the City of London' were lost to the college and of the unsuccessful endeavours made to recover this magnificent property is told by Mr Purnell in his chapter 'Our City Property, and how we lost it.' *Magdalene College*, pp. 65-77.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 132.

[3] See Burke's *Peerage*; or the more concise account of Edward Montagu's five marriages, by Miss Porter in the *D. N. B.* xxxviii 231.

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'is not known[1].' For the present, he managed to retain office, as also did Richard Perrinchief, a recently elected fellow, of whom we shall hear again. In the mean time, John Saltmarsh, a former member (although not a fellow), and once a zealous defender of the *etcetera* oath, had assumed an attitude of complete tergiversation, assailing with his pen even the tolerant Thomas Fuller, and advocating, as we shall shortly see, the cause of unrestricted freedom both in the press and in matters of religious belief.

At Trinity College, the master, Dr Comber, notwithstanding his beneficent and irreproachable rule and generally admirable character, was summarily ejected to make way for Thomas Hill. His offence, as a refuser of the Covenant, was aggravated by the fact that he had recently been detected in forwarding to the king the residue of the college plate, only some half-dozen pieces of any value having been kept back[2]. He was consequently treated with exceptional rigour, and, although in his seventieth year, was not only removed but imprisoned. Little is known respecting this amiable scholar's subsequent experiences. He died in 1654, and was interred in St Botolph's Church in Cambridge, where no monument has ever been erected to his memory; but his funeral sermon, preached by Dr Robert Boreman,—a former fellow, and for some time Hebrew lecturer in the college,—although couched in terms of somewhat excessive eulogy, embodies facts which attest his genuine merit[3]. 'Dr Comber,' wrote Henry

[1] *Hist. of Magdalene College*, p. 109.

[2] Ball (W. W. R.), *Notes on Trinity College*, pp. 92-93. I am indebted to the Rev. A. H. F. Boughey, Senior Dean and late Tutor of the College, for the following additional memorandum: 'Plate was sent to the King on June 29 and again on July 24. How much was sent is unknown, but it was probably a large quantity. Accusation was brought by the Earl of Manchester's Commission, against Dr Beaw, fellow of Trinity and rector of Orwell, that he was mainly instrumental, "going round to the Fellows' chambers with the College servants to fetch their plate to the end that it might be in readiness."' The Bursar's accounts have an entry: "Bestowed on the souldiers and those that watched the plate in the New Court" [*i.e.* Nevile's Court].'

[3] *The Triumph of Faith over Death, or the Just Man's Memorial: comprised in a Panegyrick and Sermon, at the Funerall of the Religious, most Learned Dr Combar* (sic), *late Master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, and Deane of Carlisle. Delivered in Trinity Colledge Chappell.* By R. B. *B.D.*, the 29 of March 1653 (*sic*). London, Printed by J. G. for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivy-Lane, 1654. Dr Comber is to be distinguished from his cousin, the dean of Durham and *also named Thomas*. See *D. N. B.*

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Paman of St John's to William Sancroft, 'had leave to be buried in his own vineyard: and, though he might not live upon his own ground, he may sleep and rest there. He showed so much gentleness while he lived, there is no fear of an angry tormenting ghost[1].'

But however sincere may have been the sympathy which followed the master on his expulsion, the treatment which Herbert Thorndike was called upon to encounter probably excited deeper interest and wider commiseration. His defeat in the candidature for the mastership of Sidney[2] was still fresh in men's memories; and two recent tractates from his pen[3] had, apparently, inspired the Presbyterian party with the hope that his views on the burning question of Church government and discipline might prove not altogether irreconcileable with their own[4]. Over such a convert, should he become one, they might well rejoice. Thorndike's conspicuous abilities had led John Williams to promote him to a prebendal stall in the cathedral at Lincoln[5]; George Herbert had appointed him his deputy in the office of Public Orator; the duke of Lennox, a discerning benefactor, and one of his former pupils, is supposed by Haddan to have given him effective aid at Court[6]. In Trinity itself, he had discharged in succession the duties of Greek reader, lecturer in Hebrew, tutor and senior bursar; and his reputation was already established as an Oriental scholar and the compiler of a lexicon of the Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic languages. He was now sequestered, in the first instance, from his living at Barley, and subsequently from his fellowship, was deprived

[1] Harl. MSS. 3783, p. 124.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 253–5.

[3] (i) *Of the Government of Churches: A Discourse pointing at the Primitive Form.* 1641. (ii) *Of Religious Assemblies and the Publick Service of God: A Discourse according to Apostolicall Rule and Practice.* 1642. Both printed by 'Roger Daniel Printer to the Universitie.' See Bowes, pp. 26 and 29.

[4] See Thorndike-Haddan, vi 183–186.

[5] This he resigned in 1640, on being presented to the Crown living of Claybrook in Leicestershire, which had been before held by George Herbert, the statutes of Trinity not allowing a fellow of the society to hold *two* pieces of preferment conjointly with a fellowship. See Thorndike-Haddan, vi 179, notes *y* and *a*.

[6] *Ibid.* vi 179–80. The duke of Lennox, subsequently of Richmond, son of Esmé Stuart; a staunch loyalist whose own end was hastened by his sorrow at Charles's execution. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, II, bk. xiv.

also of the greater part of his choice library, while his regular income was, for some years, limited to the prescribed 'one-fifth' of his former incumbency. This, however, Calamy assures us, was 'punctually paid' him by his successor, Nathaniel Ball[1], and, according to Kennet[2], was supplemented by occasional bounties from his college as well as by the generous hand of his friend, lord Scudamore[3]. His books, as estimated by the despoiler, amounted to £32. 4*s.* 0*d.*, his other goods, to £2,—a contrast completely inverted in the case of 'Mr Nevill,' whose books amounted only to eleven shillings, while the other goods, inclusive of that rare luxury, a feather bed and bolster, valued at £2, attained to a total of £11. 2*s.* 2*d.* Dr Cheney Row, who lay under the twofold charge of having been not only accessory to forwarding the plate to the king but also of having sought to recover the arms wrested from the university by the parliamentarians, was deprived both of his fellowship and his living,—the rich rectory of Orwell. His furniture (no books are mentioned) was valued at £5. 6*s.* 8*d.* A certain Dr Meredith, of whom, says Walker, 'I know nothing more,' was mulcted of books and goods 'prized att' £10. Altogether, some forty-seven fellows and three conducts were ejected, and among the former there are yet two more names which cannot be passed by unmentioned,—that of Abraham Cowley, who retired, in the first instance, to St John's College, Oxford, and from thence to Paris. The second was Thomas Sclater, a fellow of the society, who was afterwards made a baronet and approved himself a generous benefactor to the college. A quarter of a century after his expulsion, we find Sir Thomas advancing the funds whereby Trinity was enabled to erect four additional arches on the north side of Nevile's Court,

[1] *Life of Baxter*, II[2] 362. Nathaniel Ball of King's College, afterwards one of Walton's chief assistants in his *Polyglot*. Calamy speaks of Thorndike as 'Dr,' which, says Baker, 'he never was, tho' he had the King's mandat to that purpose.' MS. *note ad loc.*

[2] *Chronicle*, p. 861.

[3] Calamy's statement as to Ball's 'punctual' payment, is somewhat at variance with that of Thorndike himself, who, writing to William Sancroft in Dec. 1657, speaks of 'troubles'...'calling in question a great part of my subsistence.' Thorndike-Haddan, VI 127, 195.

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thus prolonging that side of the court so as to bring it into contact with the newly erected Library. He further defrayed the expense of erecting two chambers over the said arches, of which the society, in grateful recognition, gave him 'the free disposeing' during his lifetime; and also provided that, after his decease, 'the said two chambers' should 'be inhabited and enjoyed freely by one of the relations of the name and nearest of bloud of the said Sir Thomas Sclater, being of the degree of a master of arts or fellow commoner then liveing in the said Colledge during his stay' therein[1].

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Of the eight seniors on whom the government of the society properly devolved, but one now remained, a state of affairs which it was before long found necessary to bring under the notice of parliament, and in the following year an ordinance of the House of Lords gave direction that, 'the well-managing of the many affairs of that great college being much hindered,' 'Dr Medcalfe, Hebrew professor in Cambridge, be, according to that indulgence which the statute of that college allows him[2] upon the relinquishing of his professor's place, put into one of the fellowships of Trinity College; and that Dr Pratt be likewise put into the Physic place; and that these two doctors may, by the Master and fellows of Trinity College, be received into two of the fellowships vacant by ejectment,—videlicet, Dr Medcalfe into Mr Marshall's fellowship, and Dr Pratt into Mr Nevill's fellowship,—and that they, enjoying the benefit of seniority according to the seniority in the university, be likewise admitted into two of the places of the eight seniors, to exercise the power, receive the profits, and enjoy all the privileges belonging to the place of a senior in Trinity Colledge[3].' A similar enactment, in the following year, relating to scholarships which had become vacant owing to ejections on like grounds, resulted in corresponding changes among the junior members of the society[4]. But the new

[1] Willis-Clark, II 519-21.

[2] *Documents*, III 461-3.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, VII 575; *Commons' Journals*, IV 281. In November 1645, *four* names are given of individuals, as 'made senior fellows of Trinity College, to act as seniors to all intents and purposes.' Cooper, III 396.

[4] *Order presented to the House of Lords a third time and approved*, Feb. 1645-6, 'for putting divers Scholars into those places in Trynity Colledge in Cambridge, as have been

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At Emmanuel College, Holdsworth, now sickening in the Tower, was formally deposed from the mastership to make way for Dr Tuckney, a cousin of John Cotton, who had succeeded him as vicar of Boston. In anticipation of the revolution which he had foreseen and predicted, Holdsworth had sought to set his house in order; and in a letter to his 'much esteemed friend,' Whichcote, had done his best to propitiate the commissioners by offering to surrender a portion of his library and consigning his furniture to his successor as a free gift, and also by making good the college plate which he had sent away[2]. In April, 1644, we accordingly find Manchester writing to forbid the sequestration of Holdsworth's library on the ground that, as 'I am informed by some of the fellows of Emmanuel College,' 'he hath given it, or a great part

put out by Ordinance of Parliament.' *Lords' Journals*, VIII 146.

[1] *Notes on Trinity College*, p. 94.

[2] 'The college hath a share of my books which I hope will preserve the whole. The furniture of my lodging it must needs go, it will please the better if they give it to my successor than to a sequestrator. The college plate for which I stand engaged must be supply'd whatever else miscarry; *if other fellows have not restored theirs, it is no example for me nor credit for them.* There is as much plate as will satisfy left behind as a pawn. I pray take it into your custody, and now account it not mine but the college's.' 'Feb. 13, 1644.' *Emmanuel College Bennet MS.*, p. 75.

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thereof, to the college[1].' In fact, all that the sequestrator was eventually able to lay hands on was the hay and wood stored up in the master's outhouses and valued at only £2. 15*s.* 0*d.* The valuable library of Nicholas Hall, one of the fellows, appraised at £45, was redeemed by himself, subject, however, to a reduction of £5, to which he was entitled as the 'fifth' which was left to him on the sequestration of his rectory at Loughborough. His 'other goods' amounted to only £5. The sequestrations of two other fellows,—'Mr Sowersby[2]' and 'Mr Welles,'—amounted to £8. 5*s.* 0*d.* and £5 respectively; the former including 'folios and a quarto' valued at £3, and the latter, 'bookes' valued at £2. Another noteworthy name, included by Cooper among the ejected, that of Thomas Holbech, who succeeded to the mastership in 1675[3], can hardly be classed among the 'sufferers' by the Covenant.

At Sidney College, the solitary recorded sequestration of the goods of one 'Mr Dendreth,' valued at only 13*s.* 4*d.*, might lead us to infer that Cromwell's own college was shielded by his influence. This, however, was very far from being the case; and neither Seth Ward's exemplary devotion to the late master, nor Robert Bertie's active support in the election of Dr Minshull, availed them anything. Bertie was forthwith ejected; of whom, says Walker, who describes him as 'a charitable good man,' 'I find this note, *Regis mandato admissus, temporum injuria pulsus*[4],' but respecting whom we hear nothing more. The other ejections were those of

[1] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 94.

[2] 'Apr. 8, 1644. Mr Sorsby's name was cut out of the Butteries, by command from the Lord Manchester.' Worthington's *Diary* (ed. Crossley), I, p. 20. For the circumstances of his ejection, see Shuckburgh, pp. 95, 96.

[3] 'Holbeche' is the only name mentioned by Cooper (*Annals*, III 379) 'amongst the ejected fellows' at Emmanuel. Shuckburgh, however, observes that 'R. Sorsby' (Sowersby), 'who had been acting as deputy Master during the sequestration,' was the 'only other case of ejection besides Holdsworth.' 'The determination of the fellowships of Holbech, Hall and Wright in 1642,' he adds, [referring perhaps to Walker's observation (*Sufferings*, II 144 *r*)], 'cannot count as ejection; they were merely declared to be superannuated according to the *de more* statute' (*Emm. College*, p. 95). It is however evident that neither Sorsby nor Hall were able to escape confiscation of their property. Of Holbech's personal property there is no mention in the schedule. For statute *de Mora Sociorum* see author's *History*, II 315–8.

[4] *Sufferings*, etc., II 159 *l.*

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Edward Gibson, John Lawson and John Pawson; and Sancroft, writing to Sorsby of Emmanuel on the 13th of February, states that there were 'none left but Covenanters.' Of Lawson, he says that 'he died presentely after, and was a dying man long before, not being able to carry his answer to the Comittee, but forc't to send it in in writing[1].' Seth Ward, on the other hand, achieved a reputation which still lives in history. As one of the authors of that already notorious protest against the Covenant,—the *Certain Disquisitions*,—he had small expectation of clemency, and it was in his absence from the university, in August 1644, that he 'received the news that his ejection was voted and put into execution.' Along with Edward Gibson, another fellow of Sidney, he had, prior to his departure, appeared before the Committee, and the two had made a joint protest against the ambiguous terms in which the order for their eviction was couched[2].

Long after, when he himself was bishop of Salisbury, Ward had the pleasure of presenting his friend to 'a good living in Hertfordshire.' Notwithstanding his attainments, he was no mere academic recluse, and, although he remained single throughout his life, might, his biographer assures us, have easily placed himself beyond all fear of want by marriage[3]. We hear of him as spending a pleasant time with some relatives of his late beloved master near London, and next, as the guest of Oughtred of King's College at his rectory of Albury in Surrey, where their joint devotion to mathematical studies served not a little to divert their thoughts from the distraction that reigned around. We find him next at Aspenden (his native village in Hertfordshire), educating the sons of his friend Ralph Freeman; then the guest of lord

[1] Tanner MS. lxi 271.

[2] '... they desired to know if the Committee had any crime to object against them. They answered they had not; they declared the reason why they asked was that they understood some were ejected for not taking the Covenant and others for Immoralities; to which they received this answer, that those were words of course put into all their Orders of Ejection.' Pope (Walter), *Life of Seth Ward* (1697), p. 16. Cf. John Barwick's complaint in the *Querela Cant.* (pp. 27, 28)—'they have also robbed us of our good names, branding all of us in our severall writs of Ejectment with a black Character of *misdemeanors* in generall.' See also *supra*, p. 275.

[3] Pope, *u. s.* p. 17.

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Wenmore, at his seat near Oxford; and, finally, entering the haven of the professorial chair in that university as successor to his friend, John Greaves. The latter, at this time a fellow of Merton, although only recently promoted to the Savilian professorship of Astronomy, was already anticipating his ejection from the post, for in addition to his own determination not to take the Covenant, he was well known to have given active support to the royal cause by a loan from the college treasury[1]. Despairing, accordingly, of being able to maintain his tenure of his chair, he strongly urged upon Ward that he should become a candidate for the appointment. 'If *you* refuse it,' he said, 'they will give it to some cobler of their party who never heard the name of Euclid or the mathematics, and yet will eagerly snap at it for the salaries sake.' His friend yielded to this appeal, and was shortly after inducted into the chair which Henry Briggs of St John's had been the first to fill. 'So that,' continues the narrator, 'the very same thing that caused his ejection out of Cambridge was the cause also of his preferment in Oxford[2].'

The warden of Wadham, at this time, was the famous Dr Wilkins, and, to use Anthony Wood's expression, it was 'for the sake of Wilkins[3],' that Ward, at the former's express invitation, now took up his residence in the college. It was a somewhat singular conjunction between remarkable eccentricity and exemplary sobriety in relation both to scientific and religious thought. Wilkins, whose practical sagacity may be presumed, when we note that he subsequently married Cromwell's sister and became, for a brief period, master of Trinity at Cambridge, was a scholar who transferred to science the fanaticism which he condemned in theology;

[1] A further aggravation of his offence was that he had drawn up and procured signatures to a petition for the deposition of Nathaniel Brent, the Presbyterian warden of Merton at that time. See Clark (Andr.), *The Colleges of Oxford* (1891), p. 64.

[2] Pope, *u. s.* pp. 19–20. The difficulty presented by the fact that Ward himself had 'been turn'd out of Cambridge for refusing the Covenant,' was removed, according to his biographer, by the influence of Sir John Trevor (the elder), 'who tho' of the Parliament Party, was a great lover of Learning' and 'preserved' him 'in the Professor's chair'...'without taking the Covenant, or Engagement.' *Ibid.* pp. 20–21.

[3] *Athenæ*, II 527.

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[1] His *Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668) embodies, it has been said, the most scientific conception of the subject, down to that of *Esperanto*.

[2] See *supra*, p. 252, n. 2.

[3] '...only seven admissions are recorded at Wadham in 1643...in 1644 there are three, in 1645 none.' '...there are fifty-seven admissions in Mr Gardiner's *Register* for the year 1650, and they average twenty-eight for the next three years.' Wells (J.), *Merton College*, pp. 56, 67. See also Burrows (Mont.), *Register of the Visitors of the Univ. of Oxford* (1647–1658), *Introd.*, p. cxxi.

[4] *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 111.

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Seth Ward as his instructor, may be inferred from the fact that, on his death-bed, he appointed him his sole heir[1]; while Ward's sense of his own indebtedness to Greaves was shewn in a not less practical manner[2].

If Fuller's estimate of the comparative merits of the ejected and intruded, in connexion with a single college[3], can hardly be accepted without demur, that of Walker, pronounced half a century later, with respect to the same parties throughout the university, may well seem yet more questionable. He declares, without qualification, that those who now succeeded to office and emolument in the university of Cambridge, 'were in *every way and in every degree inferior* to those who went out[4],'—an assertion more easily understood when we bear in mind that his laborious folio appeared in the year 1712,—a time when High Church feeling was at its highest. But it is probable that his estimate of the comparative merits of the ejected and the intruded was also that of the majority of their Cambridge contemporaries. As regards Oxford, Montagu Burrows cites as 'a remark which has often been made,' and one which, he considers, has 'truth in it,' the more moderate verdict,—that 'the persons intruded by the Visitors were *quite as good* men as those ejected[5].' Unfortunately he, also, fails to recognize the important difference between those who accepted the Covenant and those who, five years later, swore to the Engagement. In either case, however, such a judgement on the comparative merits of individuals was materially, perhaps inevitably, biassed by the critic's own prepossessions with respect to the question at issue. Otherwise, it would seem probable, *à priori*, that a specially selected body of men, drawn from different colleges and chosen with respect to their ascertained qualifications, would be likely to represent a higher standard of efficiency than would a corresponding

[1] Ward (Jo.), *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, pp. 90–95.

[2] '...for whom he procur'd the full arrears of his salary, amounting to five hundred pounds, for part, if not all the land allotted to pay the Savilian professors lies in Kent, which county was in the power of the Parliament, who withheld the money, etc.' Pope, *Life*, *u. s.* p. 21.

[3] See *supra*, p. 300.

[4] *Sufferings*, etc., i 114 *l.*

[5] *Register* (*u.s.*), *Introd.* p. lxxxiii.

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CHAP. VII. number whose training had been, for the most part, limited to that imparted by one particular society. As regards the estimate formed by contemporaries, we have also to remember, that Whichcote, at this time, was not much over thirty and had not yet exhibited his full powers; while Cudworth, at Clare, was seven years his junior and still only master of arts; that Lazarus Seaman must have seemed a poor substitute for Cosin, whether in respect of scholarship or of ability; and that to all sympathisers with the Anglican school of theology, Richard Vines, notwithstanding his reputation as a Greek scholar, could hardly have appeared comparable to Dr Laney. Richard Crashaw when, at Pembroke, in 1634, he published his *Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber*,—Vines, being then still a schoolmaster at Hinckley,—ushered in his Epigrams with no less than three dedications,—the first to Laney, as master of his college; the second to Tournay, his tutor; the third to Brook, who had been his master at Charterhouse,—approaching each, in turn, with skilful adulation, which culminated with the Master,—himself, we can well understand, never dreaming that the Head of Pembroke would one day be called upon to yield place to the schoolmaster of a remote little Warwickshire township. As an impressive personality, and one whose tolerant and generous nature won upon all with whom he came in contact, Laney must at this time have appeared, to most, greatly the superior of the newly-elected member of the Assembly, and to do Vines justice, it was with no little reluctance that he entered on the duties of the mastership, more especially when he noted the scanty remnant of scholars and the half-ruinous condition of the college buildings[1]. Of Holdsworth, again, it may be said, that while fully Tuckney's equal in scholarship and intellectual force, he impresses us as a man of far finer spirit; while to dispassionate judges, a similar, if not so marked, an inferiority can scarcely but have suggested itself when they contrasted the signal merits and approved experience of a Brownrig, a Sterne, a William Beale, and a Comber[2], with

[1] *Epigrammatum Sacrorum Liber*: Cantabrigiae, ex Academiae celeberrimo typographeo, 1634.

[2] '...a very treasury of knowledge.

the presumed qualifications of William Spurstowe[1], Thomas Young, John Arrowsmith[2], and Thomas Hill[3],—the most that can be urged in favour of any one of the latter four, being, perhaps, that he did not discredit his election.

It must, however, be noted that Manchester, in making less important appointments, deserves the credit of having apparently done his best to consult the feelings of the respective societies into which entirely new elements were thus intruded. In a letter printed by Masters, a copy of which appears to have been sent round to each of the colleges, he instructs the master and fellows of Corpus Christi College to send him 'the names of such schollers in your colledge whom you judge most capeable of fellowships, that they may be examyned and made fellowes, if *upon examination they shall be approved*[4].' Three months later, a second letter informs the same body that 'Mr Daniel Johnson and Mr Richard Kennett have been examined and approved by the Assembly of Divines now sitting at Westminster.....as fitt to be fellowes[5].' Each fellow, thus examined and approved, made formal promise 'to labor to

both in the Greeke and Latine Fathers, together with the Schoolmen and Councells, Church history, and moderne writers. Adde to this his incomparable dexterity in the Easterne and Westerne languages, as Hebrew, Arabick, Coptick, Samaritane, Syriack, Caldee, Persian, Greeke and Latine, in which he was most excellent; likewise the French, Spanish, and Italian which he understood and could speake.' *The Triumph of Faith over Death*, p. 8. [Funeral sermon for Comber, preached in 'Trinity College Chappell. By R. B. B.D. (Boreman), the 29 of March, 1653. Printed by J. G. for R. Royston, at the Angel in Ivy-Lane. 1654.'] The above quotation is from the *Life and Death* prefixed to the Sermon.

[1] Of Spurstowe, Calamy tells us (*Life of Baxter*, i 281) that he was 'a man of great humility and meekness, and great charity, both in giving and forgiving. He always had an innocent and grateful chearfulnesse in his converse, which render'd it very acceptable. He was of a very peaceable disposition,'—virtues which, however much they might win personal regard for the possessor, by no means involved administrative capacity or profound acquirements.

[2] Both Whichcote and Thomas Baker, while testifying to Arrowsmith's high worth, lay the chief stress on his amiable character. See author's *History of St John's*, p. 131. He succeeded Hill in the mastership of Trinity, and, according to Mr Ball, 'was almost as unpopular, though a trifle less intolerant.' *Notes on Trinity College*, p. 96.

[3] 'Hill,' says Mr Ball, 'was a bitter Calvinist, and was detested in the college.' *Ibid.* p. 94.

[4] Masters-Lamb, p. 357. 'Dr Hoyle reported the names of some that had been examined for fellowship in Cambridge.' *Journal of Assembly of Divines* (Sept. 17, 1644), Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 311.

[5] Masters-Lamb, p. 357.

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CHAP. III. promote piety and learninge in my selfe, schollers and studentes that doe or shall belong to the saide colledge, *agreable to the late solemn nationall* LEAGUE AND COVENANT by me sworne and subscribed with respect to all the good and wholesome statutes of the said colledge and of the university *correspondent to the said Covenant*[1].' Although, however, the existing Head and fellows were thus allowed a certain voice with respect to the choice of those who succeeded in the places of the expelled, it is evident that the change which resulted must have been accompanied by much that was prejudicial to real harmony and good feeling. Dr Venn calls attention to the fact that 'the intruded fellows were not placed at the bottom of the list, like those elected in the ordinary way, but came in at once as seniors, being sometimes treated simply as substitutes for those ejected[2].'

With regard to the Covenant itself, it might of course be alleged that, as its acceptance had already been made obligatory on every Englishman over the age of eighteen, there was no special hardship involved in its imposition on the members of the universities[3]; and Gardiner observes that 'the excluded fellows were treated as Puritans had been treated before, and as Catholics had been treated earlier still.' 'As long,' he adds, 'as the State is allowed to decide what religion is to be taught, it must begin by laying a heavy hand on the school and the college[4].'

That the demands involved were found 'heavy' by the great majority of educated Englishmen in those days admits

[1] Masters-Lamb, p. 356.

[2] *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius College*, III 89. More generally the intruded fellow took his place according to 'seniority as in the University Register' (see Baker-Mayor, p. 297 *l.* 10; Masters-Lamb, p. 358), but in some cases, as in Trinity College (*supra*, p. 311), he appears to have at once succeeded to the position *in the college itself* formerly held by the fellow whom he displaced. Manchester's instructions were to 'give each of the new fellows his place *according to his seniority in the Universitie* in reference to all those that are or hereafter shall be put in by me.' Quoted in *Registers of Pembroke College*, II 72.

[3] 5 Feb. 1644; see Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, I 354. Manchester's instruction to the Cambridge Committee,—'that you forbeare to admit any person or persons into any office within your colledge fore you shall receive a certificate under our hands that such person hath taken the national league and covenant,'—is dated 18 Jan. 164$\frac{4}{5}$. See Heywood and Wright, II 463.

[4] Gardiner, *u. s.* I 356.

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of no doubt; and of this we can hardly perhaps cite more convincing proof than is to be found in the treatise in which, in the year 1647, Jasper Mayne, doctor of divinity and senior student of Christ Church, sought to vindicate himself from the 'causeless aspersions' cast upon him by Francis Cheynell[1]. Cheynell, who at this time, was both fellow of Merton and Lady Margaret professor, was especially active in urging that the acceptance of the Covenant should be made imperative on every holder of office or emolument in Oxford. He was indeed the incarnation of Presbyterian intolerance, and it was still fresh in the memory of every master of arts throughout the university how his merciless importunities had harassed the dying hours of the ablest defender of the cause of toleration that the seventeenth century produced, and how he had hurled the *Religion of Protestants* into the grave of Chillingworth, 'to rot with its author.' It can hardly be said that the mantle of Chillingworth had descended upon Jasper Mayne, who certainly was not a profound theologian; but he was nevertheless by birth and attainments no unfitting representative alike of that great party in both the universities which regarded fanaticism like that of Cheynell with aversion not unmingled with contempt, as well as of that illustrious society of which he was a fellow. Although in orders and subsequently archdeacon of Chichester, he composed more than one English comedy; his critical discernment made him an admirer of Lucian, whose *Dialogues* he partly translated; while his poetic fancy and power of felicitous expression gave to the productions of his muse an undeniable charm. But most of all he loved the recondite learning, the traditions of art, and the historical associations which adorned the National Church,—the proposal to abolish forthwith both the episcopal office and the English liturgy filling him with absolute dismay. He looked upon it, indeed, as simply a kind of barbarism to call for the destruction of everything that in statuary or stained glass brought back

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Jasper Mayne, canon of Christ Church: b. 1604, d. 1672.

His action in relation to the Covenant a good example of the views of many Oxford scholars at this time.

[1] *A late Printed Sermon against False Prophets, vindicated by Letter from the causeless Aspersions of Mr Francis Cheynell.* By Jasper Mayne, D.D., the mis-understood Author of it. Printed in the yeare 1647.

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CHAP. III. memories of a Past when Luther and Calvin were still unknown names; and although attaching but slight importance to those details of ritual and ceremonial which Laud had sought to revive, he regarded that long succession of prelates of whom the murdered prelate seemed likely to be the last, with a reverence which did credit alike to his intellect and his heart. 'In short,' he wrote, 'let the King and Parliament agree to burn copes and surplices, to throw away the Common Prayer Book, or to break our windows, I shall not place so much religion in them as not to think them alterable, and this done by right authority. But as for the Covenant, 'tis a pill, Sir, which no secular interest can so sweeten to me, that I should think myself obliged to be so far *of any man's religion*, as to swallow both parts of a contradiction in an oath, if it appear to me to be such[1].'

His reasons for rejecting the Covenant.

It is evident indeed that, as applied to the two universities, the Covenant was an *intrusive* and not a merely defensive formula, calling upon men, mostly divines and exceptionally impressed by a sense of the sanctity of an oath, to renounce what they held most binding on their conscience and their honour as pledged to uphold the traditions of a learned community.

The Commencement of 1645.

When Commencement time again came round, it was still deemed impracticable at Cambridge to hold the customary solemnities,—students being liable to be tempted away, at any moment, to join the levies that were taking place all around and even at sea[2]. The author of the *Burning Bush* complacently records that, in default of the customary academic festivities, Sturbridge Fair was 'goodly and full, with free trade and comfortable commerce as was formerly accustomed in our most peaceable times[3].' The more dis-

[1] *Sermon*, u. s., pp. 21, 23, 55.

[2] They were exempted, however, from impressment (see Husband's *Ordinances*, ser. II 662). With the establishment of the Commonwealth, such service appears to have been regarded as discretionary, but was distinctly encouraged. In April 1649, an order from the Council of State to Dr Hill, 'master of Trinity House [*i.e.* College] Cambridge,' enjoins that 'such students of that society *as are willing to go in the summer's fleet*' may not be prejudiced 'in their election to fellowships to be made about Michaelmas.' *State Papers (Dom.)*, 1649-50, 14 April 1649.

[3] Vicars (Jo.), *The Burning Bush not consumed*. [4to. 1646] p. 23. Vicars, who was of Queen's College,

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cerning minds could not, however, but be aware that an all-important crisis in the history of both universities had commenced and that the difficulties which confronted the 'reformers' in Cambridge were of no ordinary magnitude. Even, indeed, at this interval of time, the resolute and doubtless conscientious policy of the new administrators of the university, aided as it was by both Houses of Parliament with unwonted unanimity, cannot but be followed by the student of history with considerable interest; and he will recognise that the earlier measures now taken under consideration,—the compensation of Heads of colleges for the losses involved in the late changes, the lightening the burdens which weighed on the whole academic community, and the protection of the university from the arbitrary interference of the town authorities,—were both wise and politic. The letter which Manchester had addressed to the House of Lords, in connexion with the first of these measures, affords a good illustration of the point of view from which Heads of colleges had hitherto regarded their acceptance of canonries or benefices tenable conjointly with their office. The object of his letter is to plead that, under the changed conditions which now presented themselves, the holders of masterships may receive more liberal stipends, these being places, as he observes, 'of great credit and of manifold weighty employments,' and involving 'many extraordinary expences, not only in regard of books, apparel, and servants, but also in often entertainments of persons of divers qualities visiting the university.' 'The smallness of outward means,' he observes, 'will much lessen their authority among many,' and he accordingly suggests three hundred per annum as 'the least that can conveniently be conferred.' For while formerly, he points out, 'these places were steps to ecclesiastical dignities and preferment,' 'their maintenance' having been 'augmented by deaneries, archdeaconries, prebendaries, and such like means, *which you have judged fit to*

Oxford (where he does not appear to have graduated), was a virulent controversialist on the Presbyterian side in the controversy which was now impending between his party and the Independents.

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condemn, in your endeavours of Church Reformation,' it would be 'an unhappy necessity' if the present holders should be compelled, in order to eke out their incomes, 'to take pastoral charges in the country.' If that were to come about, he goes on to shew, non-residency would necessarily follow, and their service to the colleges and the university would suffer in proportion. He concludes with the suggestion that the deficit might fairly be met 'out of that yearly revenue which was wont to be paid to the bishop of Ely out of the Exchequer[1].'

Remedy which he suggests.

The Heads petition that the Colleges may be exempted from taxation.

The resources, not only of the university, but of all the colleges, had, indeed, by this time become so seriously diminished in consequence of the war, that, five months later, a deputation, composed of the Heads and other leading members of the university, with Palmer, the new president of Queens', as their spokesman, appeared before the Commons to represent the critical state of affairs,—urging that, 'unlesse these societies may be freed and exempted (according to their charter and the indulgence of former parliaments) from all military taxes and other contributions to the publike service,' they would no longer be able to support their students. This appeal met with immediate response—and was granted with only one proviso, namely 'that the tenants who enjoy leases from the said University and Colledges respectively doe claime no freedome, exception, or advantage by this ordinance[2].'

Ordinance to that effect, 11 Apr. 1645.

The divisions between Presbyterian and Independent become a fresh source of Oration.

It was now that the Presbyterian party in the university, its victory well assured, began to discover in the growing strength of the Independents a scarcely less formidable opposition than that which it had overthrown. The quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell, who respectively represented the two bodies, had terminated in a complete rupture[3]; while the Self-Denying Ordinance, passed in April 1645, had materially diminished the earl's influence by rendering it necessary for him to resign his military

[1] *Lords' Journals*, VII 52; Cooper, *Annals*, III 382-3.

[2] Heywood and Wright, II 464-5.

[3] Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, ed. Carlyle-Lomas, I 184-7.

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command. It was already a moot question whether this same Ordinance would not compel him also to resign the authority with which he had been invested fifteen months before, as head of the Committee for regulating the university. At this juncture the Heads at Cambridge rallied to his support; and notwithstanding that the petition presented by his officers in the army against his removal as *their* chief had proved ineffectual[1], Arrowsmith, the master of St John's, was now deputed to present to the Commons a petition signed by 'divers Masters of several Colleges,' expressing their hope that the Self-Denying Ordinance might not be interpreted by the House as involving Manchester's 'resignation of the authority he hath over the University of Cambridge.' Before assenting to this request, the Commons intimated that they should like to be assured that the Lords would be ready to agree that the Provostship of Eton College should not be included in the operation of the Ordinance,—the provost at that time being Francis Rous, who had already taken the Covenant and subsequently joined the Independents[2]. The Lords, however, intimated, in turn, that they should first like to know what the Commons meant to do with respect to Manchester. And ultimately, on the 14th of June, the Commons decided on the appointment of a Committee, 'to consider of a fitting power to be intrusted and settled in a Committee for the Regulating of the University of Cambridge, and to prepare an Ordinance to that Purpose[3].'

The 14th of June was the day on which Charles was defeated at Naseby, and the tidings was before long followed

[1] Manchester had resigned his commission on 2nd April 1645, the day before the Self-Denying Ordinance passed the House of Lords; his officers' petition, presented in the preceding January, had deprecated his removal on the ground that it would 'breed a great confusion amongst them by reason of the differences between Presbyterians and Independents.' Whitaker (Jer.), *Diary*, p. 185; *D. N. B.* xxxviii 229. Cromwell's efforts 'to seduce the army' to Independency were, of course, regarded with no favour by the Presbyterian Heads at Cambridge. See Baillie's *Letters*, ii 185; *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell* (Camd. Soc.), p. 76.

[2] Rous was chairman of the Parliamentary Visitation of the University of Oxford in 1647. Burrows, *Register of the Visitors*, p. lxii.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, iv 174; Cooper, *Annals*, iii 385.

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CHAP. III. by that of Goring's defeat at Langport and the surrender of Bridgenorth,—intelligence which gave rise to no little exultation among the newly elected Heads and fellows at Cambridge, the claret flowing freely at St John's in honour of the second event[1]. 'When Naseby was won,' says Masson, 'a sense of departing superiority sank on the spirits of the Presbyterians,' while he sums up Richard Baxter's oft-quoted description of his visit to Cromwell's quarters at Leicester, in the following week, as bringing home to us, 'a ferment of Anti-Presbyterianism, Anti-Scotticism, Independency, and Tolerationism, passing on into a drift of universally democratic opinion[2].' Only two years before his visit to Leicester, that zealous young Presbyterian divine had received from Cromwell, then at Cambridge, the offer of the chaplaincy to his forces. He had declined the proposal, but as he now noted the war of creeds in the camp around him, and was conscious of Cromwell's chilling reception, he could not but ask himself whether, if he had recognised the call, he might not have been an instrument in averting, in some measure, the deplorable results which had actually ensued[3].

In the course of a few more days, it became evident that the ascendancy now acquired by the parliamentary party, was being construed by the townsmen of Cambridge itself in a sense which even the newly appointed Heads found far from acceptable. The enfeebled condition of the university, its poverty and disorganization, seemed to favour a revival of the ancient aggressions of the town; and once again the academic liberties, jurisdiction and immunities

[1] The 27th of June was made a day of thanksgiving for Naseby, when 'by Mr Maior's [*i.e.* John Lowry's] appointment, wine was ordered and the soldiers in Cambridge received a gratuity.' See the *Accounts of the Town Treasurers*, quoted by Cooper, III 395. 'For 6 quartes of clarett wine in the Hall at dinner upon the day of Thanksgiving for the routing of the Lord Goring's forces at Langport, July 22, 1645.' *St John's College Rental Book*, 1644 1649. [Langport in Somersetshire, not 'Lamport' as Masson prints it III² 338.] See also Bond (John), B.L., *Ortus Occidentalis* (1645), p. 33.

[2] *Life of Milton*, III⁴ 384, 386. Among the papers which fell into Cromwell's hands at Naseby was one which proved that Charles proposed to treat with Parliament because 'he expected Presbyterians and Independents to fall out and so help him to his own.' Gardiner in *D.N.B.* X 82.

[3] Calamy, *Life of Baxter* (1702), pp. 87 88.

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were distinctly perceived to be in peril. The mayor himself, John Lowry, flung down the gauntlet, by refusing to take the customary oath whereby all his predecessors had successively bound themselves to respect those traditional rights; and the letter is still extant, wherein, after detailing the pains he has been at to serve the cause of the Commons, he appeals to Lenthall, the Speaker, not to pronounce upon the merits of the question until he or Cromwell shall have been heard in his defence[1]. As he had himself represented the Town in the Commons, along with Cromwell, ever since the opening of the Long Parliament, he could claim to be heard as not only mayor of the borough but also a member of the House. The Heads, however, were on the alert; and, four days after Lowry's letter was penned, we find seven of their number[2] presenting a lengthy appeal[3] to Lords and Commons conjointly, urging that, after due consideration, the grievances which are therein set forth may be redressed. These grievances were certainly of no sentimental order. John Lowry, by omitting to give notice to the vice-chancellor of the ceremony, at which, in the ordinary course, the oath would be administered to himself and the bailiffs, and openly refusing to take any such oath whenever it might be proffered, had placed in jeopardy a series of academic liberties, privileges and immunities on which, to quote the language of the petitioners, 'the just and fitting security for the peace of the university' largely depended,—'the survey of weights and measures,' 'the assize, assay and government of bread, beer and victuals,' 'the licensing and disallowing of public ale-houses and victualling houses,' and, what was perhaps valued as much as all these, 'the jurisdiction' which enabled the vice-chancellor to institute enquiry

[1] 'If their should be anie thing moved, that consernce the Town and the Universitie, I pray you let it be put ofe, untill either Mr Cromwell my Partner or my self be theare, that their may be nothing done to the preiudise of our Towne, who are so faithful and leall for you.' MSS. Baker, xxxv 57.

[2] These were Drs Anthony Tuckney, John Arrowsmith, Thomas Hill, Lazarus Seaman, Herbert Palmer, Richard Vines, and William Spurstowe.

[3] *Lords' Journals*, VII 525-7. [Printed at length in Cooper, *Annals*, III 389-392.]

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CHAP. III. at Great St Mary's into all cases wherein a scholar, servant, or minister of the university alleged himself to have been arrested or 'vexed' by a member, or members, of the town community[1]. The suppliant Heads, accordingly, 'in the behalf of themselves and the whole university,' now besought the two Houses to be pleased to order 'that the said mayor and bailiffs may forthwith take their oath, as their predecessors have done for well near three hundred years[2].' The response of the Lords to this appeal was eminently reassuring, in that it conveyed a provisional assent to all the demands of the petitioners, the 'Committee of the Association' at Cambridge being enjoined to maintain the university in full possession of its liberties and privileges until the whole question should have been decided *by both Houses*. The said Committee was further instructed 'to tender the Oath usually taken by all former Mayors to the present Mayor of Cambridge'; 'and in case,' says the Order, 'he shall refuse to take the said Oath, to certify unto this House upon what grounds he doth refuse it[3].' The Committee appointed by the House of Commons appears, at first, to have fully concurred in this decision, and had arranged a day, the 15th of August, for the consideration of the petition of the Heads. But on the 14th, a petition from Lowry himself was presented, and order was thereupon given by the whole House, that, so far as the petitioner and his refusal to take the Oath were concerned, the devolution to the Cambridge Committee should be rescinded, and that the question should be dealt with by the Committee entrusted with 'the consideration of the Petition presented from the Heads of the Colleges of the University of Cambridge[4].' When, accordingly, the Committee at Cambridge, in pursuance of their instructions, sent to Lowry, 'to give account of his refusal to take the Oath,' he produced a copy of the Order whereby his case was 'referred to a Committee of Parliament men[5],' and his petition and that of the Heads were now dealt with

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 391.
[2] *Ibid.* 392.
[3] *Lords' Journals*, u. s.
[4] *Commons' Journals*, IV 241.
[5] Cooper, *Annals*, III 393.

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by the two Houses, for the most part concurrently, but independently of each other; while, six weeks later, we find that Cromwell and Lowry himself were added to the 'Committee concerning the business between the University of Cambridge and the Town.' As it was at the same time enacted that any member of the House should be entitled to vote, we can well understand that the discussions now assumed an importance which led the Grand Committee for Religion to hold a sitting at which it assumed to itself 'the consideration of the Ordinance for regulating and reforming the University of Cambridge'; and that, eventually, it was determined to appoint a COMMISSION, to be nominated by both Houses, with instructions 'to view the laws and statutes of the University' as well as of 'particular Colleges and Halls' and to suggest 'alterations and remedies.' At the same time, two new Committees were nominated,—the first, to take into consideration the filling up of the vacant fellowships and scholarships,—the second, 'to consider how godly and religious preaching may be established, both in the University Church and in the other parish churches in the town[1].' It was, however, the powers vested in the Commission that chiefly struck dismay into those of the royalist party who, having purchased a precarious prolongation of tenure of fellowships and office, by their acceptance of the Covenant, still held on at Cambridge; for it was now evident that it was the design of Parliament to arrogate to itself that royal and exclusive prerogative of Visitation, which Laud, it is true, had claimed as metropolitan, but never actually exercised[2], and which, in the following year, the authorities at Oxford maintained, in their untiring resistance to the newly intruded Visitors, to be inalienable from the Crown. Had it been known at Cambridge, that Charles was at this very time negotiating with the Independents, and also considering a scheme for the landing of French troops, the enthusiasm for the defence of his prerogative would probably have undergone a certain diminution[3]. As it was, the

[1] *Commons' Journals*, IV 312.
[2] *Supra*, pp. 123-5.
[3] See Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, II 375-9.

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royal right to visit was now destined to lie dormant for nearly forty years, until re-asserted, with such deplorable results, by Charles's second son.

In the mean time, the contest between the vice-chancellor and the mayor continued to be waged, although on the narrower question of precedency, but destined, ultimately, to be brought to a conclusion by an act of unusual arrogance on the part of the town dignitary. The employment of the poor was then, as now, a constantly recurrent question at Cambridge; and in the year 1642, a certain Roger Thompson, following the example set by Hobson, the carrier[1], had bequeathed a sum of two hundred pounds as a further endowment of the premises, or 'workhouse,' which had already been erected. With this money, Thompson's executors had purchased an estate at Westwick (in the parish of Oakington), but in the deed conveying the same, it was found that the vendors had placed the mayor's name before that of the vice-chancellor. The executors, indignant at this affront to the university, had consequently refused to pay the legacy, whereupon proceedings in Chancery were commenced against them by the Corporation[2]. The House of Commons, perceiving its opportunity, had forthwith appointed a Committee to take into consideration 'the several Oaths that are taken either in the Universities or by sheriffs, or in any city, borough, or town corporate[3].' But in the following January, the Lords, at the petition of Dr Hill (now both vice-chancellor and master of Trinity), gave order that the question of precedence, between the vice-chancellor and the mayor, should be argued, by counsel on both sides, before the House on the third of the following February[4]. The mayor, in the mean time, received a copy of the petition, and at a meeting of the Town councillors it was resolved that 'the dignity of the Corporation should be defended to the uttermost and that the Mayor's charges should be borne by

[1] For the 'Benefaction of Thomas Hobson,' see *Endowments* (1904), pp. 559–565.

[2] *Corporation Day Book*; Cooper, *Annals*, III 402.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, IV 736; Cooper, *Ibid.*

[4] Cooper, *Ibid.* III 403–4.

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the Town[1].' When, however, the cause came on for hearing, the counsel for the university was able to cite precedents and call witnesses whose evidence as to 'rights, custom and usage' was decisive in his favour; while the mayor's counsel, although stoutly affirming that it was in his power to adduce evidence to prove the contrary, was fain to ask for time to bring up his witnesses, they being, according to his representations not only 'very old,' but, some of them, 'very sick[2].' The Lords, accordingly, after staying the proceedings in Chancery, consented to adjourn the further hearing of the cause for three months. The case came on again on the 5th of May, and on the same day the witnesses were dismissed from further attendance. At the next hearing, order was given that 'the Deed ingrossed, wherein the Mayor of the Town of Cambridge caused his name to be written before the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, be cancelled and made void'; and at the final hearing, which took place five days later, further order was given, 'that the Mayor, upon sight of this order, cause a new Deed to be made, wherein the Vice-chancellor's name shall be placed first, as of Right it ought,... that so things in reference to the Workhouse may be executed jointly by the Vice-chancellor and Mayor, according to the Tenor of the Will and the Intention of the Donor[3].' Before another week had elapsed, the Lords again took under consideration the petition of the Heads, and, after adverting, in a preamble, to the fact that the Committee of Association now no longer existed, and that, since the dissolution of the same, 'the university privileges had been divers ways infringed,' gave order to the following effect:—

CHAP.

The witnesses [illegible] the Town [illegible] forthcom[illegible]

Orders finally [illegible] by the L[illegible] for the making [illegible] new Deed

and for th[illegible] maintenan[illegible] of the University [illegible] its rights [illegible] privileges [illegible] May 1642.

'*That the Mayor of Cambridge and his Successors, and his several Officers, shall from time to time, and all times hereafter, suffer the University of Cambridge quietly and peaceably to use and to enjoy all such Liberties and Privileges as to them belong by Grant, Charter, Composition, or otherwise, whereof they were possessed at the beginning of this Parliament, until further Order be taken by this House*[4].'

[1] *Corporation Day Book*; Cooper, *Annals*, III 404.

[2] *Lords' Journals*, VIII 698; Cooper, *Ibid.*

[3] *Lords' Journals*, IX 188; Cooper, III 409.

[4] *Lords' Journals*, IX 197; Cooper, III 410.

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CHAP. III. The subsequent tendency of events, however, was but little calculated to enhance the respect with which orders emanating from the Lords were regarded throughout the country; and on the 29th of September,—the day following upon that on which alderman Warner, 'a determined Independent,' was elected to the Lord Mayoralty in London, when the Guildhall itself and the approaches to the building were guarded by a strong body of soldiers[1],—Mr Kitchingman, the successor to John Lowry, assumed the office of mayor in Cambridge. Prior to so doing, he had plainly declared to the councillors, that he would accept office and take the oath to the university, only on condition that 'the Corporation would agree to save him harmles and indemnified against the Universitie in case any trouble or charge shall hereafter happen upon and for such his refusal of the said oath to the Universitie or doing any other act concerning the Towne[2].' In more modern and less technical English, what Kitchingman meant to say was, that he held the required Oath more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and intended to disregard it, and possibly decline again to take it, on a future occasion, if only the Corporation would hold him indemnified for so doing,—a condition to which the Corporation, then and there, and again in the following year, cordially assented[3]. In all probability, however, this apparently stolid and unreasoning repudiation of the required Oath was mainly designed to serve as an expression of the growing contempt with which an Oath, generally, was coming to be regarded throughout the realm,—a sinister feature which led Butler, in his *Hudibras*, to designate perjury as 'a saint-like virtue,' and the numerous conversions to Presbyterianism now taking place as those of men who

> ...to the Glory of the Lord
> Perjur'd themselves and broke their word[4].

In short, it was almost as notorious in the Town as in

[1] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III 205.

[2] *Corporation Day Book*; Cooper, III 416-7.

[3] *Corporation Day Book*; Cooper, III 424.

[4] Butler (Sam.), *Hudibras* (ed. (1822), I 367; Cant. II 136-7.

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CHAP.

the University, that those members of the latter body who had taken the Covenant, had already, to quote the language of Zachary Grey, 'taken two several oaths to maintain that Church government, which the Covenant obliged them to extirpate: namely, when they took their degrees in the university, and when they entered into holy orders; and some of them,' he adds, 'when they became members of cathedral churches[1].' The most probable interpretation, accordingly, of the fact that Lowry's successor in the mayoralty, when intimating, in the same breath, his intention of both taking the usual oath and forthwith breaking it, would seem to be that it was simply to shew,—not a little to the amusement of his fellow-councillors,—how fully he sympathised with that general contempt for the taking of oaths which was becoming, day by day, more prevalent.

Perjury involved in acceptance of the Covenant universal graduates

Spirit in which Kinchin declared readiness to take the Mayor

It was, however, in a very different spirit from that of the bluff councilman of the town, that,—in the interval between the petition of the Heads in relation to Lowry's refusal of the Oath and his successor's scornful acceptance of the same,—Thomas Hill, master of Trinity, before entering upon the duties of the vice-chancellorship, had contemplated the obligations involved in the Oath which would be tendered to him on the assumption of office. Highly esteemed as a divine, and not less celebrated as a preacher, he was especially distinguished by the fervour with which he insisted on that emotional form of religious belief which has been somewhat irreverently designated as 'pectoral theology[2].' And it was, consequently, with a feeling approaching consternation, that he now contemplated the fact that it would devolve upon him, as a solemn duty[3], at the end of term, to grant absolution to the regents and non-regents '*in nomine Patris, Filii, Spiritus Sancti*, they kneeling upon their knees.' He neither claimed, nor would he admit, that any such power

Dr Thos Hill's scruples with reg to his ac as Vice-chancell

[1] Butler, *Hudibras* (*u. s.*), i 404; cf. Fuller-Brewer, vi 171-2.

[2] 'He would sometimes lay his hand upon his breast and say with emphasis, "Every Christian has something here that will frame an argument against Arminianism."' Hunter (J.), *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 44.

[3] 'Jurabis quod bene et fideliter praestabis omnia quae spectant ad officium procancellarii hujus Academiae.' *Liber Statut.*, p. 529.

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CHAP. III. was vested in him, either by virtue of his office or of his profession, and he, accordingly, sought himself to be absolved from the obligation involved in his oath, not only by petitioning the House of Lords to grant him release, but even venturing to suggest the following sentence,—*Hoc in me recipio, in quantum statutis et ordinationibus Regni non repugnat*,—as a clause which, if appended to the oath, would serve to relieve his conscience. The response to his prayer was singularly prompt; for on the following day it was ordained by the Lords and Commons conjointly, that 'for the present, till the statutes of the University of Cambridge can be surveyed,' the vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge should take the customary oath, but with the above clause subjoined[1]. The appointment, in the following September, of the Committee instructed to consider the whole question of Corporate oaths[2], must consequently, in all probability, be attributed quite as much to the conscientious scruples of the vice-chancellor, as to the captious objections of the mayor.

Towards the close of the year 1645, the two recently appointed Committees having sent in their reports, the Commons gave order that, in Trinity, St John's and King's, the master and seniors should forthwith be empowered to exercise their statutable authority for the nominating and electing of fellows. Their choice, in the first instance, was to be limited 'to such scholars as are, by the statutes of the College, capable to be chosen,' but, should there not be 'a sufficient number of such,' they were empowered 'by authority of Parliament,' 'to chuse and make up the number of their fellows elsewhere,'—a proviso which brings home to us, very forcibly, the depleted condition of these societies at that time[3]. In the following February, a new ordinance extended this freedom to other colleges generally, while both Jesus and Peterhouse were to have power to elect 'without presenting names to any bishop[4].' The recommendations of the second

[1] *Lords' Journals*, VII 712; Cooper, *Annals*, III 397.

[2] *Supra*, p. 330.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, III 396.

[4] 'As if the Fellows ejected had been dead or resigned their fellowships.' *Lords' Journals*, VIII 165; Cooper, *Annals*, III 398-9.

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Committee imposed upon the Heads a somewhat novel obligation,—that of themselves personally supplying the 'morning course' at Great St Mary's 'on the Lord's Day'; and also of providing for good preaching there in the afternoon, as well as on fast-days and days of thanksgiving, 'in order that there may be a constant course of orthodox and edifying Sermons[1].'

The labours of the Commission charged with the 'survey' of the statutes demanded, necessarily, a longer period for their completion; but in the mean time the more practical minds in the university were turning their attention to certain minor reforms and improvements the desirability of which could not well be called in question. Among other matters, it was now suggested that the present juncture was no unfavorable one for acquiring possession of archbishop Bancroft's Library. By the conditions of the donor's will, that valuable collection had, some thirty years before, become the rightful property of the university, but was still lying piled up 'in the study over the cloisters' at Lambeth. It had, moreover, since Bancroft's time, been augmented by volumes given by archbishop Abbott and others, with the design of rendering the collection more complete[2]. A petition was accordingly now drawn up that the whole might be transferred to the care of the university[3]. The Lords referred the question to five of their number[4] for consideration, to whom was added Mr Justice Bacon, to advise on any legal points that might arise; while all the five were desired 'to go to Lambeth and peruse the library there, and report to the House[5].' A year, however, elapsed before the assent of Parliament was given; and it may be conjectured that the employment of a certain amount of interest was necessary,

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 469; *Lords' Journals*, VIII 165.

[2] 'Whereas there are divers books in the study over the cloisters in Lambeth, amongst those of archbishop Bancroft's...which said books were added to those of archbishop Bancroft's by his successor archbishop Abbott and others, for the perfecting and completing of that library, *from which they cannot now be severed without much prejudice thereunto*, etc.' *Lords' Journals*, IX 102.

[3] Heywood and Wright, II 467.

[4] The earls of Manchester and Lincoln and the lords Roberts, North, and Montague. *Lords' Journals*, VIII 171.

[5] *Ibid.*

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CHAP. III. as we find the university addressing special letters of thanks to Manchester, Lenthall and John Selden[1] for their good offices in the matter. 'We gaze with exultation at the vast collection,' said the letter[2]. But with the arrival of the volumes, the former question recurred of how to provide for their reception? The generous design of Buckingham[3] had collapsed with the death of its author; the university had no funds; and it was only after long delay that Parliament came to the rescue with an order that the sum of two thousand pounds should be granted 'for the building and finishing of the public library' at Cambridge. It would perhaps be unjust to say that those who supported the grant thought to discern in it an opportunity for giving the friends of learning a useful political lesson, but there must have seemed something of grim irony in the proviso that the money was to be 'paid out of the estates and lands of deans and chapters[4],'—an appropriation certainly little in harmony with the principles and views of the departed scholars to whom the university was indebted for those literary treasures which, for the next fourteen years, added to the enrichment of its shelves[5].

Parliamentary grant toward the erection of a new Library: 23 Mar. 1646.

[1] To Selden, indeed, who had shortly before declined the mastership of Trinity Hall, the thanks of Cambridge were especially due as to one who had been educated at the sister university. But it would have been difficult in 1645 to have pleaded on behalf of Oxford.

[2] 'Joanni Seldeno. Cum te nuper cupiremus academiae nostrae partem et in parva praefectura magnum praesidem, ambitioni nostrae datum est non consultum tibi, intulisses enim in Cantabrigiam illud nominis et literarum quod ab illa vicissim acceperis non potuisses. Sed id nobis ut succederet, cum multa non paterentur, quod proximum potuisti de Bibliotheca nobis prospicis. *Vim librorum tuorum agnoscimus et gloriamur.*' Wilkins, *Vita Seldeni*, in Selden's *Works*, I xli. Heywood and Wright, II 518 9. It was in connexion with his efforts on this occasion that Selden's name was placed in the Commemoration Service as a benefactor to the Library. The expense of bringing the books to Cambridge was defrayed by a contribution levied on the Colleges; *e.g.* 'To Mr Hughes, one of the Esquire Bedles, for the Colledg proportion of charges for bringing home to the Universitie the books given by the Parliament, £3. 8. 0.' Venn, III 93. 'To Mr Hughes, towards the charges in bringing downe Lambeth Library, £12. 6. 8.' *St John's College Rental Book*, 1646.

[3] See *supra*, p. 74.

[4] *Commons' Journals*, v 512.

[5] 'A body so loyal to the Crown,' observes Bradshaw, 'as the university shewed itself after the Restoration, was, of course, bound altogether to ignore any act of munificence displayed towards it by the Parliament during the Civil War; though they did not feel bound to disgorge all the good things they had become possessed of thereby' (*The University Library*, p. 20). The books were sent back to Lambeth after the Restoration. See Chap. V.

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CHAP. III.

The Committee for the University was instructed to see to it, that the above £2000 'be forthwith raised and issued accordingly,' but the Lords withheld their assent; they concurred, however, in an order which was at the same time given for the payment of five hundred pounds 'out of the receipts at Goldsmiths' Hall, to Mr George Thomason, stationer, for buying of the said Thomason a library or collection of books in the Eastern languages, of very great value, late brought out of Italy, and having been the library of a learned Rabbi[1] there, according to the printed catalogue thereof; and that the said library or collection of books be bestowed upon the public library in the university of Cambridge[2].' To Selden and Lightfoot it was entrusted to carry out these instructions, and 'the books,' says Bradshaw, 'were brought down and soon made available for use. This was the foundation of our Hebrew library[3].' It must not be left unmentioned that Thomason himself received the thanks of both Houses, for 'his pains in bringing over the collection from Italy' and 'his good affections therein to the encouragement of learning in this kingdom.' Although, indeed, the worthy collector's sympathies were well known to be with the royalist party, it appears to have been generally understood that his services were impartially bestowed on all that tended to the preservation of good literature, irrespective of politics[4].

The Lords having regard to the source from whence the money is taken, withhold their assent but concur in a grant for the purchase from Thomason of a collection of Hebrew books.

In 1645 it had been enacted that all who should in future be admitted to any degree should not only take an oath that they had been observant of the statutes of the university in the past, and would continue to be so in the future, but also that they should at the same time admit (which had not been previously required) their liability to such pains and penalties as were imposed for non-fulfilment of their oath[5]. In October 1646 an important financial reform was introduced. It appeared that the funds of two of the university

Important reforms introduced by the authorities: in matter of admission to degrees, management of the finances, lectures on anatomy, care of university instruments, and duties of the treasurer.

[1] Isaac Pragi. Lightfoot's own collection of Oriental MSS. was bequeathed by him to Harvard College and was destroyed by the fire. See *supra*, p. 200. *D. N. B.* xxxiii 230.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, *u. s.* See also *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 1 (Mar. 28—Apr. 4, 1648), sign. A 2.

[3] *The University Library*, p. 19.

[4] See *N. and Q.* ser. 3, iv 413.

[5] Dyer, *Privileges of the University*, i 242.

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CHAP. III. chests,—those of Fenn and Neel,—had for the last five years been expended without any account having been rendered. It was now enacted that an audit should take place and an account be drawn up[1]. In the same year order was given that the 'Regius reader in medicine' should resume his anatomical demonstrations, the statute at the same time animadverting severely on the neglect into which, through a paltry economy, the study of practical anatomy had been allowed to fall[2]. Further investigations brought to light the fact, that as far back as 1620 a Syndicate had been appointed to inspect and put in order the muniments of the university, but that it had failed to carry out its instructions. A new Syndicate was accordingly now appointed, in which the names of Love, Rainbowe, Duport, Cudworth, Whichcot, Wheelock, Hobart, Worthington and Minshull (the personal friend of Cromwell), gave promise of more effective service[3].

Further measures of reform in 1647.

A few months later, in February 1647, it was further ordered that the Proctors' Books, described as almost illegible through lapse of time, should be transcribed afresh and reduced to proper sequence[4]. On the 29th of April a Grace was carried, enforcing a more efficient performance of the duties of the Registrarship, the stipend of that office having been recently increased[5].

'Invitations' on the part of Candidates forbidden by Grace. 2 Apr. 1647.

The riotous 'feasts or banquets' usual among students, when their disputations were over, were now prohibited by a Grace of the Senate, and those either giving such entertainments or accepting invitations to them were made liable to a fine of twenty shillings or suspension from their degrees. It is to be noted that these 'invitations' are described as of comparatively recent growth, and their abolition is especially grounded on the fact that they did a great deal to contribute to that expensiveness of the two universities of which parents, at this time, were so loudly complaining[6].

[1] Dyer, *Privileges*, I 242. For particulars relating to these Chests, see *Endowments* (1904), pp. 556–7.

[2] Dyer, *Ibid.* I 243.

[3] *Ibid.* I 242–3.

[4] *Ibid.* I 245–6; Cooper, *Annals*, III 405–6.

[5] Cooper, *Ibid.* III 407.

[6] 'Cum pessimo more candidati, post disputationes in Scholis, privatas, et majoribus nostris penitus ignotas, *invitationes* induxerint; ad

Notwithstanding the numerous expulsions and departures, there was still, in the language of a Report sent up to the Lords, 'a great store of malignants' both in the university and the town; and, in concert apparently with Oxford, another strenuous effort was made to shake off the newly-imposed restrictions. In this endeavour St John's College took an active part. Two of its leading fellows,—Zachary Cawdry (afterwards well known as the author of the *Discourse of Patronage*), and George Hutton,—were now denounced as contributors to the funds of the royal cause and infringers of the ordinances. The former, it was alleged, had recently on various occasions used the Book of Common Prayer, married with the ring, and baptised with the sign of the Cross; the latter had sanctioned the use of the Burial Service at the funeral of one of his pupils. Cawdry was consequently deprived of his office of proctor[1]; and in the year 1649, on being presented to the rectory of Barthomley in Cheshire, finally quitted Cambridge. Hutton was suspended from the important function of Senior Regent[2].

In the autumn, the recurrence of the plague again gave proof of the insanitary condition of the town, and strangers

grandem Academiae infamiam, *et gravissimas expensas et damnum eorum qui summo labore suo et cura studiosa alunt*,' etc. Dyer, *Privileges*, i 247.

[1] No exercise of arbitrary power evoked more disapprobation: 'that ingenuous, learned and pious man, Mr Zachary Cawdrey.' H. Newcome, *Autobiography*, p. 7.—'that darling of men, Mr Zachary Cawdrey, so famed then for loyalty, learning and ingenuity, and after so noted in Cheshire for his singular zeal, piety and moderation.' *Life of Matthew Robinson* (ed. Mayor), p. 16.—'who (*i.e.* Cawdry) having been newly elected, and being ready to make his first speech to the university, was seized by a Catchpole, together with one Master Hutton, senior Regent of that Universitie'... 'and brought to London before the Committee of Sequestrations, upon suspicion of much loyalty and learning: where Manchester (that University Cankerworme) took care that there should be no justice, as appeares by the sequel, in voting these gentlemen out of office to make roome for creatures of his owne constitution. But what that is, neither he nor any body else knowes, because it changes oftener than the moone, and varies with the weather.' *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 16 (*Dec.* 28, 1647 *to* Tuesday, *Jann.* 4, 1648), sign. Q 3 v. Cawdry, a Leicestershire man, and Hutton, a native of Durham, had been admitted fellows of the college at the same time,—15 Apr. 1641. Baker-Mayor, p. 235.

[2] This office, whereby a certain elected master of arts was constituted a member of the *Caput*, was filled by annual election from those who were of not more than five years' standing. Wall, *University Ceremonies* (ed. Gunning), pp. 29, 30; *Lords' Journals*, IX 555.

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CHAP. III. visiting Cambridge were struck by the ill-paved and malodorous state of its streets. Representations on the subject having been made, however, to the House of Lords, orders were given for the speedy and effectual removal of these defects; and Arrowsmith, the vice-chancellor, who appears to have especially exerted himself in the matter, in making his final report ventured to express his belief that no further complaints would reach their lordships at least in his time[1].

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 422–3.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE.

ALTHOUGH monarchy, as an institution, was still to linger on for another year, the close of 1647 saw the Commonwealth virtually established in both universities. On the occasion of the royal arrest at Holmby, as cornet Joyce himself relates the story, Charles demanded of his captor whither he was to accompany him? 'To Oxford,' was the reply. The king objected,—he thought Oxford 'unhealthy.' Then Joyce suggested Cambridge. And again the monarch objected, intimating that he preferred Newmarket; and to Newmarket, accordingly, it was arranged that he should be escorted[1]. The royal disinclination again to be seen at either seat of learning might well seem, indeed, to require no explanation, and we might easily believe that, however devoid of real sympathy with the nation at large, Charles could have had little desire to be the helpless spectator of the changes that had taken place at Cambridge since his memorable visit to the university some five years before, when, amid deafening cheers and demonstrations of the profoundest loyalty, he had mounted his coach at St John's gate on his departure for Huntingdon[2]. So far, however, was this from being really the case, that when, on the day following upon that of his conversation with Joyce, he was released, by the command of

[1] *A True and Impartial Narrative*, etc. (Rushworth, vi 513), a composition which Masson (Milton, iii 512, n. 1) and Gardiner (*Civil War*, iii 189) concur in pronouncing to be Joyce's own account of this episode. The latter's suggestions to the king were probably only made with the design of sounding the royal intentions.

[2] *Supra*, p. 222.

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CHAP. IV. Fairfax, from the cornet's dictation, he proceeded to take up his residence at Childerley Hall, the seat of Lady Cutts, about three miles west of Madingley, and was only deterred from passing through Cambridge by Fairfax's express refusal to allow him to do so[1]. At Childerley he had an interview not only with Fairfax but also with Cromwell; while, if we may credit the pamphleteer, both university and town flowed out 'apace to behold him.' 'He is exceeding chearfull,' the account goes on to say, 'and commands that no scholler be debarred from kissing of his hand: and there the sophs are (as if no farther then Barnwell) in their gowns and caps: it was mirth to see how well yesterday they were admitted into the presence[2].'

In the mean time, while the Independents, alike by their astute policy in the provinces and in debate at Westminster, were gradually asserting their ascendancy in opposition to the Presbyterian party, Cromwell himself appeared at Newmarket: and the *Solemn Engagement of the Army*, signed at Kentford Heath close by, gave distinct intimation of his resolve to encourage, if necessary, military resistance to the authority of Parliament[3].

It was precisely at the same time that this momentous change was taking place in the relations of the two religious parties now contending for the government of the State, that a notable manifesto appeared at Oxford. Since the surrender of the city in 1646,—although scholars might derive consolation from the reflexion that Mazarin's hopes of being able to transfer the treasures of the Bodleian from the Isis to the Seine had been baulked, and that the demoralizing influences of barrack life were at an end,—it was regarded as certain that innovations, like those in process at Cambridge, would

[1] 'Fairfax refused to allow him to pass through Cambridge, lest the members of the university and the townsmen should give him too enthusiastic a reception.' Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III 106.

[2] As regards the 'townsfolkes,' the same writer tells his correspondent, that they 'had in all those streets through which it was conceived he would passe, deckt their stalles and windowes with green boughs and whole rose-bushes, and the ground all along with rushes and herbes.' See *An extract of certain papers of intelligence from Cambridge, concerning his majesty and the army* (Cambridge, June 7, 1647), printed in Heywood and Wright, II 521-2.

[3] Gardiner, *u. s.* III 100.

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soon be put in force. In May it became known that a Visitation had been actually decided upon, and that the arrival of certain Visitors, as a kind of advanced guard, might shortly be expected, before whom the university was cited to appear in Convocation 'between nine and eleven a.m.' on the fourth of June. But before the Visitors themselves could appear, it had become sufficiently plain that the opponents of a Presbyterian *régime* had not altogether lost heart. A volume came forth, drawn up chiefly by Robert Sanderson, the Regius professor of Divinity, and entitled 'Reasons of the present judgement of the University of Oxford concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship, approved by general consent in a full Convocation 1 June 1647, and presented to consideration[1].' This *Judgement of the University*, as it was subsequently more briefly designated, had been subscribed by a large proportion of the scholars and divines who still remained in the city, and was designed as a formal protest against the impending Visitation. It was, of course, regarded with grave displeasure by the Puritan world, who discerned in it an endeavour,—to quote the language of Anthony Wood,—'to oppose all Reformers, both the Parliament and Visitors, and hinder a just and necessary reformation'; while their anger was still further increased when a Latin version of the obnoxious volume also issued from the Press, soon to be translated into French, Italian and Dutch,—'to the end,' as Wood expresses it, 'that other nations might be sensible of what had passed[2].'

Appointed, as the Visitors had been, at a time when Presbyterianism still held its own at Westminster, they represented, without exception, the party against whom the above tractate was especially aimed, and, on the eve of their arrival, a fresh event had still further contributed to mar the prospects of their peaceable reception. On his way to

[1] 'Printed in the yeare, 1647' [no place].

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 509. 'The moderation and ability of this statement did much to consolidate the opposition to the Visitation, furnished a repertory of materials for the answers afterwards made by individual colleges, and earned the special thanks of the Parliament held at Oxford in 1665.' Brodrick, *University of Oxford*, p. 141.

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CHAP. IV. Holmby, Joyce had passed through Oxford, the bearer of instructions from Cromwell which ran altogether counter to those of the Presbyterian Committee in London. The Committee had sent instructions that the artillery in Oxford was to be seized, and that £3500, which had been sent to pay off the garrison, should be sent back to London. Those in possession, however, refused flatly to yield compliance to these instructions; and, as soon as Joyce had taken his departure, a fight took place in the High Street between the soldiery who guarded the treasure and a body of Presbyterian dragoons. It was not until the tumult which ensued had in some measure subsided that the Visitors deemed it prudent to appear in the city[1]. On the 4th of June, however, they made their entry; but only to find a population, largely hostile, both academic and civic, to them and to their mission, —the latter, indeed, being destined to prove temporarily abortive. 'The Visitors,' says Gardiner, 'proceeded to St Mary's, where one of the number preached at so inordinate a length, that before they could reach the Convocation House, the last stroke of eleven had sounded. The time mentioned in their summons having thus elapsed, the vice-chancellor, Dr Samuel Fell, dean of Christ Church, dissolved the House in literal obedience to their orders. As the throng poured out, the two processions met face to face. "Room for Mr vice-chancellor!" shouted the bedell, and the Visitors,—as was long remembered with glee in the university,—shrank aside to allow those very men whose conduct they had come to arraign to pass in triumph. "Good morrow, gentlemen!" said Fell, with polite sarcasm, as he swept by, "'tis past eleven o'clock?"'

The day on which the Visitors were thus baffled, adds Gardiner, 'was that on which the King was removed from Holmby, and for nearly three months nothing was done at Westminster to enable them to resist the successful efforts of the university authorities to obstruct their proceedings.' 'It can hardly be wrong,' he adds, referring to the above

[1] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III 88. [2] Gardiner, *Ibid.* III 140-141.

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semi-comic incident, 'to trace the cause to the growing influence of the army, and to the hope which the military leaders entertained of settling the institutions of Church and State on some basis which would not involve the complete submission of either religious party[1].' He omits, however, to note that the royal arrest had supplied the Heads at Oxford with a valid reason for demurring to the authority of the Visitors which they forthwith turned to practical account; and it was at this juncture that Jasper Mayne of Christ Church, clearly discerning that the contest at issue was 'not,'— to quote his own words,—'whether the subject of England shall be free,' but whether 'this freedom shall not consist in being no longer subject to the King,' put forth his 'Οχλομαχία, in which he indicated the underlying causes with admirable insight. In common with other keen observers, his penetration enabled him to discern that what the 'freedom' which the contending malcontents called for really implied, was nothing less than 'a freedom of condition,' in which 'we are to live together like men standing in a ring or circle, where roundnesse takes away distinction and order. And where everyone beginning and ending the circle, as none is before, so none is after another.' 'This opinion,' he goes on to say, 'as 'twould quickly reduce the House of Lords to the House of Commons; so 'twould in time reduce the House of Commons to the same levell with the Common people, who being once taught that Inequality is unlawfull, would quickly be made docile in the entertainment of the other arguments, upon which the Anabaptists did heretofore set all Germany in a flame[2].'

It was not until the 30th September that the real work of the Oxford Visitors commenced, as 'a special Commission under the Great Seal of England to reforme and regulate the Universitie,'—labours destined to extend over a complete decade and affording invaluable illustration of the views and aims with regard to the higher education that mainly prevailed at both Oxford and Cambridge during that period.

[1] Gardiner, *u. s.* 141-142.

[2] 'Οχλο-μαχία. Or The People's War, *examined according to the Principles of Scripture and Reason, in Two of the most Plausible Pretences of it*.... By Jasper Mayne, D.D. one of the Students of Ch. Ch. *Oxon.* Printed in the Yeare. 1647. pp. 5, 19.

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CHAP. IV. In the opinion of the late professor Burrows, however, Parliament had committed a 'fatal error' in 'suffering nearly a year to elapse after the Surrender before commencing the Visitation of the University,' inasmuch as the Visitors now found the latter 'completely organized against them[1].' But he, at the same time, concedes that no other Visitation or Commission during the whole long and eventful history of Oxford university ever had such a task to accomplish. Perhaps, he adds, 'it is not too much to say that none, if we consider the circumstances of the times, ever did the work entrusted to them better[2].' The ample powers with which the Visitors were invested contributed, indeed, not a little to aid them in their formidable task, extending as they did to the government and affairs alike of the university and the colleges, and providing that all documents relative thereto might be demanded and examined, that contumacious officers might be imprisoned: and that all officers, *as well as other members of the university*, might be impannelled and bound over to aid the Visitors in their enquiries, while the latter were guaranteed complete immunity 'for whatsoever they should act or execute in pursuance of the said ordinances[3].'

Importance of the work which it accomplished.

Powers with which it was invested.

At the outset of their labours, the *Judgement of the University* was formally denounced to the Visitors by the Puritan party as breathing opposition to their mission and to themselves,—'to oppose whom, we consider, is to rebel against the Houses; while to maintain prelacy is to uphold tyranny,—to contend for the Common Prayer Book is to contend for a false translation of the canonical Scriptures, to magnifie those bookes that are not canonicall and justifie the court of Rome, not only in admitting dangerous ceremonies to corrupt the purity, but in submitting to the Romane order,

[1] 'If the Heads, now that they saw the Visitation commenced like any former Visitation, would recognise the power of the Parliament *de facto*, the reformation might yet be worked through their hands.' But this was precisely what they felt they could not do. The King was a prisoner; no Visitation not sanctioned by him could possibly be legal; and they would admit nothing short of his own order.' Burrows (Mont.), *Register of the University of Oxford from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658*. Camd. Soc. 1881, *Introd.* pp. lxvi-lxvii.

[2] *Ibid.* p. cxxxiii.

[3] Wood-Gutch, II ii 513-6.

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which would overthrow the piety of our common and publicke service[1].'

In the same year that the Visitors appeared in Oxford, Anthony Wood, then fifteen years of age, matriculated from Merton College[2], and may possibly himself have witnessed their bootless errand to St Mary's. His cynical 'Characteristics' of both Presbyterians and Independents[3], penned long after, contain, amid a stream of unqualified depreciation and invective, some concessions which gain correspondingly in value; but in the Commissioners themselves he could scarcely discern a single redeeming feature, and his criticisms of both them and their policy present a singular travesty of the estimation in which they were held by their own party. It must, however, be admitted that the proceedings of this select body,—exclusively Presbyterian and mainly under the direction of John Reynolds,—would have been less liable to be challenged if three of the most active of their number (the Wilkinsons) had not been closely related to each other, and if four of the seven originally appointed had not represented the same college foundation[4]. As it is, the personal antipathies and habitual ill-temper of the historian find expression in a series of caricatures, sufficiently amusing to the dominant party after the Restoration, but none the less offensive to many who could recall the contemporary Oxford. Sir Nathaniel Brent, for example, the warden of Merton and president of the Commission (to whom Wood himself was under no slight personal obligation), is described as of no other use than 'a weathercock, *indicare regnantem*[5]'; of Dr John Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen Hall and nephew of Henry Wilkinson, the subsequent president of Magdalen College, we hear as one who was 'generally accounted an

[1] Wood-Gutch, II ii 509.

[2] *Life and Times* (ed. Andrew Clark), I 131.

[3] *Ibid.* I 296–301.

[4] Sir Nathaniel Brent (President of the Visitors and Warden of Merton), Edward Corbet fellow of Merton (afterwards Canon of Christ Church), Francis Cheynell fellow of Merton (afterwards Margaret professor and President of St John's), Edward Reynolds fellow and afterwards President of Merton (Dean of Christ Church 1648–51). Burrows, *Register*, pp. 520–523. Henderson (B. W.), *Merton College*, p. 125.

[5] Brent, in the opinion of the latest annalist of his college, 'chose his side when final choice was necessary, and clave to it stoutly like a man.' *Ibid.* p. 107.

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CHAP. IV. illiterate, testy old creature, that for forty years had been the sport of the boys,' 'a person more of beard than learning'; his nephew John, also of Magdalen Hall, is briefly dismissed as 'a physician and no writer'; Edward Reynolds, dean of Christ Church, who subsequently refused the Engagement, although admitted to be 'a good scholar and excellent preacher,' is 'that *ἀμφίβιον*, which not long since hung *in aequilibrio* and waited only for a graine of success to turne the scales'; Christopher Rogers, of Magdalen Hall, appears as an 'old Puritan' with neither 'parts nor soul,' but able to please, 'by his puling, praying and preaching, simple women and children.' Of Francis Cheynell of Merton, afterwards Margaret professor of Divinity, we are told that 'by his perplexed studies' he 'had disturbed his head so much, that he was forced (as 'tis said) to be kept in the dark and whipt into his wits by the care of his mother at Salisbury[1]'; Henry Wilkinson, a former tutor of Magdalen Hall, is described as 'Cheynell's stout second,' 'violent, and little else but confusion in his preaching,' one who 'could willingly dispense with a cap or a congee to gain a proselyte, and affected treading softly in his going through the public streets "to procure an opinion"[a] (as the Academians imagined) "of cordial integrity[2]."'

Wood's descriptions of personages hardly admit, however, of being taken seriously, and it is moreover to be borne in mind that the first Visitors had yet to prove their fitness for their work, while before long the Commission itself underwent

[1] On Cheynell it devolved to draw up the Account presented to Parliament by the Visitors. Wood, who makes no reference to his services in the cause of orthodoxy rendered by his treatise against the Socinians, also affirms that he 'was little better than distracted towards the *close* of his life.' 'But by that,' says Calamy, 'in *his* phraseology, no more perhaps may be intended than that he was extremely and closely thoughtful of that other World into which he was passing, which to one of his [Wood's] complexion seem'd little better than distraction.' Calamy, *Abridgment of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (ed. 1702), I 288.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II ii 614–8. Compare his more deliberate estimate of the six Presbyterian preachers sent by Parliament after the Surrender, 'to settle their doctrine there': 'Cornish and Langley, two fooles; Reynolds and Harrys, two knaves; Cheynell and rabbi Wilkinson, two madmen.' *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, I 130 f. 'But for Cheynell,' says Brodrick, referring to this occasion, 'it had gone hard with the Presbyterians.' *Merton College*, p. 125.

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considerable modification. As it was, John Conant the elder, perhaps the ablest administrator in the university and an admirable scholar[1], on being nominated a Visitor declined to act, and withdrew from Oxford, resigning his fellowship at Exeter. He left behind him a valuable library which, on his return, he found to be irrevocably lost. Defections to Rome now became numerous, and comprised influential names whose example could hardly but incite others to imitation. 'They had witnessed,' says Churton, apologetically, 'the ruin of their hopes, when their alters were usurped by intruders, and the timid and inconstant surrendered their Liturgy, that they might continue on hard terms still to exercise the priest's office[2].' For the next four years it was left to John Reynolds and to John Owen,—the respective leaders of the Presbyterians and the Independents,—to carry on a conflict which largely engrossed the attention of the whole community. The supervision of the two University Presses was now vigilant and complete; but before the year 1647 had closed, John Barwick, with the aid of Richard Royston, the courageous royalist printer in London, had succeeded, as in the case of the *Certain Disquisitions*, in obtaining the services of a private press, and brought out the reprint of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*[3].

It was at this juncture, when the sympathisers with the royal cause on the Cam and the Isis were alike plaintively making known their own pitiable condition, that a citizen of London deemed it an opportune time for bringing forward a proposal,—suggested probably by the petition of the Westminster Assembly four years before,—that instead of the proposed temporary hall of residence for Oxford students in the capital[4], there should be an entirely new and permanent foundation,—a University in London[5].

[1] 'Of Greek he was so great a master that he many times disputed publicly in that language.'...' He had also a good knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac.' Such at least is the statement of Conant's own son. See Stride, *Exeter College*, p. 60.

[2] *Life* prefixed to J. Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, I xxvii.

[3] The *Querela* had originally appeared (in the preceding year) as part of the *Mercurius Rusticus* which was printed at Oxford, 'because,' says Mr Madan, 'it helped out our plaint, not because it aided' Cambridge. Letter, 18 Dec. 1906.

[4] *Supra*, p. 263.

[5] See *Motives for the present founding an University in London, with Answers to Objections, humbly pre-*

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CHAP. IV.

From this ceaseless clamour of warring creeds, it is a relief to turn to where, in his retirement at Golden Grove, Jeremy Taylor, mainly occupied with the toil of preparing Welsh lads for the universities, was beguiling his leisure by composing his immortal plea for the toleration of diverse beliefs. As one whose career, begun at the Perse School, had been that of a fellow of Caius College[1], then a fellow of All Souls', and afterwards a prisoner of war, the future bishop of Down might well seem exceptionally qualified by personal experience, not less than by profound acquirements, to estimate the advantages of that freedom of doctrine for which he pleaded, and even to adjudicate between the intolerance of Laud and the fanaticism of not a few of those whom the primate had sought to silence. A passing notice is all that our limits have permitted us to bestow on theories such as those maintained by a Henry Ainsworth, a Henry Burton, a Roger Williams, or a John Goodwin, and still less are we able to do more than refer to the better known writings of Chillingworth and John Hales at the sister university; but it may here be observed that, while the significance, and, in some cases, the importance of the theories which those authors advocated is undeniable, the *Liberty of Prophesying*[2] still remains, what Hallam asserts it to have been, 'the first famous plea in this country for tolerance in religion, *on a comprehensive basis and on deep-seated foundations*[3].' Its author, indeed, was probably a gainer by his very remoteness from either university,—sheltered, to quote his own expression, from the storm which 'had dashed the vessel of the Church to pieces.'

served to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, etc., by a Lover of his Nation, and especially of the said City. London, 1647.

[1] 'Taylor, Jeremy: son of Nathanael Taylor, barber. Born at Cambridge (bapt. at Trinity Church, Aug. 15, 1614). ... Admitted, Aug. 18, 1626, scizar of his surety, Mr Batchcrofts.' Venn, *Admissions*, I 278.

[2] Θεολογία Ἐλευθερία. *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying.* 1646.

[3] *Literature of Europe*, II² 442. Masson (*Life of Milton*, III² 109, n. 1), in accusing Hallam of here doing 'injustice to a score or two of preceding champions' of toleration, appears to me himself unjust to Hallam, whose words which I have italicised above *he altogether omits*. Hunt (*Religious Thought in England*, I 353) says, 'It was not the first plea' (for toleration) 'but it was the first treatise on the subject that had any interest.' See also Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, pp. 45, 46.

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Among those who encountered the full effects of that storm, while seeking to steer the fragile bark of individuality through the opposing currents at Cambridge, was the poet, John Hall. He had been admitted a pensioner at St John's College under Mr Pawson in 1646, and, in the same year, his subsequent biographer, a young Welshman named John Davies, was also entered on the college lists. 'It was the pleasure of Fortune and the times,' says the latter, 'to shuffle us from the contrary cantons of England and Wales...into the same college and after a while under the same tutor.' Hall was, at this time, nearly nineteen years of age, and had been spending the preceding six years in rather multifarious reading in the library at Durham, where whatever acquirements he possessed, as a classical scholar, were chiefly attained. With the self-complacency which solitary study often engenders, his first year at St John's was still uncompleted, when he ventured to dedicate to the master, Dr Arrowsmith (like himself, as already noted, a Durham man), a volume of *Essays*, after the manner of Bacon, entitled *Horae Vacivae*[1],— 'faint breathings,' as he describes them, 'of a minde burthened with other literary employments.' 'Let them, Sir,' he says, 'receive the honour and shelter of your name, since borne under your government and cherisht by your candour.' The volume received kindly notice from several well-known scholars in the university. John Pawson wrote an Address 'to the Reader,' in which, while testifying to his pupil's attainments in French, Spanish and Italian literature, he also expressed his conviction that the *Essays* were throughout original work and that the author had 'nowhere stretch'd his own meaning to make way for another's fancy.' Henry More, the Platonist, contributed some complimentary elegiacs. Thomas Stanley, already known as the generous patron of struggling authors, who had recently graduated as a fellow-commoner from Pembroke, and of whose achievements in the fields of philosophy and scholarship we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to take note, together with his uncle, William

[1] *Horae Vacivae, or Essays. Some occasional Considerations.* 1646. 12mo.

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CHAP. IV. Hammond, sent like contributions in English. So too, did Thomas Goodwin, fellow of St John's, and James Shirley. Altogether there rose up a chorus of commendation, destined, however, soon to evoke in turn, what Pawson, anxious to defend his pupil, subsequently described as a crowd of 'ignorant detractors'; while Hall himself, elated by success, now assumed the part of a satirist and turned upon his assailants. That the *Essays* were of genuine merit cannot, indeed, be gainsaid; they attained to considerable popularity and were translated into French; and, in the language of the too partial Davies, 'amazed not only the university but the more serious part of men in the three nations[1].' But the *Poems*, of which the first volume appeared in January 164⅝, and issued from the University Press[2], with a dedication to Stanley, notwithstanding the evidence they afford of undoubted genius, are at once so virulent in their abuse, so fulsome in their adulation, and afford such melancholy glimpses of the author's own despondent misgivings, that they become rather a study in psychology than for the ordinary lover of good literature. Dr Thomas Bambrigge (or Bainbridge) of Christ's had died in the preceding year,—a Head with respect to whom Dr Peile describes his own impression as that 'of a slow methodical man who did his work to the best of his ability[3],' and who was confessedly much too partial to his own Westmorland kinsfolk[4], but beside whose tomb, Hall, in the attitude of a professional mourner, soliloquizes as follows:—

'As ample knowledge as could rest
Inshrined in a mortal's breast,
Which ne'erthelesse did open lie
Uncovered by humility.
A heart which piety had chose
To be her Altar, whence arose

[1] In the account of the 'manuscript remains' of Oliver Heywood given by Hunter, we find 'a *complete transcript* of the *Horae Vacivae* of John Hall, the youthful poet of St John's, first published the year before Mr Heywood went to the university.' *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 45.

[2] *Poems by John Hall.* Cambridge, Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie 1646. For I. Rothwell at the Sun in Pauls Churchyard.

[3] *Hist. of Christ's College*, p. 131.

[4] *Supra*, p. 15, n. 2.

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Such smoaking Sacrifices that
We here can only wonder at;
A honey tongue that could dispense
Torrents of sacred eloquence,
And yet how far inferior stand
Unto a learned curious hand.' *Poems*, p. 57.

Dr Arrowsmith, whom we have already noted as returning to St John's to assume the mastership[1] and busied with his refutation of Antinomianism[2], found himself apostrophized as follows:—

Divina Syren, cygne caelestis, tuba
Evangelizans, nectaris flumen meri,
Jubar salutis, praeco foederis novi,
Jam sic redisti! teque in amplexus pios
Iterum dedisti!.....[3].

As the spring advanced, and apprehensions with regard to the plague died out, parents became in some measure reassured; while the town, cleansed and repaved[4], presented another aspect and students began to come up. The matriculations for the year, however, amounted to only 242; while those for 1647 had been 493; and Cambridge continued to be a military centre, where troops were levied and quartered. The sectarian zeal of Cromwell's soldiery, fanned, from time to time, by some animated discourse from the pulpit, served to keep alive a ferment such as, perhaps, prevailed in no other town in the kingdom, of the same size. In the month of June, a fray,—'occasioned by some disgraceful expressions in the schools against the parliament and Army,'—broke out between the opposing parties. On this occasion, the scholars of Trinity are said to have distinguished themselves by their 'gallantry,' but the victory remained with their opponents. The conflict, indeed, appears not to have terminated without bloodshed and loss of life[5]. 'You would not imagine,'

[1] *Supra*, p. 302.

[2] The reproach of Antinomianism continued however long after to be cast upon the Presbyterians themselves. See Thorndike-Haddan, IV 897, 921. In 1659, Thorndike could describe this 'damnable heresy' as 'now overspreading the land.' *Ibid.* IV 895.

[3] *Poems* (1646), p. 60.

[4] '...and that all Vice-chancellors and Mayors for the time being, do, from time to time, take effectual care for the keeping the streets well paved and clean, as they will answer the neglect thereof to this House.' *Lords' Journals*, X 166.

[5] Cooper, *Annals*, III 423.

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wrote a correspondent (apparently a townsman) of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, who tells the story, 'to what a height we are grown unto here,—we, who upon little or no alarms were use to ride and run, are become the sons of Mars'; and, on the twelfth of the same month, the Commons deemed it necessary to give order, 'that it be referred to the Committee for the University of Cambridge to consider of the tumult and insurrections in the Town, and of some effectual course for suppressing thereof, and to prevent the like for the future[1].' A young bachelor of arts, one Edward Byne, further disquieted the civic community by descending into their midst and delivering a fiery invective against the received canon of Scripture and 'the labour of our best commentators,'—a foolish temerity for which he was punished by the authorities by the refusal of his master's degree, until he had formally acknowledged and recanted his error[2].

Defeated in the fray, and silenced in the Cambridge pulpits, the loyalist divine still cried aloud elsewhere. In April the benchers of Gray's Inn had listened to a violent tirade from a master of arts of Clare Hall, who had once been a chaplain in Charles's army. Paul Knell, evidently with the design of widening the divergence between Presbyterian and Independent, sought to recall his audience to sympathy 'with him that is in bonds,'—'a prudent and most pious Prince, a King for his faith and life unspotted from the world.' Then he turns to apostrophize what he terms that 'silly schismaticall Assembly,' 'you that, out of mere opposition, preach in cloaks, you that are no legall Synod, but rather the Synagogue of Satan; you, that for a pious Liturgy would give us a pure piece of non-sense; you that would banish the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed[3].'

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 423.

[2] Byne's confession was formally recorded, with the following postscript: '...ut praescriptio praedicta per manum Edwardi Byne registretur, ut penes Registrarium Acad. custodietur.' Grace, 20 June 1648. Baker MS. xxv 182; Venn, I 354.

[3] *Israel and England Paralelled, in a Sermon preached before the honorable Society of Grayes-Inne, upon Sunday in the afternoon, Aprill 16, 1648.* By PAUL KNELL. London. Printed in the Yeare 1648. The Westminster Assembly did not long survive Knell's attack, its last two sessions being held in the following May, after which time it became little more than a Committee for the examination of ministers, and, to

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In the following September, one 'R. P.,' of St John's College, in what he himself designated as 'an old fashioned sermon,' adopting a wider view and a more scholastic treatment of the whole question, descanted on the evils of war in general and on those of civil war in particular. 'The Pestilence,' he observes, 'is but a private plague in respect of warre: that taketh away part of a family or of a citie; *this* disperseth over a countrey and destroyeth a kingdome.' Along with Peace, he then avers, Truth also had well-nigh altogether disappeared. 'As the world did sometimes groan under the burden of Arianism, so this land may now groane under the burden of lying. This country is now come almost into the condition of Crete, ἀεὶ ψεῦσται (Tit. i 12).' The indispensable remedy is Peace. '*Inter arma silent leges*, what truth can we heare, as long as the beating of drums, the clattering of armes, and the roaring of guns do fill our ears?' He cites the assertion of the author of *Gangraena*,—that 'two hundred heresies, or thereabouts,' had 'appeared in the space of little more than foure yeares.' 'As the overflowing of the Nile,' the preacher goes on to say, 'by stirring up the mud doth cause many strange serpents to be bred out of the slime, so the overflowing of these warres have bred and forstered almost innumerable and strange opinions among us.' 'Let us come to our churches,' he continues, 'we looked that a Reformation would have swept all clean, but we see it farre fouler than before. They sought to sweep away ceremonies and superstition, and have fouled it with sacrilege and confusion. They pretend to pull down Popery and have set up heresie, and so while they thought to put the Pope out at the fore-door they have let in the Devil at the back-door[1].'

Sermon by R. P. St John's

Peace proclaimed to be the indispensable remedy

The earnestness with which the preacher descanted on

quote Dr Shaw, 'melted away into oblivion, with its claim of the *jus divinum* still upon its head dishonoured and unsubstantiated.' *Hist. of the English Church*, I 313.

[1] *The Cure of the Kingdome, an old-fashioned Sermon treating of Peace, Truth, and Loyaltie....* By R. P. Φιλαλεξανδρος. Coll. St Jo. Cant.... Printed October 1, 1648, pp. 7, 10, 11. Thomas Baker, whose copy in the College Library [Rr. 10. 45] I have used, makes no reference to the personality of 'R. P.'; possibly Ri. Pooly (*adm.* sizar 1634), afterwards the sequestered rector of Essendon, Herts. Mayor, *Admissions*, I xx and 271.

the desirability of peace, can hardly have been dissociated in the minds of his hearers from that great reverse of fortune which his party had just sustained. After the victory of Cromwell over the Scotch at Preston, which had taken place in the preceding August, 'every royalist in England,' says Gardiner, 'knew that the blow had crushed his last hopes[1].' There was at this time no divine in Cambridge who stood higher in the esteem of the townsmen than Samuel Hammond. 'It was the general opinion,' says Oliver Heywood's biographer, 'that there was not a more convincing and successful minister at Cambridge from the time of Mr Perkins'; and Oliver himself, now in his second academic year, found the discourses of the preacher 'a profitable instrument for much good to his soul[2].' A man of humble origin, Hammond had gained a fellowship at Magdalene, and was now vicar of the neighbouring church of St Giles. And thither, on the Sunday following upon the news of Cromwell's great victory, both gownsmen and townsmen flocked to listen to a discourse in which the exultation of the Independent party found eloquent and adequate expression. The burgesses, to mark their approval, awarded Hammond the handsome fee (as it was then regarded) of ten shillings[3].

Before another month had passed, that cessation of armed strife for which most Englishmen were now sighing had been brought about in Germany by the Peace of Westphalia, and the Thirty Years' War had been ended. 'R. P.,' when descanting on the evils of war, might well have clenched his argument with a reference to the appalling loss of life and the countless horrors which had attended that protracted contest abroad. It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that he should have failed to do so; for among the Teutonic cities few had suffered more severely than those which were the seats of universities; and of these, in turn, Marburg,—the earliest of the universities of Protestantism,—might almost dispute the supremacy in sorrow with Heidelberg itself. Oxford and Cambridge might

[1] *Great Civil War*, III 449.

[2] Heywood and Wright, II 516-7.

[3] 'Item, to Mr Hammond for preaching on the day of thanksgivinge for ye Victory over the Scotts, . . 10*s*.' Town Treasurer's Accts. in Cooper, *Annals*, III 425.

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well have been moved to sympathy as they heard how, year after year, the Hessian Athens had seen, to quote the language of one of her historians, her youthful sons returning in winter to their homes not only with their memories bereft, amid the distractions of the camp, of the very learning which they had once painfully acquired, but unable, apparently, again to assimilate it; and still more unable to shake off the brutalizing influences of the life they had been leading[1]! But Marburg was Lutheran, while the English universities were still largely Calvinistic; and it was probably with a very qualified satisfaction that the divines now in authority at Oxford or Cambridge received the intelligence that the Peace in Germany had resulted in the admission of all Protestants to equal religious rights, and that henceforth the ruler of each State would be debarred from interference with his subjects' exercise of their traditional belief, or with the religious conditions which, at the conclusion of the negotiations, had obtained in the universities, colleges and schools of his dominions[2]. Before the year 1648 had closed, the *Agreement of the People*[3] had put forward corresponding limitations on the power of Parliament, which, although invested with 'the highest and final judgement concerning all natural[(a)] things, was to be interdicted from interfering with the worship of such Christian societies as did not disturb the public peace, with the wide exception of those addicted to "Popery and Prelacy[4]."' The conclusions formulated at Münster and Osnabrück thus found an echo in England.

CHAP. The Universities of Marburg during the Thirty Years' War

Principle of religious freedom practically established in Germany and England

(a) i.e. divine.

[1] 'Auch aus hessischen Landesordnungen sieht man, dass nach dem westphälischen Frieden noch Pennalismus der Schüler und Wortkrämerei der Lehrer die Klassische Methode des öffentlichen Unterrichts in den Zeiten der Melanchthon und Sturmius verderbt hatten.' Koch (C.), *Gesch. des Academischen Paedagogiums und nachherigen Gymnasiums zu Marburg*. Marburg, 1868. 'From my own experience,' wrote Valentine Andreae in 1648, 'I have learned that there is nothing more profane than our Religion, more discreditable than our Medicine, or more inequitable than our Justice.' See his letter in Moser, *Patriotischen Archiv*, VI 318. On the evils resulting from the War, see also Dr A. W. Ward's observations in *Cambridge Modern History*, IV 418–424.

[2] *Ibid.* IV 411–8.

[3] *The Agreement of the People, as presented to the Council of the Army*, Oct. 28, 1647. On the Agreement and its fate see Gardiner, *S. C.* III 567–8; also 607–9, where it is printed in full.

[4] *Ibid.* III 546–7; Ranke, *Hist. of England* (tr.), III 7.

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In the mean time, the victorious party had extorted from Charles, at Newport, a series of concessions involving the abolition of episcopacy and the Prayer Book, and the substitution of the Presbyterian system and the *Directory*[1] in their place. He was also required to give his assent to an 'Act for the regulating and reforming of both the Universities' which was to be framed and agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament[2]. But before another six months had elapsed both King and House of Lords had ceased to exist, and the House of Commons itself was contemplating the transference of its powers and authority to the newly-created Council of State.

After the tragedy in front of the Banqueting House at Whitehall, and the abolition of monarchy, it was indispensable that a new declaration of allegiance should be required of those who composed the new Council of State, whose members were accordingly bound over to concur in 'the settling of the government of this nation for the future in the way of a Republic, without King or House of Lords[3].' No less than fifty-seven ministers had had the courage to petition against the taking away of their monarch's life,—among the number being Samuel Clarke, a member of Emmanuel College and the author of the *Lives*. It is even asserted that certain 'lecturers' in the counties of Oxford and Northampton had entered into a Covenant for the restoration of 'Charles Stewart.' In a very different spirit, three students of Trinity College, within a week of the King's execution, hastened to publish a justificatory plea in defence of the whole proceedings, declaring themselves 'abundantly satisfied' with the final result[4]. The 'Engagement,' as the new form of obligation

[1] See *Cambridge Modern History*, IV 361. 'As Charles himself had no expectation that an understanding would ever be reached, he was thus enabled to promise whatever he found convenient, without regarding himself as in any way bound by his words.' Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III 472-3.

[2] *Parl. Hist. of England*, XVIII 4, 8, 38, 347.

[3] See Gardiner, *The Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, I 5-8.

[4] *The Parliament justified in their late Proceedings against Charles Stuart, or a brief Discourse concerning the Nature and Rise of Government, together with the Abuse of it in Tyranny and the* PEOPLE'S *Reserve. As also an Answer to a*

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CHAP. I

Tenderin of the Engagem at the University temporar postponed

was designated, itself underwent more than one revision, and it was not until after the campaign in Ireland had been brought to a virtual conclusion by the storming of Drogheda and Clonmel, that the return of Cromwell seemed to render it opportune to require of the two universities their formal assent to the new *régime*. The execution of the chancellor of Cambridge had, however, followed that of his King at but a brief interval. Holland's career, indeed, had very imperfectly justified Charles's high eulogium when he recommended him for the office[1]. And heavily weighted as he was, to quote the words of Gardiner, 'by his frequent tergiversations and his position in the very centre of the royalist movement in the preceding year[2],' he could hardly have hoped for mercy, although Fairfax pleaded in his behalf and his sentence was carried by only a single vote. He was attended on the scaffold by Samuel Bolton, who had succeeded Bainbridge in the mastership of Christ's[3]. In the few words which the unhappy nobleman was there permitted to utter, he made a last effort to vindicate his reputation by declaring that 'the principles he had ever gone upon' had been 'to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion.' Then turning to what he termed that 'particular relation' which he held as 'Chancellor of Cambridge,' he concluded as follows: 'and truly I must here, since it is the last of my prayers, pray to God that that university may go on in that happy way which it is in; that God may make it a nursery to plant those persons that may be distributed to the kingdome, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit...and I hope God will rewarde them [*i.e.* the university] for their kindnesse and their affections that I have found from them[4].' 'I have been the

Execution the Earl Holland: 9 Mar. 16

His prayer on the scaffold for the University

certain Paper, entituled The humble Advice of the Lecturers of Banbury in the county of Oxon, and Brackley in the County of Northampton. By J. Fidoe, T. Jeanes, W. Shaw, Students in Trinity Colledge in Cambridge. London, printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls, 1648.

[1] *Supra*, p. 90.

[2] Gardiner, *u.s.* I 12.

[3] 'A very able man whose early marriage had excluded him from a fellowship.' Peile, *Christ's College*, p. 169.

[4] See *The Several Speeches of Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridg, Henry Earl of Holland, and Arthur Lord Capel, upon the Scaffold immediately before their Execution, on Friday the 9 of March. Also the several Exhortations, and Conferences*

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more large in relating the sufferings of this gentleman, the earl of Holland,' says Whitelock (to whom we are indebted for these details), 'because he was my particular friend, whose memory I honour[1].' Along with Holland, suffered Hamilton, who had commanded the force which Cromwell scattered at Preston[2], and the dauntless Capel, bearing himself 'much after the fashion of an ancient Roman,' and made declaration on the scaffold that his religion was that of the Thirty-nine Articles, 'the best,' he added, 'that I know of[3].'

On the 15th of March, Manchester succeeded Holland in the chancellorship. His election was uncontested; there being, probably, a very general feeling that his practical knowledge of the affairs of the university, combined with his temporizing disposition as a politician, rendered his election as expedient as it was, for the most part, acceptable to the Presbyterians. To his influence we may perhaps attribute the fact that when, on the 30th of the ensuing April, an Ordinance was passed for the abolition of Deans and Chapters, in order to raise £300,000 for the pressing needs of the Commonwealth, the clause exempting the centres of learning and education was introduced[4].

The necessity of imposing certain restrictions on the Press next engaged the attention of the Council; and, about the same time, the university printers, Thomas[5] and John Buck, were each of them bound in two sureties of £300 each,

with them, upon the Scaffold', by Dr Sibbald, Mr Bolton, and Mr Hodges. London, 1649. pp. 17-36.

[1] Whitelock (Bulstrode), *Memorials of English Affairs*, p. 387.

[2] —'poor versatile Hamilton.' Carlyle-Lomas, i 429-1.

[3] *Ibid.*; Gardiner, *u. s.* i 13.

[4] See *supra*, p. 107, n. 6.

[5] Thomas Buck, who was also one of the Esquire Bedells and a fellow of St Catherine's, appears to have held the office of university printer, 'or to have retained some interest in it' for upwards of forty years. He did not apparently work quite harmoniously with his fellow-printer, Roger Daniel, who tried to induce the University to authorize the establishment of a *second press*, urging that 'parting of the printers will beget in them a laudable emulation which of them shall deserve best either in the books set forth, or the manner of their setting forth, or the materials.' But whatever wealth Thomas Buck may have acquired, he set an example in the bestowal of it on his own College, where the cost of erecting the fine range of chambers nearest to King's, forming part of 'Bull Court,' was entirely defrayed by him, and, according to Dr Forrest Browne, 'his benefactions never ceased for many years after he had ceased to be a Fellow.' *St Catharine's College*, pp. 95, 132; Bowes, *Notes*, etc. pp. 300-4; Wordsworth (Chr.), *Scholae Academicae*, p. 381.

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not to print any seditious or unlicensed books, pamphlets or pictures, nor suffer his presses to be used for any such purpose[1]. In order still further to strengthen its powers of supervision, Parliament enacted, in the following September, that no printer should anywhere ply his craft, without the licence of the Council, save in London, the two universities, York and Finsbury[2].

Restrictions imposed on the Press generally.

As far back as the year 1567, the spirit of rivalry between the civilian and the common lawyer, which has already come under our notice[3], had led 'one Henry Harvye, doctour of the Civill Lawe,' and master of Trinity Hall, to acquire from the chapter of St Paul's in London a ninety-nine years' lease of a dilapidated structure, known as Mountjoy House, and certain adjacent buildings, near Paul's Wharf[4]. These, as subsequently rebuilt, became known as Doctors' Commons; and Dr Harvey's motive in acquiring them, although singular in character, was sufficiently intelligible to his contemporaries. 'If Trinity Hall,' says Mr Malden, 'were to be worthy of its place as a training-school for civilians and canonists, whose sphere of action extended into diplomacy and politics, or whose judicial abilities might be utilized in the Admiralty Courts or in Diocesan Courts all over England, it must have some connexion with the world of London. A small college in Cambridge could no longer hope to be an influential body in two large professions in the outer world, unless it could influence some organization in the centre of national life[5].' Such was the design whereby it came to pass that, in after times, the master of Trinity Hall often appears as the Dean of the Arches, while he always possessed a right to rooms in Doctors' Commons; and although married men were allowed to be members, neither their wives nor their children were permitted either to board or to lodge with them; while the whole control of the occupation was in the hands of the society in Cambridge[6].

Trinity Hall and Doctors' Commons. Origin of their connexion.

[1] *State Papers (Dom.)*, Addenda, Vol. I, Apr. 1649, *Calendar (Dom.)*, III 344.

[2] Scobell's *Ordinances*, II 42.

[3] See Vol. II 526–9.

[4] Paul's Wharf, we read in Stow (ed. 1598), was 'a noted Stairs for Watermen, and on each side of the Stairs a very handsome house.'

[5] *Trinity Hall* by Henry Elliott Malden, A.M., pp. 101–5.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 105.

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The position of the civilians, at this time, was one of peculiar difficulty. They had, for many years, and especially since the ascendancy of Laud, been regarded with no favour by the Anglican clergy, as rivals with respect to that ecclesiastical jurisdiction which the latter were desirous of keeping as much as possible in their own hands. And now that the ecclesiastical courts were closed, the civilian was watching, with no less apprehension, the establishment of the Commonwealth,—for ever since the opening of the Long Parliament, the common lawyers had been encroaching more and more on his province. At the same time he must have been well aware that it was his best policy to conciliate, as far as possible, the great statesman whose authority in political affairs was already approximating to that of a Dictatorship. When, accordingly, towards the close of the year 1648, the authorities of Trinity Hall received the letter (of which they possess a transcript[1]) addressed to them by Cromwell, requesting that a certain chamber in Doctors' Commons, being vacant, might be allotted to Dr Dorislaus,—who 'now,' says the writer, 'desireth to be your tenant,'—the recently installed head, Dr Bond, along with the fellows, appears to have given an unhesitating assent[2]. The eminent jurist of Leyden, ever since the time when his voice was silenced at Cambridge, had been mainly engaged in carrying on negotiations as a diplomatist between England and Holland,—to quote Cromwell's own language in the above letter, he had 'done service unto Parliament from the beginning of these wars,' had been 'constantly employed by the Parliament in many weighty affairs,...and especially beyond the seas, with the States General of the United

[1] Warren MSS. p. 427.

[2] *Cambridge Portfolio*, p. 390; Carlyle Letters, I 403-4. The deceased occupant of the chamber had been Sir Arthur Duck, a fellow of All Souls, Oxford, who in the preceding June had dedicated to the marquis of Dorchester a learned treatise *de usu et auctoritate Juris Civilis* which was not published until 1653. Sir Arthur's reputation as a jurist was such that Charles, when in the Isle of Wight, was anxious to avail himself of his advice in the negotiations with Parliament. Cromwell's request that Duck's rooms might be placed at the service of Dr Dorislaus cannot consequently but have seemed almost a designed insult, to royalists familiar with the circumstances, Duck having died suddenly in Chelsea Church only *two* days before Cromwell's letter was penned. See *D. N. B.* XVI 88.

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CHAP. I

Provinces[1].' His lengthened researches among the State Records in London had further enhanced his reputation as a civilian, and during the wars he had twice been appointed judge advocate; in the preceding April he had been made a judge of the Court of Admiralty; and, finally, as a member of the High Court of Justice, had taken part in drawing up the charge whereby the late king had been impeached as 'a tyrant' and 'a traitor,' and 'a public and implacable enemy of the Commonwealth of England.' Time, indeed, might well seem to have avenged the cause of liberty, when the scholar who had been driven from Cambridge for daring to descant on the power of the Roman people 'under the Kings *and afterward*[2],' found himself called upon to act as adviser in the abolition of monarchy in England. Although, accordingly, Dorislaus' name is absent from the List of the signatories to Charles's Death Warrant[3], few were regarded as more deeply involved in their guilt; while, by the Commonwealth, his services were honored by the highest recognition when, in the following April, he appeared as its selected representative at the Hague, especially instructed to cultivate a good understanding between the two Republics. But Charles the Second himself had already set up his Court in the Dutch capital, whither royalist refugees were also repairing in large numbers; and, within three days after his arrival, the envoy of the Commonwealth was assassinated in the inn which he had chosen for his residence[4]. The intelligence was received by the Cavalier party in England with undisguised exultation, while the assassins successfully evaded pursuit; and all that the Council of State could do was to make such reparation as was in their power to the family of the ill-fated scholar. His body was brought to England and interred in Westminster Abbey; the 'lodgings' in Doctors' Commons which he had occupied were granted to his three children, 'to enjoy for some convenient number of years[5]'; the two daughters each receiving £500, and the son (whose name

His share in the impeachment of the late King.

His assassination at the Hague: 2 May 1649.

Honour paid to his memory and provision made for his children.

[1] Carlyle-Lomas, *Ibid.*
[2] *Supra*, p. 87, n. 1.
[3] Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, III 583.
[4] Gardiner, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, I 72, 73.
[5] *State Papers (Dom.)*, 1649–50, II, no. 94.

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was also Isaac) a pension of £200. At the same time, the Council addressed to lady Brooke a formal request that her ladyship would pay over 'some arrears in your hands due to Dr Dorislaus upon the pension granted him by lorde Brooke, for the history lecture in Cambridge,' 'as we doubt not,' the missive continues, 'you will be sensible for the condition of the children, and order what remains due to them to be paid with convenient speed, suitable to their necessities[1].'

The election of William Dell[2] to the mastership of Caius College at this juncture affords an excellent illustration of the crisis through which the whole university was at this time passing. In every respect, this eccentric character offers the strongest contrast to his predecessor, Dr Batchcroft, who was ejected to make way for him. The latter, whose election dated as far back as 1626, had been unanimously elected to the office and offered a happy combination of the qualities which have, at all times, most conduced to harmonious relations between a Head and the rest of the governing body. He was rarely non-resident, was an excellent man of business, of courteous manners, and possessed of an ample private fortune; while, to quote Dr Venn's description, 'though not a brilliant man, or in any way distinguished as a scholar, he was devoted to the interests of his college and bore the reputation of an unusually able and efficient bursar[3].' His election, however, had not passed unchallenged, a strenuous opposition having been organized by the Anglican party in the university, at the instigation of Dr Lane of St John's[4],—the latter, a noteworthy example of that anomalous but by no means infrequent combination, an obsequious regard for the favorable opinion of the outside world with a correspondingly cynical disregard for the maintenance of good discipline and studious life within. But of those who had so

[1] *State Papers (Dom.) u.s.*, II, no. 102.

[2] The author, in his account of Dell in the *D.N.B.*, fell into the error of identifying Dell with the William Dell who was secretary to Archbp. Laud. Venn, I 375.

[3] Venn, III 85.

[4] *Ibid.* III 85, n. 1. Mead writes, 'The courtiers, doctors Maw, Wren, and Beale, over furious against him' [Batchcroft], but adds that 'he was chosen with unanimous consent of all the fellowes, one onely that was absent sent, notwithstanding, his consent under his hand.' Heywood and Wright, II 350.

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warmly supported Batchcroft's election twenty years before, some were dead; others had quitted Cambridge or had been recently ejected; while few of their successors entertained very friendly sentiments towards one who, although he had refused to send the college plate to the king, had sent money, and whose estate, moreover, had already been sequestrated. The Committee, accordingly, gave order, after 'serious consideration of matters alleged,' 'that the said Dr Batchcroft be discharged from his place and employment as Master[1].' He yielded uncomplainingly, and shortly after withdrew from Cambridge to reside with some relatives at Wangford near Brandon. His successor, who was at this time a married man about four and forty years of age, had been educated at Emmanuel and had at one time been a fellow of that society. To the Puritan army, as a chaplain of the forces, he must already have been well known, for he had not only been present at Naseby and Langport, but had also been one of those who entered Oxford on the surrender of the city to Fairfax, being himself the first to announce to parliament the news of that event[2]. He had also been the officiating minister on the occasion of Ireton's marriage with Cromwell's daughter, Bridget. In addition to this, William Dell had already acquired a certain reputation as a divine of highly original views. Two years before, he had given to the press the Discourse which he had preached before Fairfax at Marston[3], —in which his 'Address to the Reader' sufficiently attests the opposition aroused by his highly aggressive method of advancing very novel opinions[4],—among them, a sweeping repudiation

He retires from Cambridge.

Dell's previous career.

His relations with Cromwell.

Singularity of his views in relation to existing religious parties.

[1] Venn, III 91, n. 1.

[2] 'Resolved that Mr Dell, being the General's chaplain, who brought the Articles for the surrender of Oxford, shall have the sum of £50 bestowed on him for his pains.' Entry in *Journal of H. of Commons*, Venn, *Ibid.* III 94. 'The Parliamentary Army,' observes Dr Venn, 'was the only institution for which Dell appears to have had a hearty admiration.'

[3] See '*The Building and Glory of the truly Christian and Spiritual Church*.... Preached to his Excellency Sir Tho. Fairfax and the General Officers of the Army...At Marston, being the Head-quarter at the Leaguer before Oxford, June 7, 1646.... Published by Authority. London, 1647.'

[4] Dell describes his enemies as becoming 'exceeding angry and heady against the plain and clear truth of the Gospel delivered *in this following exposition*'...and 'becoming suddenly fierce and furious, contradicting and blaspheming, yea some of them speaking the language of hell upon earth.' *Address to the Reader.*

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CHAP. IV. of all such divisions in the Christian Church as those represented by Presbyterians and Independents, which he had the hardihood to stigmatize as mere inventions 'of man's making.' He however regarded Episcopalianism with yet greater aversion; and, in the presence of the 'two hundred heresies' alleged by the author of *Gangraena* to have sprung into existence during the last quinquennium, it is probable that, to the fellows of Caius College, such heterodoxy may have appeared of minor importance when compared with the advantages to be derived from the advocacy of one who was evidently in favour with those who sat in high places[1]. The sympathies, again, of William Dell,—if such an expression can be used in relation to a divine whose best energies were given to proclaiming his antipathies,—were decidedly with the Independents, and, thus far, he appears to have been in full accord with the innovations which the Committee were already contemplating. Caius College, accordingly, anticipated by some eighteen months, most of the changes involved in the promulgation of the *Engagement*,—subscription to the new test, although formally demanded as early as October 1649, not being generally put in force until a year later[2]. Two ejections, however, which took place in this year, call for special notice, as those of two highly estimable men, whose previous acceptance of the Covenant was no virtue whatever in the eyes of the new master. The first was that of William Blanckes, one of the senior fellows, and took place a few weeks before Dell's instalment, but evidently under concurrent influence. He had filled with credit a succession of college offices, including that of lecturer in Greek and Latin, and also the presidency. He lived to be re-elected at the Restoration, but the circumstances of his expulsion were indelibly imprinted in his memory; and his will when opened after his death was found to include a legacy of 20*s.* to a

[1] At this time 'the number of senior fellows had, owing to expulsions, been reduced to nine, of whom four had been intruded by the Parliamentary Committee. As two of these (French and Harrington) had served in the army, they must have been well acquainted with the character of Dell.' Venn, *u.s.* III 95.

[2] Gardiner, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, I 215-6, 269, 275.

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former pupil, 'for his kindness showed to me when I was turned out of the College[1].' The other ejection, in 1649, was that of Charles Scarborough, which took place probably at Michaelmas. He took refuge in Oxford, carrying with him the reputation of a scholar of wide culture and high attainments; and in Merton College, now a recognized centre of Puritan influences, appears to have met with a cordial welcome. William Harvey, however, who, as a former member of Caius[2], was probably already known to him, was no longer Warden, his tenure of office having lasted little more than a year. The society, indeed, had from the first resented the intrusion of the royal physician at the royal command, and in 1645 had reinstated Sir Nathaniel Brent, whom the monarch had described as 'a man unworthie and no longer capable of that imployment[3].' Harvey, on the other hand, had retired to London as soon as Oxford surrendered, and his notable treatise, the *Exercitatio anatomica de Circulatione Sanguinis*, now appeared from the Cambridge Press. John Greaves, another Mertonian, the same who so ingeniously contrived the appointment of Seth Ward as his successor[4], had also betaken himself to the capital, on his ejection alike from his professorship of astronomy and his fellowship, accompanied by the loss of the best portion of his library; while Seth Ward, to whom Scarborough was well known, would seem to have been living, at this time, with lord Wenman, at his seat some ten miles distant from Oxford[5]. It was not long before Scarborough himself left for London, where a distinguished career awaited him, including his appointment as royal physician, his election to a seat in parliament, and the honour of knighthood.

Charles Scarborough: d. 1694. Ejected 1649 [illegible] subsequent career.

William Harvey, scholar of Caius: b. 1578, d. 1657.

In the month of March, we find Milton emerging from his comparative obscurity as a pamphleteer to enter upon the duties of official life, as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State,—that is to say, to draw up from the instructions given him, letters to other states. 'Hitherto,' says Gardiner, 'those letters had been couched in two

Milton becomes Latin secretary to the Council of State: March 1649

[1] Venn, 1 204.

[2] *Ibid.* 1 149, where the great physiologist, admitted in 1593, appears as 'William Harvie.'

[3] Henderson (B. W.), *Merton College*, pp. 121–3.

[4] See *supra*, p. 315.

[5] Pope, *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 18.

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languages,—in French to the French government and to other governments such as that of the Dutch Republic to which the French language was familiar, and in Latin to governments like those of Spain and the Empire, whose own diplomatic correspondence was carried on in that tongue. The Council of State,—very likely at Milton's suggestion,—resolved that all their communications with foreign powers should henceforth be carried on in Latin, and Milton was, therefore, familiarly known as the Latin Secretary[1].' It is difficult not to suppose that a decision of the 'Committee for Regulating the Universities,' passed in the following July, to the effect that only either Latin or Greek was thenceforth to be used in colloquial discourse among the students in the colleges, stood in close connexion with the above innovation, especially when we note that the grounds on which the latter measure was justified, as stated in the Visitors' Register at Oxford, were 'the complaint made by divers learned men of the defect that English scholars labour under, both in their private and home exercises and in their publique discourses with forrayners, by their speaking English in their several colledges and halls in Oxon.' The Visitors are accordingly enjoined by the Committee 'to see either the Latin or Greeke be stricktly and constantly exercised and spoken.....and that *noe other language be spoken* by any fellow, scholar or student whatever[2].'

When the tidings of these new requirements reached Cambridge, not a few of the senior members must have recalled to mind that extraordinary influx of students from Oxford that had followed upon the enforcement of a like requisition in the sister university by Laud[3]. 'New presbyter' might, indeed, well seem but 'old Priest writ large.' Two months later it became known that a Visitation, such as Laud had contemplated, but never been able to carry into effect, was now on its way; and in less than another month, the Committee received instructions from Parliament[4] to

[1] *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, i 41.
[2] *Register of the Visitors* (ed. Burrows), p. 249: Baker MS. xvii 112.
[3] *Supra*, p. 136.
[4] *State Papers* (*Dom.*), 1649–50, iii, no. 9.

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cause the following ENGAGEMENT to be subscribed by all Heads of Houses, fellows, graduates, and officers of the university, and by all who were proceeding to any degree in any faculty: CHAP. IV.

> *I do declare and promise, that I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or a House of Lords*[1]. The Engagement 12 Oct. 1650.

It was further directed that no person should be admitted to take any degree or bear any office in either of the universities until he should have thus pledged himself. But, it is to be observed that the customary oath, involving a concurrent appeal to the Deity, was now superseded by a mere formal declaration,—the point which John Lowry, on his assumption of the mayoralty, and that which Dr Hill, on entering upon his duties as vice-chancellor, had alike contested, although in very different fashion, being thus decided in their favour. There were to be no more 'Oaths.' But while the ancient formula had been repudiated by the Puritan divine on account of an expressed obligation, the Engagement excited the opposition of the Anglican and the Puritan alike on account of an obligation which it left altogether undefined. If vague as regarded the future, it was, however, sufficiently explicit with respect to the past; and politicians representative of almost every school or party at once discerned that the obedience to a Republican form of government involved in the new formula, swept away all the obligations which had hitherto been associated with the ordinary conception of

The ancient oath superseded by a mere promise.

Alarm excited by indefiniteness.

[1] I give the Engagement in the exact words in which it was *finally* made obligatory on the entire official world, including 'all graduates and officers in the Universities, the masters, fellows, schoolmasters, and scholars of the Colleges of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, *all ministers admitted to a benefice*, and finally all who received pensions from the State.' Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I 196–7. For its earlier form, see *Ibid.* I 5–7. It is noteworthy that Hallam, who seems to have failed to recognize the significance of the opposition which it encountered, should have described it as 'the slightest test of allegiance that any government could require' (*Constitutional Hist.* III[11] 236). Ireton more truly characterized it as 'a test which every knave would slip through,' while a conscientious subject might well recoil from a declaration which involved his compliance with whatever enactments might be brought forward in the future by a government relying for support mainly on the Independents and the Army.

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CHAP. IV. 'loyalty.' By the Presbyterian, it was seen to be, as Masson truly describes it, 'a test, not positively repealing, but practically superseding, the ambiguous and obsolete Solemn League and Covenant[1].' Prynne, whose aversion from the Army was as intense as his dislike of episcopacy, put forth a pamphlet[2] which materially conduced to bring about his three years' imprisonment a few weeks later, in which he called upon all 'honest English spirits' 'to avoid the danger of Perjurie' by taking this 'new oath[3],'—which he goes on to denounce as 'a new Gunpowder Treason, blowing up the King and his posteritie, Monarchy, the House of Lords, the constitution and privileges of our English Parliament, our ancient fundamental Government, Lawes, Liberties, and our three Kingdomes at one crack.' He then sets forth 'eleven reasons' for rejecting it, at the same time predicting 'seven results' which would follow upon its acceptance. Among the latter, the third, he declares that 'it will necessitate our new Governours...to seize and sell the lands of all Corporations, Companies, Colledges, Hospitals, Schooles and Rectories of Churches in the Kingdome.....to help pay the Soldiers[4].' Richard Baxter, opposing it, as he had opposed the Covenant, but in yet stronger language, maintained the Engagement to be 'mere juggling and jesting with matters too great to be jested,' inasmuch as those who prescribed the formula were also left to be its interpreters, and 'by such interpretations and stretchings of conscience any treasonable oath or promise might be taken,' and all 'bonds of society' would lose their significance[5]. Samuel Dillingham, writing from Emmanuel (11 Dec. 1650) to Sancroft, says, 'The divine hand of vengeance has thus made itself notorious in paying home

[1] *Life of Milton*, IV 124.

[2] *Summary Reasons against the New Oath and Engagement. And an Admonition to all such as have already subscribed to it. With a Cautionarie Exhortation to all Honest English Spirits, to avoid the danger of Perjurie by taking of it.* Printed in the yeare 1649. The copy in the British Museum Library has a manuscript note, 'Novemb. 22.'

[3] His meaning evidently being that those who took the Engagement would very soon find themselves called upon to attest their fidelity to the Commonwealth by compliance with enactments which they would find running altogether counter to their convictions.

[4] *Summary Reasons* etc. *u.s.*, p. 13.

[5] *Life*, by Calamy (1702), p. 106.

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our Covenant with an Engagement, where the daughter is like to be too hard for its mother, and the first Beast must give up its power to the second[1].'

CHAP. V

It was at this juncture that the poet, John Hall, the honied accents of whose Muse had failed to lure the seniors of St John's to adequate recognition of his merits[2], determined to carry his appeal to another court. He had already, in 1648, published a vigorous attack on Presbyterianism, which can hardly have escaped the observation of Cromwell; and he now, prescient of the changes impending in the university, put forth a yet more trenchant criticism which calls for special notice. *The Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the Universities*[3], although occupying only thirty pages, is undoubtedly one of the most noteworthy pamphlets that appeared in an age exceptionally productive of this form of literature; while its remarkable insight becomes absolutely astonishing when we bear in mind that its author had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year. As an exposure of the limited range of academic studies in England and their perfunctory methods of treatment, it may indeed even compare with the criticism put forth, forty years before and under a like title, by the great Verulam[4]; while the author would seem to have been the first among English writers to recognize the fact that the continental centres of learning were already gaining on both Oxford and Cambridge, if not 'in outward magnificence and luxurious liberality,' certainly 'in extent of knowledge and multiplicity of excellent persons.' If, again, Bacon must be regarded as the superior in his grasp of the whole subject, John Hall's indictment is certainly entitled to be considered the more valuable in respect of precision, and as giving forcible utterance to convictions already lurking in the minds of not a few who had neither the courage nor the ability to set them forth with equal force and plainness:

John Hall

His criticism compared with that of Bacon.

[1] Heywood and Wright, II 533–4.

[2] *Supra*, p. 353.

[3] *An Humble Motion to the Parliament of England concerning the Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the Universities.* By J. H. London, Printed for John Walker at the Starre in Popes-Head Alley. MDCL.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 16.

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CHAP. IV.

The Cambridge methods obsolete as regards the teaching of Latin, Greek, Logic and Ethics.

'I could never yet,' he says, 'make so bad an *Idaea* of a true university, as that it should serve for no nobler end, then to nurture a few raw striplings, come out of some miserable country school, with a few shreds of Latine, that is as immusicall to a polite ear as the gruntling of a sow, or the noise of a saw can be to one that is acquainted with the laws of harmony[1]. And then possibly before they have survayed the Greeke alphabet, to be racked and tortured with a sort of harsh abstracted logicall notions[2], which their wits are no more able to endure, than their bodies the strapado; and to be delivered over to a jejune Peripatetic philosophy, suited only (as Monsieur Descartes sayes) to wits that are seated below mediocrity, which will furnish them with those rare imaginations of materia *prima*, *privation*, *universalia*, and such trumpery; which they understand no more than their tutors, and can no more make use of in the affaires of life, then if 3000 yeares since they had run through all the hierogliphicall learning of the Egyptians, and had slept in their mummy and were now awaken. And then, to be turned to graze in poor Ethicks; which perhaps tell them as much in harder words, as they had heard their mothers talke by the fireside at home[3].'

The professoriate inefficient and inadequate.

'Againe,' he continues, 'I have ever expected from an university, that though all men cannot learne all things, yet they should be able to teach all things to all men; and be able either to attract knowing men from abroad out of their owne wealth, or at least be able to make an exchange. But how far short come we of this, though I acknowledge some difference between our universities[4]? We have hardly professours for the three principall faculties, and these but lazily read,—and carelessly followed. Where have we anything to do with Chimistry, which hath snatcht the Keyes of Nature from the other sects of philosophy by her multiplied experiences? Where have we constant reading upon either quick or dead *anatomies*, or occular demonstrations of herbes[5]?

Absence of any provision for teaching Chimistry, Anatomy, Botany and Mathematics.

[1] '... we do amisse to spend seven or eight yeers meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one yeer.' Milton, *Of Education*, p. 2. I quote from the rare first edition, 'To Master *Samuel Hartlib*,' of 1644 [Univ. Library, '*Tracts* BB*. 9. 47'], as the only printed form in which John Hall can ever have read it.

[2] 'And for the usuall method of teaching Arts, I deem it to be an old errour of Universities, that they present their young unmatriculated novices at first comming with the most intellective abstractions of Logick and Metaphysics.' *Ibid.*

[3] Milton relegates Ethics to a place among the finishing studies of Economics, Politics, and Logic, by which time 'they' (the learners) 'may with some judgement contemplate upon morall good and evill.' p. 5.

[4] A frank admission of the superiority of Oxford, at this time, in relation to the subjects subsequently named. 'We' means Cambridge.

[5] 'They may procure' in their study of 'meteors, minerals, plants and living creatures, as farre as Anatomy the helpful experiences of hunters, fowlers, fishermen, shepherds, gardeners, *apothecaries*,' and 'in the other sciences, architects, engineers, mariners, *anatomists*... and this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge, as they

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CHAP.

Where any manuall demonstrations of Mathematicall theorems or instruments? Where a promotion of their experiences, which if right carried on, would multiply even to astonishment[1]? Where an examination of all the old tenets? Review of the old experiments and traditions which gull so many *junior* beliefs, and serve for nothing else but for idle priests, to make their sermons more gaudy? Where is there a solemn disquisition into history? A nice and severe calculation and amendment of the epochs of time? Where a survey of antiquities and learned descants upon them? Where a ready and generous teaching of the tongues? Free from pedantisme, and the impertinencies that that kind of learning hath been pestered with? And all this done not by some stripling youngster, who perhaps understands that which he professes as little as anything else; and mounts up into the chaire twice or thrice a yeare, to mutter over some few stolne impertinencies, but by some stayed man, of tried and known abilities in his profession, allured by a competent encouragement to stay in the university[2].'

The crit spirit altogeth absent.

Neglect of Histo and of Chronol

Absence competen and experien teachers

The above remarkable passage alone suffices to shew how clearly, brief as had been his Cambridge career, John Hall had discerned the shortcomings of the traditional education that still there prevailed,—the defective Latin, the superficial Greek, the undeveloped ethics; the excessive refinements of logic, shrouding simple laws of reasoning from the apprehension by clothing them in technical ambiguities,—and all this solemn trifling with the time and powers of the learner still going on, while subjects of supreme importance were altogether ignored,—the natural sciences and their practical application; the study of history, pursued concomitantly with well-established conclusions in chronology, and accurately ascertained antiquities,—the latter, in their broader acceptation; a more natural method in the teaching of the classic tongues; and finally the lack of trained and competent teachers in those 'idle pedantic brotherhoods[3],' the colleges, of men, that is to say, chosen for their aptitudes and adequately rewarded for their toil, even if it involved the displacement of some of the ancient drones in possession!

shall never forget but dayly augment with delight.' *Of Education*, pp. 4-5.

[1] What Hall had in mind when writing these words, may probably best be gleaned from that rare treatise, *An Idea of Mathematics written by Mr John Pell to Samuel Hartlib*, printed in 1651 along with John Durie's *Reformed School*. London. 32mo.

[2] 'I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himselfe a teacher.' Milton, u.s. p. 8.

[3] *An Humble Motion*, etc. p. 17.

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CHAP. IV.

He insists on a more reasonable interpretation of the designs of benefactors.

Not less noteworthy are his comments on the designs of benefactors, and the virtual wrong done, both to them and to a present generation, by regarding their bequests as something too sacred to admit of a modified application under changed conditions which the donors could not possibly foresee:—

'Their Ordinances and cautions were, no doubt, in their times full of excellent wisdom and deep reason. But since they ceased to be mortall, it hath pleased the Sun of Righteousness to break through the clouds which shadowed their ages, and to let us have more of day... What means were used before, for a bare historical knowledge, must now be turned into a censorious justice upon over old opinions, and into severe and eager disquisitions of new truths; for knowledge hath no limits nor land-marks, but being ubiquitary, and therefore desirous to diffuse itself, she endeavours by all means her promotion and dilatation[1].'

[illegible] recorded to [illegible] by [illegible]

As Bacon's efforts towards bringing about a closer union between the two countries north and south of the Tweed, had been followed by his promotion to the solicitor-generalship, so John Hall's endeavours to aid the cause of university reform and intellectual freedom resulted in his receiving a command from the Council of State, in the year following upon the appearance of the above treatise, to accompany Cromwell into Scotland; while his services as a writer were shortly after recognized by a pension of £100. Although there is no reference to him in the great statesman's letters, it is difficult to suppose that the two were not already acquainted. Hall, living in Gray's Inn, and John Milton, living now in High Holborn and then in Spring Gardens, and both in the employ of Cromwell, with Hartlib for a common friend, must also have frequently met. It was to Hartlib, indeed, that Milton's *Tractate on Education*, which had appeared some five years before Hall's treatise, was personally addressed. And, as the contemned of Christ's wrote to advocate 'the reforming of Education,' 'for the want whereof this nation perishes,' so the outcast from St John's pleaded for the most effectual advancement, not 'the *bare permissive propagation* of Learning,'—the later appeal being,

[illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible]

[1] *An Humble Motion*, u.s. pp. 18–19.

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as the preceding notes shew, often a direct echo of the former.

Wintering at Edinburgh, after the 'crowning mercy' of Dunbar, Cromwell there received the letter which apprised him of his election to the chancellorship of the university of Oxford, where, in the opinion of Carlyle,—relying chiefly on the evidence afforded by Neal's *History of the Puritans*,—'the *Querelas* about Vandalism, destruction of learning, and so forth, proved to be mere agonised shrieks, and unmelodious hysterical wind, forgettable by all creatures[1].'

Although Parliament, as already noted[2], had given order as early as the 12th of October 1649, that the Engagement should be subscribed by all resident graduates, the force of the blow had been broken for a time, in the first instance by an agreement among the members of the London Committee to suspend all recommendations of persons to fellowships or scholarships in every college where there was the statutory number of fellows to elect,—and secondly by the fact that Cromwell himself, when on his way to the North, having stayed for a few hours at the Bear at Cambridge, had given the Heads an explicit assurance that the prescribed subscription should be no longer pressed[3]. Forcible intrusions and forcible ejections were consequently alike suspended for a time. But when Presbyterianism in England had been smitten down by the campaign in Scotland, the victor's tone underwent a decided change; and in the course of the following November, the Engagement was again tendered throughout the university, to be followed by startling

[1] 'The known esteem and honour of this place,' wrote Cromwell to the vice-chancellor, 'is such that I should wrong it and your favour very much, and your freedom in choosing me, if either by pretended modesty in any unbenign way, I should dispute the acceptance of it.' See Carlyle-Lomas, II 179-181.

[2] *Supra*, p. 366.

[3] 'Some assure me that Mr Cromwell, when he was heere on Satterday sevennight on his passage towards the North, told the Vicecanc. and DD^rs who sneakt to the beare to wait upon his Mightinesse that there should be no further proceedings against Non-Subscribers, that he had desired the Committee of Regulation to petition the House in his name, that we might be noe further urged. But we know his Method well enough, namely by courteous overtures to cajole and charme all parties *when he goes upon a doubtful service; and as soon as 'tis over to his mind then to crush them.*' William Sancroft to his Brother Thos., 10 July 1650. Tanner MS. LVI 216.

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although widely varying results. According, indeed, to one authority, a specious sophistry was now called into play, and men began to argue that, as there *must be* a government, if public order and security were to be maintained, it was reasonable, at least, to assent to its enactments, until they proved to be such as necessarily to evoke sufficient opposition to allow of organized resistance[1]. The real explanation was, as Gardiner has for the first time made clear, that the royalist party were still buoyed up by the hopes which were finally dissipated, eight months later, by the battle of Worcester. At Peterhouse, three of the intruded fellows who had been elected as Covenanters[2] were now ejected; and, shortly after, a fourth, Charles Hotham, was expelled on special grounds[3]. At Clare, where the eminent Dr Cudworth had succeeded Dr Paske in the mastership, only one royalist, Simon Potter, was ejected. At Pembroke, Edward Sterne, a native of Cambridge, was fain, though sore against his will, to depart[4]; and with him, probably, went one Abraham Fowler, a Covenanter, whom Attwood notes as filling the office of Praelector in 1646[5]. Caius College sustained a signal loss in the expulsion of two of the senior fellows,—William Blanckes and Robert Sheringham,—both of whom, however, lived to be reinstated in 1660. The former, a Norfolk man, had been distinguished by his varied usefulness as a college officer and was held in high esteem for his attainments in Greek and Hebrew[6]. The other is described

[1] 'I learnd from some of them afterwards that they were of the same judgment stil, and thought themselves only bound negatively, and but so long til a party should appeare against the present power, happy men that can so construe it!... and soe it was declared that we were to stand ingaged, for said they, its no reason that you should partake of the benefit and fruit of the government, unless you ingage to do your best to maintain it.' Sam. Dillingham to Wm. Sancroft, 30 Dec. 1650. Tanner MS. LVI 242. Comp. Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I 269, 445.

[2] Howard Becher, Gabriel Major, and James Ball.

[3] Dr Walker also notes several changes in the Bye-fellowships during 1650 1651, which he inclines to attribute to the same cause.

[4] In Attwood's time, he records that the following inscription was still to be seen, scratched on a pane (*in fenestra quadam*) in the College, though whether in Sterne's former chamber he omits to state: *Longum floreas | Grandaeva Mater Pembrochiana Invidiae Odiisque Superstes! | Hoc Tibi ex animo precatur | Immerens immerito Ejectus Filius E. S.* | Oct. 29, 1650. Attwood, II 70.

[5] 'Fortasse ejectus est An. 1650. Non enim ultra occurrit.' *Ibid.* II 75.

[6] Venn, I 204.

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CHAP. I

by Walker as 'a most excellent linguist, especially for the Oriental and Gothick languages, also admirably well versed in the original antiquities of the English nation, which fully appears in his book *de Anglorum Gentis Origine*.' But Sheringham, unlike Blanckes, who was a man of good private fortune, was fain to take refuge in Rotterdam, where he supported himself by teaching Hebrew and Arabic, and was familiarly known as the 'Rabbi,' on account of his Oriental learning[1]. Trinity Hall, to quote the expression of Dillingham, 'swallowed the new test roundly, all but their divine, Mr Owen, and Mr Clark[2].' Samuel Pepys, now seventeen years of age, crept in, with the reputation of 'a great roundhead'; but in the following March transferred himself as a sizar to Magdalene.

Trinity H

At Corpus College, the changes were more numerous, no less than six of the fellows being ejected,—viz. Johnson, Lamplugh, Ganning, Francis Colfer, Fairfax, and Kennet,—not, however, says Masters, 'for any affection they had for the royal cause, since three of them, at least, were Presbyterians and had been put in the place of royalists, but because of their refusing the Engagement[3].' The three Presbyterians to whom he refers, were Johnson, Kennet and Fairfax, who had each subscribed a formal declaration[4] wherein he pledged himself to support, to the best of his ability, the principles of the Covenant,—his inability to accept the new test being consequently obvious. Josiah Lamplugh, however, who had been elected a fellow as recently as 1647, does not appear to have been a Covenanter, while his refusal of the Engagement was apparently not resolved upon without some hesitation. Francis Colfer and Nicholas Ganning, again, exemplify a third phase

Corpus Christi.

Three cla of refusers

[1] Walker, II 146; Venn, I 213.

[2] Letter (dated 'Emm. Coll. 30 Dec. 1650') from Samuel Dillingham to William Sancroft. Tanner MS. lvi 242. John Clark, professor of the Civil Law 1666–73. Ward, *Gresh. Professors*, p. 253.

[3] *Hist. of Corpus Christi College* (1753), pp. 150–1.

[4] This declaration is preserved among the College documents: 'I doe solemnly and seriously promise in the presence of Almighty God, that during the tyme of my continuance in that charge' [his fellowship] 'I shall faithfully labor to promote piety and learninge in my selfe, schollers and studentes that doe or shall belong to the said Colledge agreable to the late solemne nationall League and Covenant by mee sworne and subscribed,' etc. See Masters-Lamb, p. 356.

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CHAP. IV. of resistance. They were senior fellows, and, like the Master, had succeeded in evading the Covenant, but now flatly refused the Engagement. According to Masters, John Dobson, Isaac Peckover, Richard Crofts, and William Wilkinson, were the only fellows who continued to hold their charges 'throughout the whole time of the Troubles'; and with respect to these it is to be noted that Dobson, although he had been presented to the living of Grantchester in 1644, was not instituted until after the Restoration[1], while Richard Crofts, dying in 1655, did not live to witness the eventual triumph of the principles which he maintained. Thomas Fuller, writing shortly after his death, refers to him as 'my good friend,' at the same time gratefully recalling the kindness which in past years he had received from the society 'ever since the time when they were pleased to choose me Minister of St Benedict's Church,'—and how Crofts, more especially, had aided him in his researches among the college archives, with the consent and sanction of Dr Love[2].

It is assumed by Masters, and also by his editor, that the six divines who succeeded to the places of the above ejected fellows were all Independents, and Dr Stokes presents us with no evidence to the contrary[3]. 'Four years later,' he observes, 'in 1654, there was another turn of the wheel, and Messrs Colfer, Kennet and Lamplugh were restored, two of them to fellowships that had become vacant, and the other at the expense of one of the Independents, Mr Strode, whom they ejected[4].'

At King's College, although Whichcote retained his position as provost, the number of those ejected from their fellowships was considerable, a sentence which fell all the heavier on the younger fellows in that, only two years before, the society had determined that a dividend, proportioned to status, should henceforth be distributed among seniors and

[1] Masters-Lamb, p. 352.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 104.

[3] None of the six can be said to have attained to eminence; but respecting Thomas Whitehead, who became rector of Little Wilbraham in 1654, we are told that 'he transcribed the parish register from the beginning, and continued it down in a fair hand to the time of his death.' See Masters-Lamb, pp. 359-61.

[4] *Corpus Christi College*, pp. 105-6.

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juniors alike. 'A few months later,' says Austen Leigh, 'the provost's salary was raised to £280....The amount of money treated as dividend in each year varied greatly; in the seven years 1648–1654 it averaged £1680; but nothing like this amount was maintained during the rest of the century[1].' Among the ejected juniors was Christopher Wase, whom the provost's influence was unavailing to shield, for he had been accused of endeavouring to raise men and horses for the service of Charles II, and was shortly afterwards made a prisoner at sea when bearing letters from the Hague to France. Another noteworthy ejection was that of Henry Molle, the Public Orator, who lost at the same time his office and his fellowship. 'The college records show,' continues the late provost, 'that in the years July 1649 to July 1651 no less than twenty-nine scholars were admitted. Possibly some vacancies of old standing were filled up at this time, but the recent ejections would almost account for the unusual number of admissions[2].' The following admission clearly shews that the London Committee now claimed, in relation to this royal foundation,—exempted, by special charter, alike from the jurisdiction of the vice-chancellor and the examinations of the university,—an authority in elections to scholarships not inferior to that formerly exercised by the Crown:—

Christopher Wase (the elder): b. 1625. d. 1690.

Henry Molle: adm. from Eton, 1612.

Att a full and publique meeting in the Chappell, June the 10th 1650, of the Provost of the King's College in Cambridge and of the fellowes of the said College now resident in the same: They the said Provost and fellowes did then and there in performance of and according to an Order made by the honorable Coñittee att London for regulating the Universitie of Cambridge (bearing date the second day of May 1650), with our assent and consent receive and admitt ffrancis Scott, the son of Thomas Scott esquire, compleat and full scholar of the said College, and did order and agree that he shall have receive and enjoye from this present time, his commons, senioritie, and all full profitts and rights, as Schollar of the said College.

Form of Admission Scholarship.

Ita testor OSBERTUS FOWLER, *Not. Pub.*[3]

[1] *King's College*, pp. 148–9.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 132–3.
[3] *Liber Protocoll.* (1627–1678), No. 129.

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At Queens' College, Herbert Palmer's exemplary rule had been succeeded in 1648 by that of Thomas Horton, another fellow of Emmanuel. In 1641 Horton had been the successful competitor with Whichcote for the Gresham professorship in divinity; and, three years later, had subscribed the Petition of the Ministers to Parliament in which they urged the establishment of Presbyterian government alike in congregational, classical and national assemblies. In 1649 he was elected to the vice-chancellorship, and it was rumoured that, when called upon to subscribe the Engagement, he might be relied upon to head the resistance to the new test. The report, however, proved fallacious; and only two fellows of Queens' were ejected as refusers. These were John Hoare and John Jackson, both of whom had been intruded by Manchester from St Catherine's Hall in 1644. Their places were filled by Thomas Hunt and William Gore, already members of the society, and the latter an intimate friend of Simon Patrick, who had been elected to his fellowship in the preceding year.

At St Catherine's, William Spurstowe, his genuine convictions as a Presbyterian not permitting him to accept the Engagement, gave place to John Lightfoot, and shortly after quitted the university to reside in Hackney, where he continued to live, in comparative obscurity, throughout the Protectorate. The humility, for which, as we have seen, he was commended by Baxter, is perhaps to be discerned in the fact that at the Restoration, when Lightfoot offered to resign in his favour, if he would consent to resume the mastership, he absolutely declined to be re-installed in office. By what process of reasoning the historian of the Westminster Assembly found himself able to accept the office from which the 'Smectymnuan' was expelled, is not on record. It is probable that his appointment by the Committee was designed as a conciliatory measure, and it is unquestionable that in scholarship and mental power he altogether surpassed his predecessor. Gibbon declares that 'by constant reading of the rabbis' Lightfoot had become 'almost a rabbi himself'; and we have evidence, throughout his career, of a spirit which

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rose superior to the sectarian influences of his time. Of this, CHAP. IV
the oration which he delivered during his vice-chancellorship supplies us with a signal example, when, while extolling Cromwell, on the one hand, he had the courage and humanity to deprecate, on the other, the sufferings and privations to which the clergy of the Church of England were then exposed.

Disorganised condition of the society.

But it was no sinecure to which the new Master had succeeded, for in St Catherine's all was in confusion. The books for 1650 had never been audited, and for the quarter from Michaelmas to Christmas no stipends were paid either to Master or fellows. In the second week of November, all the six fellows, Samuel Brooke, William Blake, John Savage, Joseph Waite, Robert Thexton and William Hutchinson, 'disappear from the College books.' 'At Christmas, six new fellows began to receive stipends, namely Daniel Milles (Suff.) and John Duckfield (Ess.), who can scarcely be described in the full sense as intruded, inasmuch as they had been praeelected on the same day with Hutchinson (ejected), but had not, like him, become actual fellows, and four others, George Barker (Yorks.), William Green (Hunts.), John Slader (Warw.) and Thomas Rookby (Yorks.).' Of the above, it may be here noted, Milles developed into an industrious student of the society's archives,—'making out lists of Masters, Fellows, etc. from the books and papers,' and giving 'brief descriptions of the Masters down to and including Sibbes's successor, Brownrigg[1].'

Jesus College: similar ejection of the Presbyterian element.

At Jesus College, Thomas Young,—who, as another of the Smectymnuans, must have felt that he could not possibly retain the mastership,—treated the summons to sign the Engagement with silent contempt, and was forthwith ejected, John Worthington, of Emmanuel, being installed in his place. Four of the fellows, Bantoft, Whitfield, Tilney and Yarburgh, followed their Master's example and shared his fate[2]. We

John Worthington elected Master: 16 Nov. 1

[1] Dr G. F. Browne, *St Catharine's College*, pp. 130, 80 n.

[2] Gray (Arthur), *Jesus College*, p. 116. The absence of these names from the College Registers is explained by the following entry: '...in illo temporis intervallo quod ab anno 1643 ad annum 1660 continuo decurrit, multi in Coll. Regro conscribuntur Socii quorum nulla fit mentio in *hoc nostro Chronico*. Verum hoc consulto factum est, nobis enim in animum induximus, eos solum in Sociorum album conscribere,

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can better believe Worthington's assertion (made ten years later) than that of many, who, although giving utterance to a formal *nolo episcopari*, have succeeded to like promotion, when he declares that he 'never had any ambitious desires to such a place,' and was 'far from seeking it.' The first of the new fellows whom he was called upon to admit was John Sherman of Queens', whose election was unanimous[1]. 'The historian of Jesus College,' says Mr Arthur Gray, 'was a native of Dedham in Essex. From one branch of his family, which emigrated in the seventeenth century to the American plantations, sprang the celebrated General Sherman. The fact that he subscribed the Engagement casts a shadow of suspicion on the fervid royalism which colours his *Historia*. His partisanship is indeed a serious deduction from the value of his work, so far as it relates to his own times. Conveniently forgetting the manner of his own acquisition of a fellowship, he passes over the interesting Commonwealth period with a sneering mention of Young and Worthington as intruded into the mastership *authoritate, si Dis placet, Parliamentaria*. He writes a pompous Latin which savours of the college exercise; but in questions of fact he may generally be relied on. His materials were derived from a diligent examination of college and nunnery documents, as well as from printed sources, and for the times immediately preceding his own he drew on the recollections of older residents of the college. He became a canon and archdeacon of Salisbury, died in 1671, and was buried in the chancel of the college chapel[2].'

John Sherman: d. 1671.

His *Historia Collegii Jesu*. Mr Arthur Gray's criticism of the work.

At Christ's College, 'it is doubtful,' says Dr Peile, 'whether any were sufficiently royalist to be moved to resign'; and although Henry More, in after life, gave expression to an emphatic disclaimer of ever having taken the Covenant, he

Christ's College. [illegible] Henry More [illegible]

qui legitimum, *i.e.* per statuta approbatum titulum sortiti essent. Quamobrem tum in dicto Registro nonnulli numerentur qui Sociorum iniquitate temporum 1644 amotorum locos primo occupabant, eos in praecedenti tabula plane omisimus tanquam solos occupatores subditatum.' It is consequently probable that all the four above-mentioned fellows were Presbyterians.

[1] See *Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington*. Edited by James Crossley, Esq. Chetham Soc. 1847. Vol. I 39, 42.

[2] Gray, *u.s.* pp. 116–7. Sherman's manuscript was edited and printed in 1840 by J. O. Halliwell, but with numerous omissions and not a few errors.

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makes no mention of the Engagement[1]. Dillingham, indeed, writing to Sancroft, declares that More was one of the first to submit, and describes the facile submission of the society, generally, in somewhat contemptuous terms. Ralph Widdrington's assent, however, must have been an almost foregone conclusion, inasmuch as he had been appointed to the Public Oratorship in the preceding month, and his brother, Sir Thomas, had been made Serjeant for the Commonwealth, some five months before[2].

Ralph Widdrington: b. 1615(?), d. 1690. Public Orator 1650—72.

At St John's College, the royalist party, already in a minority among the intruded Covenanters with whom they were waging 'a bitter feud[3],' began to dwindle pitiably, and the example of Henry Paman, perhaps the ablest of their number, but now one of the first to defect, proved disastrous. Paman had originally been one of Sancroft's pupils at Emmanuel, from whence he had migrated to become a fellow of St John's. Writing, in 1649, to his old tutor, he describes the majority of the fellows as in a state of painful perplexity and indecision, in which he himself at that time shared[4].

St John's College.

Henry Paman, M.D.: b. 1628, d. 1666. Public Orator 1672—91.

His letter to Sancroft: 21 Nov. 16

[1] '...as if I were either Presbyterian or Independent! When as my nearest relations were deep sufferers for the King, and my self exposed (*by constantly denying the Covenant*) to the loss of that little preferment I had before those times, as I never received any employment or preference in them.' *Preface* to the *Tetractys Anti-Astrologica, or the Four Chapters in the Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness, which contain a brief but solid Confutation of Judiciary Astrology*, etc. By Hen. More, D.D., London, 1681. [Not included in the *Opera Omnia* of the author, which had already appeared in 2 vols. fol. in 1679.]

[2] 'Mr Widdrington, More jun. and Nichols of that Coll. did the like, and indeed were the first that lead; the rest of Christ's gave in a paper miserably laughed at, Sir Thomas Martin swearing they offered more than the Parl^t. required.' Tanner MS. LVI 242. Dr Peile, quoting from the Wall MSS. (Univ. Lib. Mm. v. 48), says, 'This matter naturally was brought up against him [Widdrington] after the Restoration. He replied that he had not got Molle, his predecessor, ejected; on the contrary, Molle resigned in his favour, and he had paid Molle all the stipend of his office for the remaining seven or eight years of his life.' *Christ's College*, p. 173; see also Mayor, *Matthew Robinson*, pp. 198 200. The latter cites a letter (p. 199) by Hen. Darly, which shews that the Committee appointed Widdrington as early as Oct. 24, while Dillingham's letter is dated Dec. 30: I infer from this that the appointment of the former must have *preceded* his acceptance of the Engagement by several weeks.

[3] See Newcome's *Autobiography* (quoted by Mayor, *Matthew Robinson*, p. 29), p. 7. 'Most of the religious,' says Newcome, 'were for the parliament and of the new fellows' party.' *Ibid.*

[4] 'The subscription is every day expected. I dare not say what I will do, nor ask the counsel of my best friends, what I ought to do. For I confess I have slighted my own and

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CHAP. IV. But before the year closed he had yielded to what he deemed the inevitable, and in the following April, no less than fourteen admissions of new fellows completed the transformation of the society. Among the number was Matthew Robinson, destined afterwards to develop into that noteworthy combination of the well-read divine, the discerning physician, the courageous upholder of the new philosophy, and the benevolent and hospitable country gentleman. His father had fallen when fighting on the parliamentary side, and the Master, Dr Arrowsmith (whose favour the young Yorkshireman had not failed to gain), 'along with the majority of the seniors, chose him,' he tells us, 'fellow with the first,' while 'by the proctor's indulgence,' he 'had sent him unsought the seniority of all his year[1].' The only names recorded as those of fellows ejected as staunch refusers of the Engagement, are Allen Hewman, Robert Clarke, and Thomas Wombwell, although it would appear that the governing body, after the Restoration, disclaimed all responsibility for their removal[2]. It was not an episode, indeed, to which either party could afterwards revert with much satisfaction, and Baker, who characterizes Arrowsmith's government as 'almost a continued usurpation,' declines altogether to enter into details[3].

Matthew Robinson: b. 1629, d. 1694.

At Magdalene, Dr Rainbowe, unable to sign the Engagement, on receiving an intimation that he must resign the mastership, betook himself to London, and having there obtained an audience of the Committee, professed his willingness to live quietly under the existing government. This partial submission proved, however, of no avail, and he was succeeded on the 31st of August by John Sadler[4], with respect to whose qualifications for office the accounts are somewhat conflicting. 'He was, I am informed,' says Walker,

their counsel.' 'St John's, Nov. 23rd, 1649.' D'Oyly, *Life of Sancroft*, i 50.

[1] Mayor, *Matthew Robinson*, p. 29.

[2] Such at least would seem to be the necessary inference with respect to Hewman, when, on 29 June 1660, a writ from the King's Bench gave orders for his restoration, and the following entry in the *Register of Admissions* was made: 'This writ was received and executed by the mr. and seniors 29 June 1660. But Mr Hewman was not removed from his fellowship by the mr. and fellowes, with which they are in this writ charged, but by the committee for the university.' See Baker-Mayor, i 297.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 226.

[4] Purnell, *Magdalene College*, p. 109.

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'a very insignificant man[1]'; while Calamy tells us, on the authority of a 'clergyman of the Church of England, who knew him in the university,' that he was 'accounted not only a general scholar and an accomplished gentleman, but also a person of great piety, which he discovered when he resided in the college, which was at some certain times in the year[2].' It is certain, however, that Dr Sadler had been educated at Emmanuel, and that he was 'Town Clerk of London,' and continued to fill this latter post as long as he was master of the college[3]. Along with the master, were ejected two fellows,—Richard Perrinchief and John Howorth. Of the former we altogether lose sight until the Restoration, when his demonstrative loyalty gained for him considerable church preferment (including the archdeaconry of Huntingdon),—and ultimately, a tomb in Westminster Abbey. Of his literary activity we shall have occasion to speak in the ensuing chapter. Howorth also survived to be promoted to the mastership of the college in 1664[4].

CHAP. I

Ejections of Richard Perrinchief and John Howorth from their fellowships.

The evidence with respect to Trinity College confirms the conclusion of Walker—that the 'greatest part' had been 'turned out' when the Covenant was tendered. The only names, indeed, which he adduces in connexion with the Engagement are those of Stacy, Nicholas, and Humfrey Babington[5]; but a letter preserved in the muniment-room of the college shews that to these must be added those of Samways and Rhodes, of whom express mention is made as 'proved delinquents for sending plate to the King' and 'yet holding fellowships[6].' As this letter is dated 1649, it might be inferred that their expulsion followed soon after, but with Samways this was certainly not the case. He would appear, it is true, to have gone out of residence, the last payment of his *stipendium* being dated Christmas, 1650[7], but as late as 1653 we find him styled 'Fellow lately resident in Trinity College[8],'

Trinity College.

Peter Samways: b. 1615, d. 1658. John Rhodes.

[1] Walker, II 151.
[2] *A Continuation of the Account*, etc. (1727), I 116.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Purnell, 110, 118.
[5] Walker, II 162.
[6] Communicated by Rev. A. H. F. Boughey.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] See List of Books appended by Richard Royston to *Richard* Samways' treatise, *England's Faithfull*

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and his expulsion probably took place in that year, for, on the 19th of January 1654, the Engagement itself was repealed by the Protector[1]. Samways' subsequent career, so far as known to us, as rector of three country parishes in succession, proves him to have been sincerely attached to the Church, but not less so to the cause of civil and religious liberty; while it must not be left unmentioned that he was on intimate terms with Isaac Barrow, the master of his college, and also with Ussher and with Sancroft. The name of Humfrey Babington, second son of Humfrey Babington of Rothley Temple in Leicestershire, claims notice chiefly as that of a benefactor of his college; for, although a fellow of the society, there is little evidence to suggest that he was distinguished by his attainments. But he was a man of good family, was possessed of ample means, and, when the Restoration came, the fact of his having thus suffered in defence of his principles necessarily enhanced the royal estimate of his deserts. In 1669, accordingly, he was created a doctor of divinity *per literas Regias*[2], an honour which was, no doubt, peculiarly acceptable, for the recipient was then in his fifty-fourth year, and, as he had never proceeded B.D. (being exempted by college statutes from the obligation to do so)[3], there was small probability that he would ever be disposed to acquire the degree by compliance with the conditions imposed by the Elizabethan statutes, involving, as they did, not only residence in the university for a certain specified time, together with the keeping of certain 'acts,' but also the

Humfrey Babington: b. 1613, d. 1691, M.A. 1642, S.T.P. 1669.

Onerous character of the original requirements for the degree of B.D.

Reprover and Monitour (London, Printed by *E. Cotes*, for *Richard Royston* at the Angell in Ivie Lane, 1654), in which the work by Peter, *Devotion directed*, etc., etc., is stated to be 'by *Peter Samwaies*, Fellow lately resident in Trinity College, Cambridge, in 12°.' The author of the 'Reprover' was a fellow of C. C. College, Oxford. See Walker, II 112; Hasted and Laing, I 751. The evidence, such as it is, is not suggestive of any relationship; Peter, a Westminster scholar, being described as 'the son of a person about court,' while Richard was the son of the vicar of Ilminster in Somersetshire. See *D. N. B.* I 242; Wood, *Athenae*, II 430-1.

[1] Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, II 316.

[2] *Graduati Cantabrigienses* (1659-1823), p. 18. He was thus absolved from the obligation of declaring that for five years subsequent to his admission as bachelor, 'omnia quae ad gradum doctoratus in eadem facultate suscipiendum perfecerit.' *Formulae*, p. 2.

[3] On this exemption, see Monk's *Life of Bentley*, c. VII.

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delivery of a sermon both at Great St Mary's and where 'Paul's Cross' had once stood in London[1]. The statutable requirements, in short, were so onerous, that the compilers of the code had deemed it expedient to limit those for the doctorate to the payment of a fee and to the propounding and determining that single *quaestio* in the schools[2], which has since given place to the 'Dissertation.' The 'royal letters,' of course, dispensed with all this, but it is not improbable that Dr Babington may, at times, have been conscious of a certain desire to vindicate his right so to be styled. In the year following upon his promotion to the doctorate, the like honour had been bestowed by Charles on Isaac Barrow, to be followed, two years later, by the promotion of the latter to the mastership of Trinity. Of the wisdom of the royal award, on this occasion, there could be no question. Dr Babington himself would have readily admitted that he was not Barrow, who had recently passed away, in the prime of life, with the reputation of the finest preacher in the English Church; but the incumbent of the parish of Boothby Pagnell in Lincolnshire may, none the less, have been conscious of powers and of an erudition which deserved a wider sphere for their adequate display. When, accordingly, his friend and neighbour, Thomas Harrington, the squire of that parish and high sheriff of the county, took upon himself to suggest that Dr Babington should preach the occasional sermon at the approaching assizes at Lincoln in 1678, the proposal was received with but a faint *nolo episcopari*. The doctor's predecessor in his rectory, it was true, had been a no less eminent divine than Robert Sanderson, the late bishop of Lincoln. 'I have his table, stool, and candlestick,' said Babington, as the vision of a mitre swam before his eyes,—but he at the same time averred that he held himself 'as unworthy to write after'

Dr Babington is invited to preach at the Lincoln Assizes: A.D. 1678.

[1] *Documents*, I 460.

[2] '*Post tantum laboris susceptum et tot pericula atque examin*· nolumus plus laboris doctoribus imponere quam ipsi volunt sua sponte suscipere nisi quod semel infra annum suscepti gradus *quaestionem* ipsi sibi proponent in publicis scholis, cujus ambigua et dubitationes, dum in utramque partem enucleaverint, definient determinabuntque sub poena quadraginta solidorum academicae solvendorum.' *Ibid.* I 461. Cf. Peacock, *Observations*, etc., p. 13.

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Sanderson, as 'to succeed him.' He assented, however, non the less, to the high sheriff's proposal[1], and composed hi sermon for the occasion[2].

Views put forward at the Westminster Assembly with regard to pulpit oratory: 7 June 1644.

Among the innovations proposed while the Westminste Assembly still sat, there was one which had elicited th expression of very divergent opinions. We have alread noted the irreverent demonstration made by the townsme of Cambridge when Dr Power was on his way to deliver hi Latin sermon at St Mary's[3]. There were those among th Puritan party who held, not only that the use of a dea language in the pulpit required to be altogether suppresse but that everything which was beyond the comprehension even of the uneducated laity, was out of place in the sermon

Palmer objects to quotations in strange languages.

Such was the strong conviction of Herbert Palmer, th president of Queens' and one of the compilers of the Director of Public Worship; and from his place in the Assembly h had argued forcibly against 'any use of strange languages' b preachers. To his influence we may probably attribute th clause in the recorded proceedings prohibiting not only th 'speaking of Latin, Greek and Hebrew,' but also all 'citation from the Fathers[4].'

Admiration of country congregations for the same.

Singularly enough, however, such instruc tions were by no means popular with many of those for whos benefit they were expressly designed,—the admiration of rustic audience often rising in proportion precisely as th discourse from the pulpit, both in diction and in ideas, soare beyond their comprehension.

Experience of Dr Pococke as a preacher at Childrey.

Such, for example, was th experience of Edward Pococke, the eminent Oriental scholar whenever he left his chair in Oxford to preach to his rusti

[1] 'This Sermon, which at first was the meer product of your earnest desires, and then ...the subject of your favourable and candid attention at Lincolne.' *Dedication to Sermon.*

[2] *Mercy & Judgment. A Sermon preached at the Assises held at Lincolne; July* 15, 1678. By Humfrey Babington, D.D., etc., etc. Cambridge. Printed by John Hayes, Printer to the University; for Henry Dickinson, Bookseller in Cambridge, 1678. The writer of Babington's *Life* in the *D. N. B.* (II 311), by a singular inadvertency, represents him as having gained the doctorat [S.T.P. = D.D.] as a reward for thi loyal sermon which was not delivere until nine years afterwards! Th fact that Babington belonged to a ancient family, whose members wer for centuries connected both wit St John's and Trinity, would hav been quite sufficient, taken in con junction with his loyalist principles to recommend him for such recogni tion.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 245-6.

[4] Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 280, 281

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audience at Childrey. He had refused the Engagement; and being, on other points, much disposed to agree with Palmer, he determined that his own sermons should be couched entirely in plain and simple English. Greatly to his disappointment, however, he soon discovered that he had simply ruined his reputation among his parishioners as a theologian; for although they readily admitted him to be a kind and honest man, they concluded that he was 'no Latinist[1].' The ornate discourses, teeming with learned quotations, which, at nearly the same time, Jeremy Taylor was delivering to his audiences at Golden Grove, would probably, on the other hand, have moved the congregation at Childrey to admiration, although the Latin, the Greek, the Hebrew, and even the eloquence, would alike have been altogether above their comprehension. CHAP. IV

Dr Babington's discourse at Lincoln.

A sense of the wrong which he had once suffered at the hands of the Assembly, and a responsive contempt for their apparent contempt of learning, not unmingled with a desire to justify his own claim to take rank as a scholarly divine, were consequently all actuating motives with Dr Babington, when he composed for his Assize audience his remarkable sermon; and rarely, since the Reformation, had so pedantic a homily been delivered before a like congregation. The worthy burgesses of the city and the graziers of the county, who attended on the occasion, can hardly but have listened with awe and wonder, as quotation after quotation from the original Hebrew and the Targum, from the Greek Testament and from the Greek Fathers, from Homer and Diogenes

[1] While his sermons before the university at Oxford were, his biographer assures us, 'very elaborate, and full of critical and other learning,' those delivered in his parish 'were plain and easy, having nothing in them which he conceived to be above the capacities, even of the meanest of his auditors.' Twells, *Life of Dr Edward Pocock* (ed. 1816), i 92 95. It is evident, however, that the underlying cause of Pococke's unpopularity was his preaching against 'those schisms and divisions,' then 'breaking in upon the Church' (*Ibid.* p. 93). Gardiner observes that it was only 'the testimonies in his favour from Oxford' that deterred the ejectors in 1656 from ejecting him from his living. *Commons' and Protect.* iii 233, n. 2. According to the candid admission of William Dell, in his bitter attack on Oxford and Cambridge, the universities were 'of honorable esteem everywhere in the nation, especially with the *ignorant* and *vulgar* people.' *Confutation of divers gross and Anti-christian Errors*, etc. London, 1654, sig. (a).

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Laertius, from the Latin Version and from Cicero, Ovid an St Augustine fell in rapid succession on their ears. But, a the high sheriff had invited the Doctor to preach, so 'th honourable and reverend Judges' pressed him to print; an from his rooms in Trinity, where he had long before bee reinstated in his fellowship, he penned the dedication of hi discourse to Thomas Harrington[1], just as Sanderson had bee wont to dedicate his sermons to the squire's grandfather. I 1682, only a few months before his death, Dr Babington wa elected to the vice-mastership of his college,—an honou partly designed, in all probability, in recognition of tha staunch loyalty to the Crown which breathes throughout hi memorable sermon, but still more to mark the sense of th society itself of his active interest in its welfare, as atteste by his liberality in erecting those additional four arches i Nevile's Court, which, along with their superimposed cham bers, marked another stage in the work of completing Si Thomas Sclater's design[2] and served permanently to per petuate the name of Babington in the records of Trinity

He prints it at the request of the Judges.

His [illegible] to Trinity.

EMMANUEL COLLEGE.

Temporary return of William Sancroft: [illegible] Nov. 1650.

His letter from college to his brother Thomas: Nov. 17.

In the course of the year 1650, William Sancroft re appeared at Emmanuel and became, in turn, the correspondent of members of the society at a distance, especially his brothe Thomas, now at Fressingfield. For a long time his own fat hung doubtfully in the balance, his high character, an probably the influence of Brownrig, serving to protect him although he was mystified rather than reassured when h learned that, while his name had been given in as that of 'refuser,' it had not, as yet, been placed on the official blac list. The delay inspired him with fresh hopes, and he eve began to look upon Dr Love's ability to maintain himself i his mastership at Corpus as in the greater jeopardy[3], especiall

[1] 'Trin. Coll., Sept. 17, 1678.' 'Your most faithful and obliged Oratour, *Humfrey Babington*.'

[2] Willis and Clark, II 522-5.

[3] 'I am not turn'd out yet; though many have been, since you receiv'd my last, as Dr Young of Jesus, Dr Spurstow of Katherin Hall, & Mr Vines of Pembroke hall, and some fellowes of various colleges. Dr Love is suspended, but not yet out, an some say there is a way found ou that he shall be thought to hav given satisfaction as to the Engag ment, & soe that he will be continue But unlesse he subscribe downrigh I hardly thinke he can escape, f many gape for his place.' Tann MS. LVI 234.

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when a correspondent in London informed him that certain petitioners for his own fellowship had been curtly assured that 'they might as well think to remove a mountain as Mr Sancroft[1].' A month later, however, a notice from the Committee was left at his chambers to the effect that, unless he subscribed the Engagement within a month from that date, his successor would be forthwith nominated, and some time prior to the following August[2], his expulsion took place. It was at the instance of Thomas Brainford that the notice had been served, and Brainford himself now succeeded Sancroft in his fellowship. Among the other intruded fellows we find the names of Carter[3], Illingworth[4] and Moseley[5]. That of William Croone[6], an alumnus of the society, will again claim our interest in a future chapter, as of one who was both a benefactor to the university and to the cause of scientific progress. He had been admitted in 1647 from Merchant Taylors' School when only fourteen years of age, but was now elected to a fellowship, and before another eight years had passed, succeeded to the professorship of rhetoric at Gresham College[7]. The ejection of John Davenport, which did not take place until 1654, was one of the latest consequent upon the refusal of the Engagement[8].

CHAP. I

His ultim[illegible] ejection: July 1651.

Elections [illegible] Thomas Brainford, Carter, James Illingworth and Mosel[illegible]

William Croone: b. 1633, d. 1684. B.A. 165[illegible]

John Davenport Matric. 16[illegible] B.A. 164[illegible]. M.A. 16[illegible]

[1] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 99.

[2] The order of the Committee was as follows: 'That the senior fellow in the said college resident, do cause notice to be left at the chamber of Mr Sancroft,...that in case he does not make it appear to this committee, on this day month peremptorily, that he has subscribed the Engagement,' 'this Committee will without further notice nominate another to succeed,' etc. Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, II 269. That it must have been in July that his ejection took place is shewn by a letter to Holdsworth, dated 'Sept. 6, 1651,' in which he says, 'I have been turned out of my fellowship *these six weeks*; and yet have enough left me to please myselfe in.' In a postscript, however, he speaks of 'fearing a hectique distemper,' but resigning himself to a life of idleness in the country with as much resignation as he can muster. Tanner MS. LV 39.

[3] Probably Martin Carter, matriculated as pensioner at Queens', July 1645.

[4] James Illingworth, B.A. 1648–9.

[5] Probably Francis Mosley, B.A. 165[illegible]; M.A. 1654.

[6] For William Croone (misprinted 'Crosse' in Shuckburgh), see Birch (Thos.), *Hist. of the Royal Society*, IV 339–40; *D. N. B.* XIII 207. He himself appears to have written his name *Croone*. See note to p. 320 of Ward's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*.

[7] Ward, *Lives*, u.s.

[8] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 100. Davenport (according to Bennett) had been elected a fellow in 1649. *Letter from Dr Chawner*.

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Prompt submission of SIDNEY COLLEGE: Dec. 1650.

Example set by Dr Minshull.

At Sidney the entire college made an early and complete submission. Dr Minshull, indeed, could hardly have been oblivious of the fact that it was to Cromwell that he was indebted for his position as head of the society[1]. He accordingly feigned a brief resistance; and then, to quote the description of Samuel Dillingham, 'crept at night to the lodgings' of the Committee, 'and put his hand to the parchment, his whole college ambling next day in the same steps[2].' This was towards the close of December, when, according to the same authority, the great majority of the residents in the university still held out. Throughout the years 1651 to 1653, accordingly, we find ejections continuously going on, and it was not until nearly the close of the latter year that an 'iniquitous clause,' as Gardiner justly terms it[3], was expunged from the Act, whereby refusers had been denied the benefits of courts of justice. In the mean time, however, other ejections were taking place which have sometimes been erroneously ascribed to the operation of the Act but had really no connexion with the Engagement. As an illustration of this, and also of the general conditions of college life throughout the period of ejections, it will here be not a little instructive to take note of a very remarkable episode in the experiences of our most ancient society, a record which for interest and fulness of detail is perhaps hardly to be paralleled in the history of any other Cambridge foundation down to the time of Bentley.

Ejections of refusers of the Engagement as late as 1654.

Ejections on other grounds.

The rule of the earlier Western [illegible]

The early statutes of Peterhouse, as we have already seen[4], were, for the most part, little more than a transcript of those given to Merton College by its founder, but the conception which both societies represented is to be traced back to a far more distant time, and the rule of the seculars whom Walter de Merton and Hugh of Balsham alike designed to educate for the service of the Church, was itself semi-

[1] Dr Minshull and Cromwell had been undergraduates together at Sidney, and the former had supported the Puritan party prior to his election to the mastership. See *supra*, p. 254, n. 1.

[2] Samuel Dillingham to Sancroft, 20 Dec. 1650. Tanner MS. LVI 242.

[3] Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, II 261, 316.

[4] Author's *History*, etc. I 223-4, II 236.

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monastic, and probably purely monastic in its origin. In other words, it differed only as regards minor details from that of those early monasteries of western Christendom which, in the days of Theodosius the Great or of Justinian, were established under the auspices of Augustine of Hippo or of Benedict of Nursia,—a rule devised for a society governed exclusively by its head, who had been elected to his office by the other members of the community, subject only to the approval of the bishop of the diocese. As at Hippo in Africa, and as at Monte Cassino in Italy, so at Cambridge, in the rule of the little House of St Peter without Trumpington Gate, the royal charter, the distinctive dress, the ceremony of election by 'the scholars[1],' and the ratification of their choice by the prelate at Ely[2], preserve to us the evidences of a time-honoured conservatism in matters of organization in singular conjunction with a deep-rooted spirit of enquiry in the interpretation of dogma.

In cases where the monastery or the college was small, there was much to be said for thus investing its head with an authority which did not admit of being easily called in question[3]; and we have to remember that at Cambridge, at

[1] It may be as well here to recall that in the original code of Peterhouse, as in that of Merton College, no distinction is drawn between scholarships and fellowships. 'All were *scholares*; the "scholar," in the modern sense, was simply a junior fellow, and the "fellow" a senior scholar.' Brodrick, *Memorials of Merton College*, 1885 (p. 6, n. 3), in which a translation of Walter de Merton's *final* code of 1274 has been printed by the late Warden. Mr Henderson (*Merton College*, pp. 18–19) finds the modern distinction between 'fellow' and 'scholar' foreshadowed in certain 'poor students,' *scholares secundarii*, provided for in a note appended to the College code of 1270, but never actually instituted. The ninth chapter of the code of 1274, making attendance at the 'hours' and at 'celebration of masses' obligatory on members of the college only 'as far as their leisure serves' (Brodrick, p. 322), marks a noteworthy divergence from the monastic rule.

[2] The Warden of Merton was to be chosen from *three* names presented to the Visitor, the Master of Peterhouse from only *two*. Mr Henderson adds, 'it was also held that the Visitor must choose the first of the names presented, and neglect by external authorities either of the statute or of this belief usually led to disturbances.' *Merton College*, p. 21.

[3] 'Yet might that man not unfitly be thought capable of a junior fellowship in St Johns Colledge, where the government being onely in a few Seniors, he could not of many years be capable of such considerable trust: and yet the same man unfit for a fellowship in Peterhouse; where, by the constitution, after one year, he is capable to participate as fellow, in all points, both of profit and government, equally with the greatest Senior of the College.' *True State of the Case of Mr Hotham*, etc. 1651, 4to. p. 44; 24mo. p. 73.

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the time when the Elizabethan statutes were promulgated, the fourteen existing colleges were smaller, for the most part, than they were at the outbreak of the Civil War. In Peterhouse, after the expulsion of Dr Cosin and his supporters, the numbers were exceptionally small[1]; but it would appear that it had from the first been found desirable, by the fellows on that ancient foundation, to yield a practical assent to a certain clause in the fiftieth statute of the above code whereby each head of a Cambridge college had already been invested with autocratic powers by virtue of his possession of 'a negative voice[2],'—or, in other words, whereby his assent was always to be held essential to the validity of any election to an appointment in the society, whether it were a fellowship or scholarship or any other office. At Peterhouse, moreover, another requirement served still further to strengthen the autocratic powers of the head. The college code enjoined that every new fellow, whether imposed on the society by mandate or elected in the usual course, should, during his first year, be only a 'probationer,'—'not intermedling with the government of the college, not receiving any profits besides his commons in hall[3].' As, however, he could only be elected while still a bachelor of arts, *in arte dialectica baccalaureus*[4], the number of those from whom the electors had to choose was exceptionally small, the number of those who had any voice in college affairs still smaller. They also represented the section among whom the Master's influence was exceptionally potent. Each junior fellow, whether a probationer or one whose election had been confirmed, was well aware that the Master, had he so willed it, could have stayed his election, and also its confirmation. And even when the period of suspense was over, it again became clear that his chances of succeeding to any

The Master's claim to a 'negative voice' practically conceded at Peterhouse after 1644.

The system of 'Probationers.'

[1] The number of those on the foundation in 1650 was only fourteen fellows and the Master. Hotham, *u. s.* 4to. p. 25; 24mo. p. 50.

[2] 'In omnibus et singulis electionibus tam sociorum discipulorum scholarium officiariorum lectorum reliquorumque membrorum cujusque collegii quam in omnibus et singulis locationibus et concessionibus quibuscunque, necessario requirendus est magistri sive præpositi illius collegii assensus et consensus.' *Statuta Reginæ Elizabethæ*, cap. I. *Documents*, I 493.

[3] See *Statutes of St Peter's College*, no. 52, 'De anno probationis scholarium.' *Documents*, II 88; Hotham, *u. s.* 4to. p. 28; 24mo. p. 55.

[4] *Documents*, II 64.

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college office and thereby eventually obtaining a life-tenure of his fellowship, depended on the personal decision of the same authority. To him, accordingly, it appeared an object of primary importance to gain the goodwill of the Master; and it now transpired that the new head of Peterhouse was resolved to make it his first object to strengthen as far as possible his hold on the support of the junior fellows. In 1644, when the new fellows had been intruded by Manchester, the observance of the probationary system had, of course, been found impracticable; for, to quote Charles Hotham's terse description of the situation, 'We came into a depopulated colledge, all the old fellows but the President, and another, either actually turn'd out, or ready to be turn'd out for delinquency, as fast as ever there could be got men to supply their rooms; not one of those left (the President excepted) would once in publicke own the Master by coming to colledge meetings, or otherwise[1].' He is careful, however, to explain that 'we and all others, put in by my Lord of Manchester, were not admitted till we were first publickly examined of our sufficiency before the whole Assembly of Divines[2].' With the year 1650, when conditions allowed of a return to the normal mode of conducting such elections, the senior fellows found themselves embarrassed by the manifest intention of Lazarus Seaman not to revert to the system of 'Probations.' The reason of his conduct was to them sufficiently clear. Conscious of having almost entirely forfeited the goodwill of the seniors, he was intent on gaining that of the juniors by bringing about the immediate entrance of all elected to fellowships 'upon an equal enjoyment of emolument' and the right to a like voice in the conduct of affairs. As, however, the dividends hitherto withheld from probationers had gone to augment those of the seniors, the latter naturally demurred. To them it appeared that 'this sudden ascent of young scholars from a state of minority, to the highest power of command and equality with their superiors,' was not only 'a

[1] *A True State of the Case of Mr Hotham*, 4to. p. 28; 24mo. pp. 56–57 [in the quarto edition, the pagination from pages 32 to 37 (inclusive) is misprinted as 40 to 45].

[2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 45; 24mo. p. 76.

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strong temptation to pride and self-conceitedness, and of great danger to procure disorder and misgovernment in colledge affairs,' but also likely 'to make the colledge government contemptible to the younger students and so ineffectual to those good ends to which it was ordained[1].' They did not, however, attempt to disguise the fact that the unpaid dividends went to augment their own; and they candidly admitted that they looked upon 'this profit accrewing from Probationers' as 'one of the rightful appurtenances of our fellowships,' 'which,' Hotham goes on to say, 'are poor enough, and this year, by reason of the taxes, like to be much impaired. We fellows of colleges having been so modest as to desire no augmentation of the State; I hope, therefore, you will not think it equal, those casual augmentations allowed us by our Founder should be taken from us[2].'

Admission of the fellows of Peterhouse that the Probation system was profitable to themselves, but they plead that they had not petitioned for 'augmentation.'

The above reference to 'augmentations' relates to a clause in an Act, passed fifth of April 1650, whereby the Committee for regulating the Universities had been instructed 'to have regard unto the number of Houses of Learning in each university, and to make an assignment of maintenance unto them accordingly.' This was to be done out of funds accruing from 'certain tithes,' which, having been vested in trustees, were now at the command of parliament, and, as the immediate result, the heads of thirteen of the colleges found themselves in receipt of grants which, in some cases, at once more than doubled their incomes, and afforded material relief in all[3]. In the imperfect List which has come down to us, the actual values of the masterships at St John's, Emmanuel, and Clare are left blank, so that the proportion of the new grant to the previous income does not appear, but in each of these three cases an addition of £100 was authorized. The heads of St Catherine's and Trinity Hall, with incomes declared at £22. 13*s.* 4*d.* and £47 respectively, received, the former, an augmentation of £90, the latter, of £53; those of Caius and Pembroke, with £70 and £72, received additions

Parliament authorizes an increase in the stipends of the Heads of Colleges.

Particulars of the distribution of the sum allotted.

[1] *True State*, etc. 4to. p. 41; 24mo. pp. 66, 67.

[2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 40; 24mo. p. 64.

[3] See *Values of Masterships and their Augmentation as it was designed at London*, 1650. Baker MS. xxv 398.

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of £60 and £70; those of Jesus and Corpus, with £48 and £50, received £90 and £70; those of Queens' and Christ's, with £68. 3*s.* 3*d.* and £110. 1*s.* 8*d.*, received each an addition of £50; those of Magdalene and Sidney, with £103 and £90, augmentations of £47 and £40. As neither Trinity nor Peterhouse is mentioned in the list, they may be assumed not to have applied for augmentation,—the former, probably, as not requiring it; the latter, as only too sensible that its head, by his habitual non-residency and parsimony in relation to the college, had forfeited his right to prefer any claim to such external assistance[1].

There is nothing to shew that Lazarus Seaman was himself aware of anything in the college code which could fairly be urged in contravention of his own theory of the powers vested in his office. In the statute relating to the same, he is expressly styled the *Gubernator* or Governor; the university statute, as we have seen, gave countenance to his claims; and the right of intervention by a Visitor, as formerly represented by the bishop of Ely, was now being exercised by the London Committee. In addition to all this, the Commission for revising the Statutes of the Colleges had only recently begun its labours[2], and he might reasonably consider that any question affecting his autocracy would be better deferred, at least until the commissioners appeared at Peterhouse. It boded ill, however, for his pretensions, that, as the year 1650 advanced, it became evident that autocracies generally were less in favour, and that institutions and societies desirous of commending themselves to public support were assuming a form of organization derived neither from monastic nor monarchic precedents, but from those of

[1] 'And for his Benefice' [Seaman's incumbency of All Hallows, Bread Street] 'and Assembly-man-ship, there's no reason either of them should be a protection to save him from an arrest for that debt of residence he owes the college...for one of them being a place (by common fame) of one, if not two hundred pounds a year, the other, of four shillings a day, it seems not very reasonable, that one so against pluralities should enjoy the revenue of all three places and bear the burden but of two. For he hath all this time of his discontinuance laid in a manner the whole burden of his college office upon the President's back, not allowing him for his pains so much as one peny.' *The Petition and Argument of Mr Hotham*, etc. 4to. pp. 25–26; 24mo. p. 84.

[2] See *supra*, p. 329.

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CHARLES HOTHAM; b. 1615, d. 1672. Intruded fellow of Peterhouse June 1644.

the newly established Commonwealth. In the mean time, one of the senior fellows of the college, Charles Hotham by name, with the design probably of appealing to the commissioners in person, had been diligently perusing the manuscript of the statutes, and had already arrived at the conclusion that, so far from their lending support to the Elizabethan statute, they virtually contravened it. He was a Yorkshireman of good family, with strong northern sympathies, and among the members of his house had been that John Hotham who, as bishop of Ely and chancellor of the realm, had borne a prominent part in the conduct of affairs in the reign of Edward II. But within the last few years a dark cloud had obscured the fame and fortunes of this ancient house. Charles's father, Sir John Hotham, and his half-brother, also named John (a son of the Knight by his first marriage), had both been executed on the scaffold as traitors to the Commonwealth. He himself, probably foreseeing the fate that was already menacing the royalist cause, had gone over to the Presbyterian party some months before; and, in his zeal as a convert, he next began to preach vigorously against the Engagement, only desisting when formally enjoined to pursue the subject no further. His acceptance of what he terms 'a poor fellowship at Peterhouse' had not been concluded, according to his own statement, until some persuasion had been resorted to by certain members of that society and 'after near half a year's deliberation' on his own part[1]. Once enrolled, however, among the fellows, he became one of its most loyal sons, and after seven years passed within the college walls, he could conscientiously affirm that he had 'demeaned himself in that charge as becomes a Christian and faithful member alike' of his college, university and Commonwealth[2]. Unlike his father, whom Clarendon de-

Circumstances which led to his adoption of an academic life.

[1] *A True State of the Case*, etc. 4to. p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* Hotham's own language implies his sense of a *twofold* obligation to defend the interests of Peterhouse: 'there having been one of my own name and family, the third, or fourth successor to the bishop of Ely that founded the College, a great benefactor to it,...and myself coming now in a more peculiar manner, and by a strange cast of providence, to partake of the good fruits of his bounty; I held it *a double obligation*,' etc. *Petition and Argument*, 4to. p. 8; 24mo. p. 45.

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scribes as a man 'of great pride and ambition,' Charles Hotham had little inclination for a public career, being, by his own confession, 'of weak memory' and prone to 'two cardinal vices,'—'a subrustick pudor and love of ease.' Still less did he resemble Lazarus Seaman; and although they could now meet on a common platform as members of the Presbyterian party, there was a total absence of sympathy between the two. They differed, indeed, in their past careers, not less than in their inherited sympathies and in character. Seaman, the son of humble parents, had entered Emmanuel as a sizar, and, after being admitted bachelor and subscribing what Baker terms 'the three Articles,' had been under the necessity of leaving Cambridge and earning a livelihood as a country schoolmaster. His remarkable energy and singular aptitude for debate had gained for him the notice of Laud, by whom he was instituted to a lectureship in All Hallows Church in Bread Street, and he soon became widely known, throughout London, as a dexterous controversialist, delighting in disputation[1], and ever ready to enforce his arguments, or demolish those of an antagonist, by reference to a small unpointed Hebrew bible which he always carried in his pocket and with which he claimed an exceptionally thorough acquaintance[2]. He was one of the earliest members of the Westminster Assembly, where he was distinguished by the fervour and length of his prayers,—prolonged at times to nearly two hours,—and still more conspicuous by his pertinacity and self-confidence in discussion[3], while his presumptuous assertions in connexion with questions of scholarship occasionally drew forth a dignified demurrer from John Lightfoot himself, who did not omit to record such incidents[4].

His early career as a controversialist.

His reputation in the Westminster Assembly.

[1] See the story told by William Jenkyn (of St John's) in *A Sermon preach't Sept.* 12, 1675. *By occasion of the much lamented Death of that Learned and Reverend Minister of Christ, Dr Lazarus Seaman, late Pastor of Alhallows-Bread-street, London.* London, 1675, pp. 51, 52.

[2] Calamy's *Account*, II[2] 16.

[3] See Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 240, 256, 272, 274, 297-8, 302, 303, 311, 313, 319; also Introd. to Selden's *Table Talk* (ed. Arber), p. 7.

[4] 'At last the text' [Matth. VII 6] 'was putting to the question; and then began Mr Seaman to plead again,' etc. '...I denied the major, and Mr Burroughs and Mr Herle backed me in it. Mr Seaman, improving it, construed "to tread under foot," to neglect or slight. I answered that neither the word in the Hebrew

CHAP. IV. He next appears as accompanying the commissioners sent by parliament to the Isle of Wight to treat with King Charles, when he won the monarch's favour by his readiness in adducing precedents in questions relating to Church government[1]. His succession to the mastership of Peterhouse had preceded Hotham's intrusion as fellow by only two months, and it is not improbable that, from the first, Hotham may have felt some jealousy of this dictatorial divine, imposed as ruler of a society of which he knew so little, while Seaman, no less probably, eyed with suspicion the newly-elected fellow, who had perhaps aspired to be the Master. If such were the case, it may partly explain why the Master found it convenient to be much away (chiefly among his numerous admirers in London), and thus laid himself open to the reproach of non-residency, which the senior fellows did not fail to urge to his disadvantage in the coming conflict. It was an additional element in the dissatisfaction felt at Peterhouse, that he was known to be, at the same time, endeavouring to assert his influence in college, especially among the junior fellows, through one of the former clerks of the Westminster Assembly named Adoniram Byfield[2]. After the Assembly had ceased to sit, Byfield's services appear to have been retained by more than one of the committees as a kind of confidential usher,—an office to which he brought the twofold qualifications of a good presence, in which a fine flowing

His installation as Peterhouse by Manchester: 11 Apr. 1644.

His frequent absence from the College.

Adoniram Byfield.

in the Old Testament, nor in the Greek in the New, signifieth in that sense.' See *Ibid.* XIII 274-5. That Seaman was 'thoroughly study'd in the original languages' (Calamy, II 161 n) probably, like so many of that writer's assertions, a gross exaggeration. Even William Jenkyn, while he extols him as 'a profound casuist,' 'an ocean of theology,' and 'a living body of divinity,' makes no such claim in his behalf, but prefers to enlarge on his learned performance, 'the Divinity-Act, which he kept when he proceeded Doctor' (1649); 'the design of his Position which therein he maintained,' he adds, 'was to assert the Providence of God in disposing of Political Governments' (!), 'and so learnedly did he defend his Position that he repelled all the Arguments brought against it with great strength and dexterity.' See *Sermon, u.s.* (p. 399, n. 1), pp. 52, 53, 56. Hotham, on the other hand, declares that in respect of learning the fellows of Peterhouse had found the Master 'most of all deficient.' See *infra*, p. 416.

[1] See *The Papers which passed between His Majesty,...and Mr Seaman, concerning Church Government* [1649]. 8vo.

[2] See Lightfoot-Pitman, XIII 285, 314, 343. Byfield subsequently joined the Independents; see Masson, *Life of Milton*, IV 392.

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beard was a marked feature, and a certain adroitness in dealing with importunate petitioners. Although not a member of the university, he was known to be in the confidence of the Committee for Augmentations and consequently an adviser in matters relating to Cambridge. Fellows of colleges, when seeking an interview with a Committee, found on more than one occasion that, after they had been required to withdraw, this 'grave seignior, with the great beard[1],' as Hotham styles him, remained behind, free to exert a sinister influence over the progress of events within; and the seniors of Peterhouse felt little doubt that it was owing to his machinations that five of the junior fellows were in receipt, from time to time, of 'private instructions' from the Master, of which they themselves knew nothing[2]. If such were the case, it was almost inevitable that dissensions should arise among the little community. CHAP. IV.

It was, however, maintained by Seaman, that the 'true original of all these commotions' was to be found in an episode which Hotham, as being himself largely concerned therein, proceeds to narrate at length in what he modestly characterises as his 'rough Northern dialect[3].' Among the younger members of the college was Tobias Conyers, who had been admitted under favorable auspices as being the son 'of a godly minister in Yorkshire and one who had suffered much for the parliament,' and whose high promise, early noted by Hotham, his tutor, had led the latter to interest himself warmly in his welfare. He thus tells the story of his pupil: 'I took him at his first admission into the Colledge about the age of sixteen years to be my poor Scholar, in which service he demeaning himself with all faithfulness and diligence, and shewing himself, in the quick apprehension of whatever was laid before him, one of extraordinary parts and industry; that his further proficiency might not be hindred by those necessary diversions of service, I desired to promote him to the degree of a Pensioner; in which way he being not

The story of Tobias Conyers: matriculated at Peterhouse, Easter Term, 1627.

[1] *Petition and Argument of Mr Hotham*, etc. 4to. sig. A 3, p. 46.

[2] 'To the Honourable the Committee,' etc. *Ibid.* sig. A 4.

[3] *Petition and Argument*, u.s. sig. A 4.

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Hotham's endeavours to bring about his pupil's promotion.

able to maintain himself without some concurrent helps, was a suiter to the Master to confer upon him the Chapp Clerks place then vacant.' Such were the circumstances ou of which the quarrel between the Master and the tutor firs arose. Although the former affected readiness to compl with the tutor's suggestion, he raised difficulties and inte posed successive delays[1]; until Hotham, despairing of th attainment of his object, took upon himself to represent th case to the president and the deans, and they, after hearin his statement of the whole business and being 'convinced the poor lads deservings,' concluded to elect Conyers to th office of chapel clerk, 'a place of eight or nine pounds a yea without awaiting the Master's presence or concurrenc Seaman, naturally indignant, on his return to Cambridg behaved, according to Hotham, in a manner that was neith magisterial nor forbearing. He coarsely abused the presider and did his best to eject Conyers from his new post. Thi however, he was altogether unable to do; and it must b admitted that when that ejection did take place, it wa largely the result of Conyers' own imprudence. Exhilarate as Hotham suggests, by his 'sudden promotion[2],' he fell int convivial habits. In those days, when a collegian wante to tipple, he either dropped in at the bar of one of the tow inns or into his college butteries. But a 'Bible clerk' woul probably be chary of being seen either at the White Bull at the White Horse, and it was when he had one day bee drinking at the Peterhouse tap, that Conyers was ther joined by 'a rakel' from Pembroke Hall, when the latte under the influence, it may be conjectured, of the strong al raising the pewter to his lips, astounded the bystanders b drinking to the health of—'the King'! Reports were alread current that Conyers had been seen keeping company wit certain 'malignants'; and it appears to have been undeniabl that, on this occasion, he had 'pledged the toast,' althoug

He obtains for him the office of chapel clerk in the absence of the Master.

Indignation of Seaman on his return.

Conyers' further misconduct.

[1] 'The Master, as I was told by a third person, who made the motion to him, was willing to it, if I would have truck'd with him; i.e. if I would have received one of his recommendation to be my poor Scholer in h place; but I being otherwise engage could not do it.' *The Petition an Argument*, 4to. p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 36.

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'*not* upon his knees[1].' There was, however, no help for it. Hotham summoned his pupil to his chamber and there flogged him 'before two or three of the scholars[2],' and then sent him home to his father, 'with Letters' to the latter, 'informing him how the case stood,' but intimating that 'if a real reformation should appear' in his son, 'he should be welcom to me again[3].' Although, however, all due penitence was subsequently manifested by poor Tobias, no opportunity of reinstating him as bible-clerk at Peterhouse presented itself; and a kindly advocacy of his claims by Hotham to obtain for him an appointment at St John's also failed. He was however admitted to his degree of B.A. and then was fain to retire 'to a poor place' (apparently the village school), at Hapton in Norfolk. Here he remained for more than a year, during which period his former tutor was to some extent reassured by hearing, from time to time, how high was the opinion formed with regard to his late pupil's character 'by the religious and well-affected' of the village; and eventually he was put in possession of a testimonial, signed by the 'Pastor of the Church at Hapton' and other residents in the neighbourhood, to the effect that Conyers' life among them had been 'useful, painfull and industrious,' while he had, 'from time to time,' given satisfactory evidence of 'good affections to the present government and settlement of the Commonwealth[4].'

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He is flogged and sent down.

His penitence.

He is admitted B.A. in the Lent Term 1642.

Among those fellows of Peterhouse who had looked on when William Dowsing was demolishing the angels and evangelists in the college chapel, had been one William Handscomb, who was himself, ultimately, to be there laid to rest[5]. For nearly eight years, however, his fellowship remained vacant, the Master alleging that the dividends were required for 'the colledge necessities,'—'but,' says Hotham, 'as the fellows well knew, for the defrayment of his double dividend.' 'This fellowship (he continues) Conyers,

Irregular appropriation of fellowship dividends.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 42; *see infra*, p. 405, n. 3.

[2] 'I corrected him publickly' (*Ibid.* 4to. p. 43; 24mo. p. 130) must, I think, imply *whipping*,—Conyers not having at this time taken his bachelor's degree; and, if so, we have here certainly one of the latest instances.

[3] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 43.

[4] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 37.

[5] 19 Mar. 165⅔. *The East Anglian*, II 13.

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CHAP. IV. observing the Committee had before in a parallel case, tak
the disposal of such dormant vacancies into their own han
petition'd to have confer'd upon him; whereupon the Co
mittee ordered the Master and Seniors, or any two of the
to certifie the true state of the case[1].' The narrator's accou
of the ensuing incidents affords a noteworthy illustration
the difficulties with which those entrusted with the
ministration of college revenues were in those days frequen
confronted, but, for the present, we must restrict our o
narrative to the fortunes of Conyers, whose petition, it n
reasonably be conjectured, had been drawn up at Hotha
suggestion.

Seaman and Hotham are summoned before the London [illegible].

The kindly-hearted tutor next resolved to try what co
be done by personal advocacy of his former pupil's cause
London, whither both he and Seaman had been summoned
an audience by the Committee for the Reformation of
Universities for the purpose of arguing the moot quest
of the suspended fellowship, Hotham bringing with h
Conyers' petition and also his testimonials. He first of
drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that
bishop of Ely himself, '*in whose power the Committee was*
act' in the case before them, was debarred, by the colle
statute, from assenting 'to the keeping vacant any fellows
without the desire and counsel of the Master and major p
of the fellowes'; he accordingly urged that the fellowship
question should no longer be kept void, and so far prevai
that, on the 27th of March 1651, order was given that '
Master, or President and fellows' should 'forthwith proce
to election of a godly and learned Person into the place
the said Mr Handscomb' and 'give an accompt thereof'
the Committee 'on this day fortnight[2].' On the fifth
April, the President and fellows of Peterhouse assembled
discharge the not ungrateful duty imposed upon them. T
Master's *locum tenens*, Robert Quarles, was a near relation
the poet and also the attached friend of Joseph Beaumo
the recently ejected fellow. Quarles, indeed, had succee

The latter affirms that any further delay in filling up the vacant fellowship is contrary to the statute.

[1] *Petition and Argument*, 4to. p. 34. [2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 37.

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the latter as an 'intruder,' and his first act on being elected was to write to him to say that whatever dividends might accrue should be regularly paid over to Beaumont by the recipient, a promise which he faithfully kept; while both the ejected and the intruded, by the solicitude they alike evinced for the interests and prosperity of Peterhouse[1], exhibited a singular contrast to its selfish and grasping Head. The electors had already agreed among themselves that their personal knowledge of Conyers' attainments exonerated them from any obligation to examine him, and they now elected him, as *a probationer*, to the vacant fellowship,—'all the fellows,' says Hotham, 'consenting, excepting only three juniors brought in lately by the Master's interest in London[2].' Before another week had passed, however, Seaman and Adoniram Byfield had made counter-representations at head-quarters, and that too with such effect[3] that the Committee annulled the election in the following terms:

CHAP

Conyers elected fellows a majo of the fellows

April 10. 1651.

At the Committee for Reformation of the Universities.

For as much as it appears to this Committee, that Tobias Conyers, elected by the Fellows of Peter-House into the Fellowship of Mr Handscomb, hath been guilty of scandal and malignancy, therefore this Committee adjudge him unfit for this Fellowship.

The Committee annul election

Resolved,

That this Committee will chuse a Fellow into the place of Mr Conyers this day fortnight[4].

[1] Beaumont was more particularly distinguished by the pains he took to reduce the college records to order. The Register of Admissions, for many years, is indexed in his handwriting. Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 132.

[2] *Petition*, etc. p. 38. *Authoritate mihi commissâ, Ego* Robertus Quarles *Præses hujus Collegii, admitto te* Tobiam Conyers *in Socium hujus Collegii, ex antiqua fundatione, ad annum probationis et convictum. Aprilis* 5, *Anno Domini* 1651. Conyers received the votes of eight of the eleven fellows present at the election. *Ibid.* 4to. pp. 40, 41; 24mo. pp. 124-6.

[3] '...who [Seaman] would neither according to his duty come down to be present at the election, nor so far own the Colledg, whose rights he is by the fundamentall Statute to be a Patron of, as to acquaint us with any exceptions he had against the person in view.' Seaman, according to Hotham, through 'one of his own creatures' caused Conyers to be reported to the Committee in London, as 'a malignant' who 'had drunk the Kings health *upon his knees*,' and had also been 'guilty of heresie and blasphemy.' *Ibid.* 4to. p. 41; 24mo. p. 127.

[4] *Petition and Argument, u.s.* 4to. pp. 45–46; 24mo. pp. 137–8.

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To Hotham it must have been somewhat galling that, when the above specified time had elapsed, it became known that it was on 'Sir Heywood,' 'the under Butler,' and the Master's former sizar, that the choice of the Committee had fallen. In his irritation he declared that he was ready to prove that Heywood could be shewn to have used language, 'in the face of all the Colledge assembled together,' which convicted him of flagrant 'malignancy,' and, moreover, that he had never subscribed the Engagement! Dr Seaman, accordingly, himself stood convicted of violating not only a college statute but also 'his engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England,' and it was apparent, continues the writer, 'that the great object of his distaste here was *not the malignancy, but only the person*, now clear enough from that disease[1].'

A dispute of such a kind could not fail still further to exacerbate the ill-feeling between the Master and his accuser, and it was now that Hotham, perceiving that Conyers' case hardly admitted of being reopened, determined to make an appeal to the educated community at large and on publishing the whole evidence relating to the 'negative voice' by printing his *Petition and Argument*[2]. In this remarkable manifesto the technical argument rests chiefly on two assumptions: first, that a university statute, passed in 1570, could not legally override a college code drawn up by the founder himself two hundred years before; and, this point conceded, it was easy to prove that Seaman's conduct and claim to a 'negative voice' were directly in contravention of certain clauses in the college statutes wherein the assent of the fellows as a body, or at least that of a majority of the seniors, was declared to be necessary to the validity of any decision upon questions of importance. The writer then proceeds to justify the course he has taken by an adroit reference to the recently appointed Commission[3], instructed

[1] *Petition*, etc. 4to. p. 45; 24mo. pp. 136–7.

[2] In order to disarm suspicion, however, the pamphlet is dedicated to the Committee, 'lest,' he says, 'the publication might be misinterpreted an appeal to others.' *Ibid.* 4to. sig. A 4 r.; 24mo. p. 16.

[3] 'That order you were pleased to make that day, of having a view taken

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to revise both the university and college statutes, a measure which he characterises as embodying 'a noble and generous resolve.' Then follows an *Address* to the 'right worthy senators' themselves, wherein, after complimenting them on the discernment manifested in what they had already done, he proceeds to point out the obstacles which threatened, notwithstanding, ultimately to frustrate their designs,—the residence of the head of the college chiefly in London, the sinister influence exerted over the members of the Committee themselves by a certain 'grave seignior[1],' the far too deferential attitude of the five recently elected fellows, none of them as yet master of arts, and all likely to shew themselves entirely amenable to the private instructions of their Head[2], —for Peterhouse, already depressed by misgovernment, will hardly venture, he points out, to encounter the charge of singularity by calling in question the authority of its Master, when all the other colleges, having no reason for discontent, manifest no disposition to rebel[3]. And, finally, he suggests the necessity for prompt action, seeing that, if the grievances of 'poor Peterhouse' are not to be redressed until the statutes of all the colleges have been 'remodelled,' he cannot but deem her cause 'neer desperate,' for the Master will be able to exult over the 'drowning' of their special liberties 'in that unfathomable ocean of the universal View and Reformation of the great body of our College and University statutes[4].' A shorter appeal, addressed to the fellows collectively, follows next; and here Seaman is openly denounced

He expresses his apprehension lest their intentions should be frustrated by the Master and his supporters

He represents the case as urgent and makes further allegations against Penman.

of the Statutes of the whole University and every particular College, was a noble and generous resolve; and to suffer yourselves, from the representation of a particular place's grievances to be awakened into a positive activity towards an universal reformation, was a thing becoming men of enlarged spirits.' *Ibid.* 4to. sig. A 2 r.; 24mo. p. 6.

[1] Adoniram Byfield; see *supra*, p. 400.

[2] '.....who though utterly ignorant of our Statutes, inexperienced in Colledge affairs, and besides, all but one of them, by their several relations to the Master, most devoted to his interest, have equal votes in this grand Transaction with us of ancientest standing and experience, which must needs produce vast obstructions and perhaps returns of contradictory opinions before your tribunal.' *Ibid.* 4to. sig. A 3 r.; 24mo. p. 12.

[3] 'It being unlikely that you will finde in other Colledges, a number considerable to the major part to declare for any considerable mutation, where no oppressive miscarriage of their chief Officer hath awakened them into a distaste of their present absolute Monarchy.' *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* 4to. sig. A 4; 24mo. p. 14.

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as 'the true original of all those mischiefs' and 'a patriarchiall pretender to religion,' who, having been 'entrusted with the patronage of the colledge rights has sought to betray them and us to his own corrupt design of new modelling the Colledge and moulding up a party devoted to his own ends[1].'

To these several appeals succeeds the *Petition* itself, wherein, after adverting to the 'great evils' which 'usually arise from the 'two [*sic*] exorbitant power of a chief officer, *not annually elected to his trust*,' he prays that 'for the prevention of future mischiefs,' the Committee may be pleased to ordain 'that from henceforth the Master shall not assume to himself, or his President, such an exorbitant power but that he or his President, or the senior fellow of those present at home, shall at any time, upon the desire of two of the seven senior fellows, left with him in writing under their hands, call a meeting at some seasonable time, within forty-eight hours after their desire so signified; and shall at that, and all other meetings propose to the Society such questions as the major part shall think fit, and not dissolve any meeting without consent of the major part. And, lastly, *shall not assume to himself any negative or distinct voice then*' [*i.e.* than] '*as one member of the assembly, and in the same manner as other members have*[2].'

The world at large now learned that the foregoing petition had been presented to the Committee in London on the 27th of March 1651, and that on that occasion Dr Seaman, who was present, had urged, not without some show of reason, that, as the question therein raised was one which really concerned the university at large, it might very well be left to be dealt with along with 'the whole bulk of the Colledge and University statutes now under consideration of the Committee of Visitors at Cambridge.' According to Hotham, however, this suggestion was regarded as only 'a dilatory subterfuge,' and an Order, signed by James Chaloner, was forthwith issued, assigning a day (the tenth of April) for taking the Petition into further consideration,

[1] *Petition*, etc. 4to. sig. B r.; 24mo. p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.* 4to. pp. 1-2; 24mo. p. 31.

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'granting me,' he adds, 'summons for such of the Society as I desir'd for witnesses in case of need.' Seaman also was empowered to summon witnesses, but called none; and when the day came, he succeeded in getting the discussion of the Petition postponed until 'a private business which he said was the true original of all these commotions, was first heard[1].' It was then, accordingly, 'when the first clause of the Petition was scarce read,' that the master of Peterhouse, shrewdly surmising that the evidence connected with the Conyers episode could not fail seriously to prejudice his accuser in the good opinion of the Committee, brought forward the whole matter, with the result that (as we have already seen) Conyers was ejected from the fellowship to which he had just been elected; while, if we accept Hotham's statement, the Committee were 'made believe' that this was the substance of the whole 'controversie' and that, consequently, 'there needed now no further hearing of the publick Petition[2].'

He brings forward business relating to Conyers who is forthwith ejected.

We can understand, therefore, that it was in no very judicial frame of mind that Charles Hotham proceeded to give to the public the true story of his young friend's lapse from the path of duty and plighted allegiance, and subsequent return to it,—to undergo, as his former tutor held, unmerited obloquy and wrong. He tells the facts in his simple 'north country' diction, but plainly and concisely, and occasionally not without a certain dignified pathos; and then passes on to state, more at length, the arguments which it had been his intention to urge upon the Committee in relation to the conduct of the Master. In so doing, he dexterously avails himself of Seaman's suggestion,—that the main question in dispute between them was one which really concerned 'the whole university,'—while he now proceeds to adduce further arguments, and those of a kind involving yet wider generalisations. He commences, for example, by observing that 'every College being a distinct Corporation by itself, with laws prescribed for its government by him that founded or

Hotham resolves on bringing the whole story under the notice of the public.

He argues that a college statute cannot be set aside by a later statute of the university.

[1] *Ibid.* 4to. pp. 3-4; 24mo. pp. 34-37.
[2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 4; 24mo. p. 38.

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CHAP. IV. endowed it,' it might reasonably be questioned whether such laws could rightly 'be taken away or superseded by any general statute of the university'; and then, after pointing out that the Peterhouse statute is 'of a far ancienter standing than the university statute,' he contends that 'although the latter seems to thwart it' [the college statute], 'yet being made without any clause of a *non obstante*, the college statute lies unrepealed and therefore in full force[1].' He next takes occasion to speak in somewhat disparaging terms of the Elizabethan statutes as an entire code, and, in his opinion, marking a very undesirable and new departure in the history of university legislation. In all our statutes down to that time, he says, 'there appears no footstep of it'; and he considers it absurd to suppose that 'Cecil, Cook, and Haddon' were either willing or possessed the leisure 'to labyrinth their brains with all the tedious *anfractus*' which it would have been necessary to traverse in the course of such an enquiry; 'the real movers in this last new model,' he maintains, 'were the Heads of Colleges alone,' who, 'having now gotten this ample power into their own hands, did, together with the public reformation, cunningly interweave their own private advancement; and, in purging us of Popery, did, like those *medicamenta maledicta*, emunge the body of the University of some of their most essential and fundamental privileges[2].' Whether the late dean Peacock ever consulted Hotham's pamphlet, it is impossible to say, but, if he omitted to do so, it is perhaps all the more deserving of note that, in his criticism of our ancient body of statutes, he had been anticipated, some two centuries before, in the stress that he placed upon the fact of their being largely pervaded by clauses and provisos calculated especially to preserve and enhance the powers and authority of the authors themselves[3].

Of the other Heads, actually in office at the time when he wrote, it is to be noted that Hotham speaks in terms of high encomium, and he adverts with special approval to the

[1] *Petition*, etc. 4to. pp. 14–15; 24mo. pp. 60–63.

[2] *Ibid.* 4to. p. 15; 24mo. p. 63.

[3] See author's *History*, II 230–2; also Lamb (Jo.), *Letters and Documents*, 368–9, 384–5.

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new interpretation which they had recently placed on the scope and purpose of University Oaths[1]. With regard to the excellence of their administration generally, he considers it to be sufficiently established by the fact that Peterhouse stands alone in its denunciation of its own Head. 'In other colledges,' he says, 'where the Masters have, by statute or custom, a negative voyce, yet they have chose rather to wave sometimes their own, not interest onely, but judgement too, then make use of it, and in the very propositions of questions to be swayed by the publick reason of their societies.' It is in Peterhouse alone, he continues, that in the general course of the Master's government, 'we have observ'd nothing of a publike spirit aiming at the common good, but rather a constant tenour of close dissimulation and greedy intentiveness upon all advantages, of not onely holding fast in every punctilio but advancing still further the grand interest of his power and profit,' 'the two great poles of his whole revolution' being 'dominion and covetousness[2].' Reverting to his theory of the college, as rightly to be regarded as a corporation, he further maintains that royalty, when ruling in conjunction with Council, Lords and Parliament,—or deans of cathedrals, in concert with the chapter,—or mayors, along with aldermen,—are all alike 'nothing but the general frame of State-Government contracted into a narrower compasse.' And this, he adds, 'it was that fixt the love of monarchy so fast in the affections of most Corporations, that had it not been that the King had displeased some of the greatest of them by hard impositions upon them by way of their trade, and withall let loose his bishops to exercise their tyranny in trampling upon the faces of their reverene'd ministers, they had never been brought to draw swords against their Prototype.'...'One word more I desire to add as an enforcement of my Petition,—that of all masters of colledges in the town, there's least reason the Master of *our* Colledge should claim

His commendation of the Heads generally and especially for their moderation in the exercise of a negative voice.

Peterhouse offers the sole exception.

A college, rightly regarded, is seen to be a corporation and modelled on a limited monarchy.

Dr Sanderson, of all the Masters, least entitled to a negative voice as being rarely in residence.

[1] '...whereby men's consciences, indanger'd to perjury upon every penal statute, were much eas'd, yet to my best remembrance, they did not assume to themselves, but yielded to the whole body of the university the honour of alleviating this grievance.' *Petition*, 4to. p. 18; 24mo. p. 69.

[2] *Petition*, 4to. pp. 18–19; 24mo. pp. 69–71.

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CAP. IV. to himself this grand prerogative of a negative voice, for the whole burthen of the colledge government hath for all these seven years layd wholly upon the shoulders of the President and fellows. The Master hath held his place now for about seven years, yet he hath never once, that I know of, resided among us for six weeks, nay, not one moneth, seldom above a fortnight together at one time; hath seldom or never visited us, but when he was necessitated to do it, either to supply his course in the university-church, or to audit our accounts, and receive his money: all his short visits put together for this whole seven years, will not mount to one year's continuance[1].'

Notwithstanding, however, the vigour of Hotham's defence, it is evident that the publication of *The Petition and Argument* gave serious offence to the London Committee. The regicides, James Chaloner and Gilbert Millington, could no more endure to listen to a eulogium on Monarchy than Matthew Wren and Richard Neale had been able to bear with Dr Dorislaus, discoursing dispassionately on Republics[2]. On the 23rd of May, accordingly, the consideration of the obnoxious volume was referred to a Sub-Committee, and with the following result:

Upon hearing the Report from Mr Millington, touching the book entitled THE PETITION AND ARGUMENT OF MR HOTHAM, *etc., and upon long and serious debate thereof, it is resolved by this Committee that the writing and publishing of the said book, which was this day publikely owned before this Committee by the said Mr Hotham, is scandalous, and against the priviledge of Parliament. Resolved by this Committee, that Mr Hotham, Fellow of Peterhouse in Cambridge, be depriced of his Fellowship in the said Colledge from this time forward, and the President of the said Colledge is to see that this be put in execution accordingly*[3].

The sequel can hardly be deemed surprising when we note the composition of the Committee whose signatures are appended to the above Resolution, together with the names of those who, being present, gave their tacit sanction to the Order; of the former there were only two, namely Chaloner

[1] *Petition*, 4to. pp. 21 and 24; 24mo. pp. 77 and 82-83.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 86-88.

[3] *True State of the Case*, 4to. pp. 13-14; 24mo. pp. 28-29.

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and Millington, whose names are to be recognised as leaders in their own time; while among the latter, those of Sir Arthur Hazelrig (Cromwell's well-known lieutenant) and Francis Rous are certainly the two most conspicuous. Rous, indeed, is now chiefly remembered as the author of a singularly uncouth version of the Psalms, but he was notable in his day as one of the many assailants of Richard Montagu's *Appello*[1] and also the impeacher of Cosin. He had recently defected from the Presbyterian party to that of the Independents, and was shortly to become Speaker of the 'nominated' House of Commons. If to these two names we add that of one 'Mr Salloway,' recently intruded as incumbent of St Martin's in the Vintry, we have the most noteworthy of the whole number before us. Of all alike it may however be said, that they were men to whom Cambridge was almost entirely unknown; while in the university itself there now rallied to Hotham's defence a far more numerous body, mostly resident fellows who had already achieved distinction or were destined before long to do so. Ralph Cudworth had recently been installed as master of Clare; Henry More of Christ's was Hotham's warm friend; George Rust, long afterwards, succeeded Jeremy Taylor in the bishopric of Dromore; Samuel Fairclough, who had been educated at Emmanuel, was now fellow and lecturer in Hebrew at Caius; William Outram, who had been educated at Trinity, was a fellow of Christ's and afterwards archdeacon of Leicester; Dr Robert Metcalf was vice-master of Trinity; John Smith, who had been one of Whichcote's pupils at Emmanuel, was now a tutor at Queens' and attracting thither a band of devoted disciples, at loss whether more to admire the intellectual powers of their instructor or the geniality and skill with which he interpreted each subject to themselves. Samuel Cradock, fellow of Emmanuel[2], and afterwards a distinguished educator for the presbyterian ministry, had just proceeded to his B.D. degree amid enthusiastic cheers in the senate house. Thomas Fuller, at this time residing chiefly at his living at Waltham,

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 31–33.

[2] An elder brother of Zachary Cradock, the provost of Eton. See *D. N. B.* XII 437, 438.

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may not improbably have 'come up' for the express purpose of adding his influential signature to the document which now appeared, wherein no less than thirty-three signatories, having been invited to 'declare their opinion' of the ejected fellow of Peterhouse, made a formal statement to the following effect: that Mr Hotham had been 'for many years generally known and approved of by the most godly and best affected men in the University, for a man of very great eminency in learning, strictness in religion, unblamableness in conversation, and good affection to this present Parliament,' —that he had, to their knowledge, 'as well in his private converse as in his publick performances, fully answered, if not exceeded, common estimation,'—that he had 'in the most dangerous times publickly asserted and in his place zealously prosecuted the Parliament cause,'—that he had 'at all times, as occasion offered, and especially in the year of his proctorship, with good success endevoured the advancement of religion and learning, and promoted the reformation of the university,'—and as he had been 'a happy instrument of much good' to the university, so, 'by the blessing of God upon his further proceedings,' he would, they considered, be 'very serviceable to the Commonwealth in whatsoever place the providence of God should call him unto[1].'

It is evident, indeed, that Hotham's courageous conduct of his 'case' had already excited a large amount of sympathy in the university, nor will our estimate of the value of the foregoing testimony in his favour be in any way diminished when we note that among the inscribed names are those of the most notable representatives of what was afterwards known as the Latitudinarian party,—a group of independent thinkers whom a lofty conception of genuine morality often served to free from the trammels alike of sectarian bigotry and of academic tradition. Encouraged, doubtless, by this reassuring testimony in his favour, Hotham not only reprinted in 1651 both his *Petition and Argument* and *True State of the Case* in a more portable form, but also put forth a third

[1] *True State of the Case*, 4to. pp. 14–15; 24mo. pp. 29–31.

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treatise, his *Corporations Vindicated*, in which he again advances the same views but with both a more general and a more special application,—his appeal being now preferred not to the London Committee but to Parliament, or, as he expresses it (comparing himself to the apostle Paul), 'from the semipharis'd judgement-seat of Cesar's Deputy, to Cesar himself.' 'I have thought it no ill wisdom,' he adds, 'to set my cause afloating in the grand Ocean of your more publick and supream cognisance'; and he forthwith proceeds to expound at some length his theory of the college as an institution, insisting emphatically on the absolute necessity of abolishing the 'negative voice' of the Heads, and the desirability of assimilating the organisation of each society to that which had by this time obtained in relation to the nation at large. That this is the primary object of his new manifesto is made sufficiently clear by the fact that it is embodied in the title-page of the work,—a tiny 24mo volume extending only to sixty pages[1].

Hotham publishes his *Corporations Vindicated*, in which he appeals to Parliament.

The sting of his invective is, however, undoubtedly in its tail. Having heard that Dr Seaman has been endeavouring to render him 'odious' by representing him as a 'Leveller[2],' he hastens to repudiate the imputation, adroitly intimating that it might with equal justice be made against the Army at large,—'our faithful and valiant soldiery,' whose recent declaration with regard to Parliament he warmly commends,—and he then proceeds to retort upon his adversary[3]. If the facts are examined, Dr Seaman, he affirms, will be found not

He rebuts the imputation of being a 'Leveller' and prefers some grave accusations against Dr Seaman as an administrator.

[1] *Corporations vindicated in their fundamental Liberties from a Negative Voice, and other unjust Prerogatives of their chief Officer destructive to* FREEDOM. *Or, A Discourse, proving that the chief Officer's assuming to himself the Power of* 1. *Calling or dissolving of Meetings.* 2. *Proposing or refusing of questions offer'd to the debate.* 3. *Granting or denying of assent to the conclusions of the major part of the Assembly.* AT THE SOLE PLEASURE OF HIS OWN PRIVATE DISCRETION, *is of right to be abolish't in all other Corporations, as it hath been by this present Parliament in the Supream Councel of the Nation, and Common-Councel of the City of London. Argued first and more properly in the case of Peter-house in Cambridge, but is of a general import to all the bodies incorporated throughout the whole Nation; and of great conducement to the sure and more firm establishment of this Nation in form of a Commonwealth.* By C. Hotham, late Fellow of that Colledge. London, Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black Spread-Eagle neer the West-end of Pauls. 1651.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 26.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 28.

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AP. IV. 'one whit more faithful to the interest of England than to that of Peterhouse,' where he proceeds to denounce him as 'planting' the college with 'those of his relations and interest,' but at the same time himself residing in London, although 'bearing the title and reaping the whole profits' of the mastership, while another man is made to bear the real burden of the office. Not 'very many years' before he attained that preferment, Hotham goes on to tell us, Seaman's office had been that of a 'country pedagogue,' and yet, strange to say, 'he has not attained so much skill in our Latin tongue as to be able rightly to pronounce our statutes. For it has been a common observation, that when some passages were to be read in publike, he would, upon pretext of quereing upon the sense, get some one or other of us privately to pronounce those places before him; and that when he hath adventured without this help, he hath most grossly faltered.' 'Nay,' the informer goes on to tell us, 'though he has since a little mended his skil by his study of the *Porta Linguarum*, yet has he, to the eternal disgrace of our colledge, left such a miserable piece of Latine upon publike record in one of our Colledge Rowls' [rolls] 'as posterity imagining it could not be written there without the Auditors consent, will brand us for strange dunces[1].'

It can hardly surprise us that, when a single college was thus rent by division, and the university by controversy, Parliament itself should begin to regard Cambridge as merely exemplifying the unrest which then prevailed also in Oxford and, in fact, in most of the universities of Europe; and there were probably not a few members of the House who looked upon Hotham as simply addressing to the Army the adulation which Seaman had expended upon the Assembly. But a few months later, we find Cromwell convening a conference to discuss the future constitution of the Republic, himself unable to conceal his dissatisfaction with the existing form of government. Among those present was Sir Thomas Widdrington, a member and recent benefactor of Christ's College, who even

[1] *Corporations Vindicated*, pp. 58–59.

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went so far as to suggest that the young duke of Gloucester might be placed on the throne; whereupon Cromwell observed that 'a settlement of somewhat of a monarchical power' in the government 'would be very effectual[1].' The incident enables us to discern how closely Hotham's pleadings and the state of Peterhouse reflected, as it were in miniature, the broad features of the grave question which was at that crisis foremost in the thoughts of every English politician. The arguments brought forward for doing away with the 'negative voice' in the college must have seemed little less than faintly disguised pleas for the maintenance of the Commonwealth, in opposition to that reactionary tendency which was just then beginning to manifest itself, partly under the influence of Hobbes, in favour of a return to a monarchical form of government. The contest between the Master and the ejected fellow of Peterhouse was, however, now virtually at an end, terminated rather by their divergent aims and sympathies than by any grave difference in politics or religion. The one loved the fray and gloried in the disputation; the other, although, as we have seen, he could rouse himself, on an emergency, to the defence of the right and to denounce the oppressor, was inclined by temperament to a life of leisurely retirement and meditation. 'I am desirous,' he wrote, some time before their controversy had been decided, 'to withdraw mine eyes from beholding vanity, and retire back into my heaven' [? haven] 'of a contemplative life[2].' The opportunity of pursuing his natural bent was fortunately afforded him. Although many livings had already been sequestered, the rights of patronage still remained intact[3]; and, the rectory of Wigan being in the gift of his family and happening to fall vacant, Hotham decided in 1653 to retire thither and enter upon the duties of a parish priest. The town, at that time, was in a depressed

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His connection with regard to the restoration of monarchy.

Parallel between the College and the Commonwealth.

Hotham seeks to retire into a contemplative life.

He is presented to the rectory of Wigan.

[1] *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, II 2.

[2] *True State of the Case*, 4to. p. 49; 24mo. p. 93.

[3] As yet, it was only 'where the patrons had been delinquent that the patronage fell into the hands of the County Committees.' Gardiner, u. s. II 12. Bridgeman (see following note) conjectures that 'Sir John Hotham had left the advowson in trust for his son Charles.'

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CHAP. IV. condition, for it had not only been cruelly ravaged during the war but was subsequently visited by pestilence; while the very yearnings of the new incumbent for seclusion appear to have resulted in his becoming involved in litigation. The 'parson's chancel,' as it was termed, on the north side of the ancient church at Wigan, had from time immemorial been held to be rightly and exclusively designed for the sole use of the rector, where he could sit during service, along with his 'chaplains, officers, and other servants,' all occupying 'semi-circular seats,' in comparative isolation from the main body of worshippers. It was here, accordingly, that Hotham proposed to take his place, but found his claim to do so disputed by the Rigby family; and it was not until after the case had been argued in court and 'many depositions' taken, that he succeeded in establishing his claim[1]. Subsequently he appears to have lapsed into mysticism. In the same year that he assumed the rectorate of Wigan, his brother, Durand Hotham, published in London his *Life* of Jacob Boehme. That eminent mystic, numerous as his disciples afterwards became, never founded a church,—a fact on which his biographer insists as greatly in Boehme's favour[2], while a subsequent editor of the *Letters* dilates with no less complacency on the contrast presented by the Saxon philosopher to those teachers of religion to whom the one thing needful appears to consist in a due observance of external forms and prescribed times of devotion. In the retirement of his rectory, Charles Hotham was able, for the first time, to familiarize himself with a conception of the religious life which regarded spiritual assurance and mental calm as attainable only by those who are prepared to put aside 'all blind contentions, disputes, doubts, errors, and controversies' concerning belief, and definitely to shun the maze wherein the perplexed Christian too often found himself lost in the endeavour

[1] Bridgeman (Rev. Geo. T. O.), *Hist. of the Church of Wigan* (Chetham Soc.), pt. iii 475–6.

[2] '... who throughout all Christendom, scarce any one can pray well, has a voluble insonnation, or exercises a new found way towards his carcass, but he makes himself the head of a new Convent and order of Confrieries,' etc. See *Life of Jacob Behmen*. Written by Durand Hotham. November 7, 1653. London, 1654. Fol. [an unpaged volume].

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to arrive at clear conceptions respecting 'God, Christ, Faith, Election, and the Ordinances[1].' 'Behold, I shew you a more excellent way,' is the burden of Bochme's discourse; and, although he had been dead thirty years when the above biography appeared, his influence as a thinker was never more potent, while his writings survived to find, long after, a translator in the author of the *Serious Call*, a careful student in Isaac Newton, and a devout admirer in Hegel,—appealing, it would seem, to some instinct in the human heart which may possibly survive the creeds.

At the juncture when Durand Hotham's volume appeared, such discourse, to many a weary spirit, must have seemed like some strain of celestial music rising above the surrounding din; while Bochme's censure of theological controversy, as in itself alien and even detrimental to the truly religious life, suddenly acquired new and ominous force from the fact, now becoming only too plain, that this mania for disagreement was seen to be menacing the very existence of the universities themselves. By one of those singular analogies which steal over the consciousness of the historian, when himself innocent of all design to theorize, we become aware that, just as Charles Hotham had insisted that the college, rightly regarded, ought to be looked upon as a limited monarchy, so other, but less subtle, observers, unfriendly to monarchical government in any shape, were fast arriving at the conclusion, with respect to colleges and universities alike, that societies thus fruitful of strife which led to no practical results,—designed theoretically to be harmonious brotherhoods but constantly giving birth to undying animosities,—no longer subserved the purpose for which they had been created. In the theological, as in the political, world, the call for more efficient organization seemed likely to be drowned in an outcry for complete abolition; while, again, the philosopher and the theologian were at the same time to be seen coming forward to propound,—the former, in con-

[1] See the *Works of Jacob Bochme. With Introduction by a Graduate of Glasgow University.* Vol. I. *The Epistles.* Glasgow, 1886. *Introd.* p. vii; see also p. 5.

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nexion with scientific or metaphysical enquiry, the latter, with Biblical criticism,—methods which, either openly or implicitly, involved the complete repudiation of the traditions of the schools, as resting on no well ascertained basis or on hypotheses which could be shewn to be erroneous.

In the same year that Jacob Boehme went peacefully to his rest at Görlitz, René Descartes, then just shaking off his youthful illusions about Rosicrucianism, was, for the first time, setting foot in Rome,—his observant nature far more intent on his fellow-man than on classic antiquities or art treasures, and his emotions not a little stirred as he gazed on the pilgrim throngs around him which the great Jubilee had attracted to the capital, 'a population on its knees.' It has been truly said by one of his latest biographers[1], that Descartes 'did not want to break with his traditions,'—an observation sufficiently true to have admitted of more emphatic statement. Born an aristocrat, brought up in what he himself terms 'the garden of Touraine,' educated by Jesuit fathers at La Flèche, a soldier not only by profession but familiar with camp life, and in the enjoyment of a moderate competency, he had little to gain and much to lose, as regards all that constitutes happiness in social existence, by an open abandonment of either his political or his religious faith. The fate of Giordano Bruno might have alone sufficed as a warning to one who held retirement and tranquil leisure essential to his main purpose. Although therefore few philosophers have put forth theories involving so much that militated against established doctrine and belief, still fewer, perhaps, have done so in a less aggressive manner, and, at the time that he first promulgated his opinions, he seemed disposed to leave it very much to his followers to apply and to defend them. Notwithstanding that it was his avowed desire to divest himself of every prejudice, it is evident that the impressions of his youth,—those impressions which Goethe affirms no man can entirely outgrow,—were still strong upon him. In the first edition of the *Méthode*, the maintenance of

[1] *Descartes, his Life and Times.* 1905, p. 367. By Elizabeth S. Haldane. London.

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the religion of his fathers is declared by him to be a primary 'maxim[1]'; while in the prefatory Epistle to his *Méditations* he approached the doctors of the Sorbonne in language of deepest deference, beseeching them to pardon his ignorance and to correct his errors, at the same time predicting that if their approval and sanction could only once be bestowed on his writings, the arguments whereby he had sought to demonstrate the truth of the two fundamental beliefs of Christianity,—the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul,—would then find such acceptance by both the learned and the scientific world that Atheism would disappear from among civilized mankind[2]. It is, however, hardly necessary to point out that by his summary rejection of the scholastic logic and his avowed resolve to accept nothing as certain which did not approve itself as such to his reason, Descartes was really assuming in relation to scientific thought an attitude almost exactly corresponding to that which, as we have seen, Roger Williams adopted in regard to Biblical criticism[3]; and, as the result, just as *The Bloudy Tenent* had been burnt, in the same year that it appeared, by the common hangman in London, so, before another twenty years had passed, the *Méditations* were in the *Index*.

We shall perhaps best understand the motives by which the philosopher was actuated, if we bear in mind the associations of his experience at La Flèche, and also the relations in which Jesuits stood to the universities of France at the time when he quitted La Flèche to pursue his studies in Paris. In our preceding volume[4], we have already noted the remarkable manner in which the Society succeeded in diffusing their influence throughout the provinces after their expulsion from the capital. The general excellence of their school system,—the care shewn for the physical well-being of the

[1] '...d'obéir aux lois et aux coutumes de mon pays, retenant constamment la religion en laquelle Dieu m'a fait la grace d'être instruit dès mon enfance.' *Oeuvres*, ed. Simon (1850), p. 15.

[2] '...si vous daignez les autoriser de votre approbation, et rendre un témoignage public de leur vérité et certitude, je ne doute point, dis-je, qu'après cela toutes les erreurs et fausses opinions qui ont jamais été touchant ces deux questions ne soient bientôt effacées de l'esprit des hommes.' *Epître*, *Ibid.* p. 57. Translation of 1647 revised by the Author.

[3] See *supra*, p. 197.

[4] See Vol. II 258–260.

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IV. pupil, the regard paid alike to his abilities and his deficiencies (in short, to his individuality), the extension given to the study of rhetoric, the time allotted to accomplishments which both relieved the brain and developed the body,—had won for them a not unmerited popularity. In Paris, on the other hand, the new statutes of 1598, while assigning to classical studies that prominence which they retained throughout Europe for nearly three centuries, and still cherishing the mediaeval regard for Aristotle, although discarding his glossists and commentators[1], had so completely vested all authority in the Crown as to induce the developement of a rigidly conservative spirit[2]. The designs and conceptions of Henri Quatre have been compared, and not without reason, to those of Charlemagne. But before the first decade of the seventeenth century had expired, the heroic monarch had fallen by the dagger of the Jesuit emissary; while, long before that time, the unsuccessful attempt on his life by Jean Chastel had sealed the fate of the Society in Paris, when, in the sweeping charges brought against them in 1594 by Antoine Arnauld (the elder) and the avocat Dollé, it is easy to discern the professional jealousy of the ecclesiastics of Paris for teachers who not only taught better than they did, but generally did so *gratis*[3]. Throughout his life, there can be

[1] Teachers were enjoined by the statutes, 'd'expliquer la texte d'Aristote plutôt en philosophe qu'en grammarien, de manière à ce que les écoliers se pénètrent plutôt des faits que des mots,—*magis patent rei scientia quam vocum energeia.*' See Jourdain (C.), *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, p. 16.

[2] 'Les statuts de 1598 sont un règlement de police intérieure très habilement rédigé; mais la main du maître qui l'a dicté, roi ou Parlement, s'y fait sentir à chaque pas, tour à tour bienveillante et sévère, ici redressant les abus, là effaçant les derniers vestiges de la liberté académique et subordonnant au bon plaisir du prince les moindres détails de l'organisation de l'enseignement.' Jourdain, *Ibid.* p. 26; Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 176.

[3] According to Arnauld, it was not customary, even in the university, to accept fees from poor students: 'En nostre Vniversité on n'a jamais rien desiré des pauures, mais si vn enfant de bonne maison donne quatre ou cinq escus à celuy qui l'a instruit toute vne année, cela peut-il estre trouué mauuais? N'est-il pas raisonnable, que ceux qui ont consumé leur âge aux lettres ayent quelque chose. *Unde topa niteat?*...Mais depuis que les Jésuites ont attiré à eux les Escoliers on a perdu tout courage, *sublatis studiorum praemiis studia pereunt.*' *Plaidoyé de Maistre Antoine Arnauld, Advocat en Parlement: Pour l'Université de Paris demanderesse, contre Les Jésuites defendeurs, des 12 & 13 Juillet, 1594*, p. 24.

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CHAP. IV

Descartes' high opinion of their system of education.

no question that Descartes, in common with many others of his countrymen, held both the theory and the practice of the Jesuits, in relation to education, to be far more favourable to progress and enlightenment than the system which obtained in the universities. La Flèche, with its wider and more careful culture and judicious discipline, was for him always the ideal Academy; and we find him, so late as the year 1638, strongly remonstrating with a parent who was proposing to send his son to be educated at Leyden, instead of consigning him to the care of the ablest educators of the age[1].

Aversion of the Calvinists of the Reformed Churches for the whole Order.

But if there was rivalry and antagonism between the scholars who filled the chairs in Paris and the Fathers who taught at La Flèche, the feeling of aversion with which the entire Jesuit Order was regarded by the Calvinistic professors of Leyden and Utrecht was a no less powerful sentiment; and, in endeavouring to trace the progress of Cartesianism in the United Provinces, it is certainly somewhat perplexing to find that its doctrines were there regarded as associated with Jesuitism. That a like belief militated, to some extent, against their first reception in England, is a fact also to be recognized, and it becomes, accordingly, necessary to explain how it was that the author of these doctrines was himself led to quit his native country for one where the cool reception accorded him as a stranger, whose designs were at first not altogether intelligible, would be certain to become one of marked hostility under the influence of religious antipathy. The motives recognized by his biographers,—a desire to find not only retirement and seclusion in order to carry to completion his system of philosophy, but

[1] 'La philosophie ne s'enseigne icy que très-mal,...c'est, ce me semble, un grand changement, pour la premiere sortie de la maison, que de passer tout d'vn coup en vn pais different de langue, de façons de viure et de religion, au lieu que l'air de la Flèche est voisin du vostre; et à cause qu'il y va quantité de ieunes gens de tous les quartiers de la France, ils y font vn certain mélange d'humeurs, par la conversation les vns des autres, qui leur apprend quasi la mesme chose que s'ils voyageoient. Et enfin l'égalité que les Jésuites mettent entr'eux, en ne traittant gueres d'autre façon les plus releuez que les moindres, *est vne inuention extremement bonne*, pour leur oster la tendresse et les autres défauts qu'ils peuuent auoir acquis par la coustume d'estre cheris dans les maisons de leur parens.' 12 Sept. 1638. *Correspondance* (ed. Adam et Tannery), II 377–9.

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also freedom from 'priestly espionage,'—are not inadequate in themselves, but it may be questioned whether, at the time when, towards the end of March 1629, in the thirty-third year of his age, Descartes quitted Paris for Amsterdam, there was not present to his mind a yet stronger motive, to which we find no reference whatever. A careful consideration of the facts, however, would certainly seem to render it highly probable that Descartes was already intent, not merely on continuing his own labours, but also on finding some available centre for expounding more systematically the principles of his philosophy to others, in short, on founding a school. But for such a purpose, Paris itself was hopeless. The *Académie Française* was not yet fully organized. France, at large, was far from sympathetic; and some years were still to elapse before the two philosophers among his own countrymen who were competent to appreciate the value of his speculations,—Fermat the Toulousain[1] and Gassendi the Provençal[2],—would be able to read his writings, and even then they appear to have been quite as much disposed to criticise as to commend. Saumur, although afterwards distinguished as a school of Cartesian doctrine, could no more than any other centre of Huguenot teaching, be approached with any reasonable prospect of success by an avowed Catholic[3]; while he must have already been conscious that, whatever indulgence the Jesuits as a body might be able or willing to extend to his earlier speculations, was not a factor in his favour on which he would be able much longer to rely. The United Provinces, on the other hand, were wealthy, and friendly to the scholar; and, as we have already seen, Amsterdam was the city where free speech and diverse doctrine were regarded with an amount of toleration beyond what could be found in any other city in Europe[4]. Descartes'

[1] See Haldane (*u.s.*), pp. 187-9; Descartes to Mersenne (Janvier 1638), *Correspondance*, i 486-9.

[2] Haldane, pp. 213-5.

[3] It was not until 1652 that André Martin at Angers published 'un premier essai de son livre *Philosophia Christiana*, dans lequel il essayait de concilier Saint Augustin et Descartes. De là la création à Saumur et dans toute la région d'un milieu cartésien.' *La Philosophie à l'Académie Protestante de Saumur* (1606-1685) par le Professeur Joseph Prost (Paris, 1907), pp. 75-76.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 158, 162.

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former pupil and attached friend, Reneri, was at this time resident there and thither the philosopher repaired; and it is highly probable that his subsequent movements were in a great measure guided by the information which his pupil was able to give him with respect to the best means of bringing his philosophy home to the student-world of the Low Countries. Such a conclusion, indeed, affords an additional clue to the interpretation of his career until within the last five years of his life, and is supported by two unquestionable items of evidence: firstly, the proofs that exist of his design having been seen beforehand and successfully, for a time, frustrated; secondly, the fact that Voetius, the rector of the university of Utrecht, himself assumes it as a matter of fact hardly admitting of dispute, that Descartes visited what he terms 'Belgium,' with the intent of there promulgating his doctrines[1]. It seems difficult, therefore, not to suppose that, as Descartes and his energetic pupil talked over the remarkable success of the Jesuits in provincial France, the thought must have suggested itself that there was scope for a new educational movement in provincial Holland; while in Holland itself the two recently founded universities at Franeker and Utrecht seemed more especially eligible, as being not yet 'corrupted' by the normal academic traditions.

CHAP. I

At first, it is evident, the philosopher was sanguine, and no hero of the Apostolic age could have exhibited a more resolute determination to make the best of the varied conditions which confronted him in his successive endeavours to find a centre for carrying out his designs. He was charmed with the animation and cheerful hum of commerce at Amsterdam and knows nothing of its clamour of the creeds. Franeker, only recently become the seat of a university, pleased him by its very simplicity, and we find no reference

Characteristic features of Amsterdam, Franeker, Deventer and Utrecht

[1] 'Renatus des Cartes, olim Jesuitarum discipulus, qui ex Gallia in Belgium nostrum novae philosophiae ovum sub praesumta libertatis, an licentiae, umbra exclusurus, antea complures annos advenit, et varia ejus loca insedit.' *Gisberti Voetii Theologiae in Acad. Ultrajectina Professoris Selecturum Disputationum Theologicarum Pars Prima.* Ultrajecti, 1648. *Praef.* p. 3.

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P. IV. to those convivial habits and constant brawls by which its students would seem to have been, from the first, distinguished[1]. He was equally delighted with Deventer and would have continued to reside there, had not his correspondence been persistently intercepted. But it was Utrecht,—with the resources of the suppressed chapter schools and the patronage of the provincial authorities at the command of the new university, and the countenance given by its powerful burgomasters to its multiplying chairs,—that offered the strongest attraction[2]; as it was here, also, that he encountered the most resolute opposition. Gisbertus Voetius, who was at this time in his fifty-fourth year, and outlived Descartes by more than a quarter of a century, had long before acquired no little reputation by the energy with which he threw himself into the conflicts between the Calvinistic party and the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort, and his appointment to the chair of theology in the new university was generally looked upon as a well-deserved recognition of valuable service; while, long after his death, the studious divines of Oxford and Cambridge were wont to place upon their book-

[1] 'He had probably contemplated attending the classes of the university, for we find the name "*Renatus Descartes, gallus philosophus*, 16 Apri. 1629" in the Register.' See Miss Haldane's *Descartes*, p. 119. It was some twelve years later that William Sancroft wrote—'Franequerae vero studiosi Baccho litabant, digladiabantur, et ferocissimorum instar militum ad duella continuo et concertationes mutuas sese provocabant ... Post haec, adibam Franequeram, ubi cervisia adeo erat laudabilis, vinum pretii tam vilis, sodalitiumque ita amoenum, ut omnes nummos convivando insumerem.' *Fur Praedestinatus: sive Dialogismus inter quendam ordinis Praedicantium Calvinistam et Furem ad laqueum damnatum habitus. In quo ad vivum repraesentatur non tantum quomodo Calvinistarum Dogmata ex scipsis ansam praebent scelera et impietates quaevis patrandi, sed insuper quomodo eadem maxime impediunt quominus peccator ad vitae emendationem et resipiscentiam reduci possit.*' Londini, 1651. The 'Thief's' Calvinistic pastor advises that he should be sent to Franeker in preference to Leyden, where the 'Academia haeresium plena erat,' holding that it would be far better that the youth should fall a victim to drinking or duelling than turn heretic, 'cum hic animam perdat et trucidet, ille duntaxat corpus.' pp. 2-3.

[2] '...mais pour les études, je croy qu'il seroit beaucoup mieux à Utrecht; car c'est une Université qui, n'estant erigée que depuis quatre ou cinq ans, *n'a pas encore eu le temps de se corrompre*, et il y a vn Professeur, appellé M. le Roy, qui m'est intime amy, et qui, selon mon jugement, vaut plus que tous ceux de Leyde.' For 'le Roy' we should probably read 'Reneri'; see the whole of this interesting letter (*Correspondance*, II 377-9), assigned by the editors to the date '12 Sept. 1638,' and lending no little support to the theory that Descartes was at this time fully hoping to found a school in the United Provinces.

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shelves the massive quartos which attest his unwearying academic toil[1]. It was one of the duties attaching to his office of Rector to preside at the disputations of candidates for theological degrees, each of whom was required to print beforehand, generally at his own expense, the theses, or 'positions,' in relation to which it would devolve upon him to sustain the part of respondent. Early in 1636, when it was already known that Utrecht would shortly be raised from the status of a gymnasium (*schola*) to that of a university (*academia*), and in anticipation of that event, one Luke Couterel, a native of the Hague, is to be found coming forward and announcing as the subject of his Act for his degree, 'The Use of human Reason in matters of Faith,' and dedicating his theses, as 'his theological first-fruits,' to Voetius, who was to preside on the occasion. A whole series of such theses had already been announced, not improbably with the design of reassuring the world at large and, more especially, the munificent burghers of Utrecht, with respect to the orthodox nature of the doctrines and discussions that it would be the aim of the academic authorities to encourage and promote,—the doctrines embodying the latest utterances of the oracles of Calvinism, holding the just mean between Socinianism, on the one hand, and Romanism on the other,—the discussions such as bore upon questions of the kind most likely to prove useful to disputants by rendering them, on all occasions, prompt in the defence of the tenets they were pledged to uphold, and quick to expose the fallacies of their antagonists. 'Elenchtic' (as it was termed) or the art of refutation, was, however, we now learn, no longer to be restricted to arguments relating solely to Scripture; it might also equip itself from a recognized repertory of axioms and principles inculcated by the human reasoning faculty[2]; and

CHAP. I

Luke Couterel's Act for the degree of M.D.: 17 Feb. 36

His defence of Elenchtic as a means of bringing about clear conceptions of the mysteries of the Faith

[1] *Gisberti Voetii Theologiae in Acad. Ultrajectina Professoris Selectarum Disputationum Pars* I–V. Ultrajecti. 5 vols. 4to. 1648–.

[2] 'Sententia nostra est, in Theologia Elenchtica, seu in refutatione falsitatis, *e.g.* purgatorii, indulgentiarum, etc., discursu et consequentiis utendum esse; et siquidem praefractus adversarius eas negat, etiam probationibus consequentiarum, *non tantum ex sacris litteris, sed etiam ex axiomatis et principiis luminis naturalis sive naturaliter sive technicè ex Philosophia et Logica sumtis*, ut appareat apta connexio medii termini cum

IV. Couterel concludes the brief outline of his theses, with a concise statement of sundry additional reasons why dialectic should ever be regarded as the handmaid of the Christian faith, inasmuch as, he maintains, it is by disputation, and by disputation alone, that the mysteries of revealed truth are fully enucleated and brought home to the understanding of the believer[1].

At the same time that the young Dutch theologian was making ready to keep his Act, Descartes was engaged in seeing his treatise, *La Méthode*, through the press of Jan Meyer of Leyden, and Couterel's dissertation cannot consequently be supposed to be a rejoinder to the former, but it is by no means improbable that it may have come under the philosopher's notice before he finally completed what might not inappropriately have been described as his own philo-
M. sophical 'first offering.' He was frequently at this period in Utrecht[2], possibly staying there at the time, one chilly day in February, when Couterel's theses were to be seen affixed to the gateway of the *Schola Illustris*; he may have even paused to glance at the fluttering pages, and have then passed on, not however without considerable misgiving as to the design of this inauspicious omen of coming strife[3]. Before another month had elapsed, Voetius was called upon

majori extremo.' *Selectarum Disputationum Primæ de Ratione Hermana*, etc. Ultrajecti, 1636, p. B.

[1] The whole of the nine arguments adduced by Couterel in defence of the school logic and the disputation in connexion with theology are well worthy of note, while he points out that it devolves quite as much on the Romanists on the Calvinist to assume the defensive against the Socinians and others who allege 'omnem ipsorum Scholasticam, casuisticam, et textualem Theologiam, *æquè ac nostræ reformatæ magnam partem*, esse glossas, consequentias, ac subtilitates humanas, minime ad salutem necessarias, quippe quæ exertis verbis in scriptura non extent.' *Ibid.* p. B 3.

[2] 'Huygens correspondait avec Descartes par l'intermédiaire de leur ami commun, Reneri, qui habitait Utrecht.' *Correspondance* (*u.s.*), I 580. There are letters from Descartes to Huygens and others dated 'Utrecht,' from April to December 1635 (*Ibid.* pp. 324–334); and it is not improbable that the correspondence addressed to Descartes himself was regularly sent to him under cover to Reneri.

[3] *La Méthode*, along with the *Dioptric*, *Meteors* and *Geometry*, printed by Jan Maire at Leyden, was not actually issued until 8th June 1637; but the sheets, as they passed through the press, were regularly submitted to the authorities, and it is highly probable that Voetius had some time before become apprised of the views therein set forth. See *Correspondance*, I 371–6; Haldane (Miss), pp. 164–7.

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to preside at a second disputation, the theses also dedicated to himself, Utrecht having, in the mean time, been raised to the rank of a university, and he installed as its ordinary professor of theology. Within another year *La Méthode* was in his hands, and the following words can hardly have failed to arrest his attention,—they occur in the pathetic passage wherein the philosopher describes his endeavours dispassionately to assess the true value of his early studies in relation to his main object, or, as he himself expresses it, to 'ascertain the true Method by which to arrive at the knowledge of whatever lay within the compass of my powers[1].' 'Among the branches of philosophy,' he says, 'I had given some attention to logic, but, on examination, I found that its syllogisms and the majority of its other directions are of service rather in making clear to others what one already knows,—or even, in speaking after the Art of Lully, without committing oneself to an opinion respecting matters concerning which one is ignorant,—than actually to make oneself acquainted with them; and, although it contains not a few just and excellent precepts, these are at the same time mixed up with so many that are harmful or superfluous, that to separate them becomes a task almost as arduous as to fashion a Diana or a Minerva from a block of marble which is not yet rough-hewn[2].'

CHAP. I

Voetius appointed the chair of theology in the new university 1636.

Descartes' depreciation estimate of the schools Logic.

The publication of *La Méthode* would seem to mark the limit of Descartes' personal efforts in the direction of university reform, but already the movement to which he had imparted so much momentum was passing beyond his control. Reneri, his indefatigable disciple, was of Walloon extraction, and also a pervert to Romanism[3], and he now threw himself into the struggle with a circumspect energy which augured well for the success of the cause which he had espoused. Some of the civic authorities and not a few of the students at Utrecht became, under his influence, enthusiastic converts to the new philosophy. Among the latter was Regius; and

Progress of his doctrine in the university.

Reneri: d. 1639.

Regius.

[1] '...à chercher la vraie méthode pour parvenir à la connaissance de toutes les choses dont mon esprit serait capable.' Descartes-Simon, p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 12.

[3] See *Arnold Geulincx und seine Philosophie.* Von Dr J. P. N. Land. Haag, 1895, p. 59.

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CHAP. IV. Reneri, who had been appointed to the chair of philosophy, now succeeded, in conjunction with a body of the students, in bringing about the appointment of Regius to a second chair in the same faculty, and the latter thereupon began to teach the doctrines of Cartesianism in a systematic form and under the new designation of 'physiology.' In so doing, however, he had the boldness to discard the traditional scholastic terminology as no longer adequate to his needs. There was a loud outcry; and Descartes himself was fain to protest against a temerity which threatened to jeopardize everything. At this point his personal efforts to establish a school of his philosophy at Utrecht appear to have been abandoned, and the sudden death of Reneri proved fatal to the whole scheme. The disciple had been carried away by his enthusiasm. We hear of him as giving eighteen lectures in the week, presiding at disputations, urging on the students to renewed warfare against divers assailable points in the scholastic Aristotle, and eventually himself succumbing to the fatigues of the campaign. Regius, in turn, sustained for a time the conflict; but he had not his instructor's judgement and possessed less control over the student body. One day, when Voetius was presiding in the schools, a youthful student came forward with a thesis impugning alike the philosophy and the science of Aristotle. The Rector had already made an important pronouncement by condemning Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, which Descartes had accepted with certain reservations[1], and he now proceeded to pronounce a like censure on the doctrines of Descartes himself. What followed has been concisely summed up by M. Boutroux: 'Voet determined to ruin Descartes. On the one hand, by means of insinuation, he accused him of atheism; on the other, he denounced him as a pupil and spy of the Jesuits. And he declared that his whole method of philosophy was heretical and opposed to the scholastic system of instruction. At his instigation the magistrates ordered Regius to confine himself in his lectures to medicine; and the majority of the

[1] See his letter to Plempius, 15 Feb. 1638, *Correspondance*, I 521–536; Haldane, pp. 371–4.

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professors, in the General Assembly of the University, condemned the new philosophy, on the grounds that it was opposed to the ancient and true philosophy, that it deterred young men from the study of scholastic terms, and that it was conducive to scepticism and irreligion[1].' CHAP.

And here we must leave these two notable men, distinguished alike by their labours and their strong desire to bring mental assurance home both to the teacher and the taught, but by methods which, in their singular divergence, stand exemplary for all time. The former, surrendering up his right of private judgement and intellectual freedom, content if, by elaborated effort and untiring zeal, he could exorcise the evil spirit of scepticism or lull to rest the misgivings of the doubter. And, with this aim,—propounding only what should serve to perfect and confirm the faith delivered to the Saints,—he held that dogmas which seemed, at first, to affront the intellect, or ambiguities which still divided the schools, might, by due adherence to the prescribed processes of the established logic, be finally approved or resolved, beyond all further questioning, for the acceptance of universal Christendom. The latter, although distrustful of the scholastic methods and their adequacy to guide him through those untrodden paths and over those unknown seas newly opening up to the philosophic vision, was actuated, nevertheless, by no iconoclastic spirit. It was no aim of his either to subvert the crowded fane where devotion should still pay its vows, or to abolish the roadside shrine before which the lonely wanderer might raise the cry for deliverance from the dangers of the encircling gloom. But it was his hope, his belief, that beside the one, there might be reared the temple which should attest the triumphs and perpetuate the memories of great creative intellects and conquerors in the domain of knowledge; while, beside the other, there might rise the simple column to mark the spot where the solitary explorer had faltered and fallen, seeking if haply he might lay his hand on the hem of the garment which enshrouded the Immortal and Divine.

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, IV 788.

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In the year following upon that in which Descartes died, the revolt from Aristotle, suppressed at Utrecht, found a more fearless leader in London. According to the statement of a contemporary, Descartes and Hobbes had been personally acquainted in Paris, and they had a common friend in Mersenne. The two philosophers, it need hardly be said, had found it difficult to bring their respective theories into full agreement, but there was little difference in their views as to the injury inflicted on the understanding by wrong teaching. Hobbes, indeed, might have been inclined to consider his well-known dictum on the strength of prepossessions[1] not altogether inapplicable to Descartes himself, but it hardly admits of doubt that the latter would have fully concurred in all that we find said about the universities in the pages of the *Leviathan*. Hobbes had long before, in his *De Cive*, enunciated his leading doctrine that if real and lasting peace were ever to be established in the realm it must be by the complete subordination of the Church to the State. But his heterodoxy was still a matter of some doubt; and Cosin, who had visited him when prostrated by a serious illness in Paris, had reported that the sick man had received the sacrament at his hands in accordance with the Anglican rites[2]. The publication of the *Leviathan*, however, left his mental attitude in relation to the traditions of learning no longer ambiguous. Few, indeed, of the leaders of the respective religious bodies at that time had so far embraced the theory of toleration as to be able to accept the view which Hobbes now enunciated as axiomatic,—that 'the ministers of Christ in this world, have no power by that title, to punish any man for not beleeving or for contradicting what they say...but if they have sovereign civil power, by politick institution, then they may indeed lawfully punish any contradiction to their laws whatever[3].' Whether his treatise

[1] 'When men have once acquiesced in untrue opinions, and registered them as authenticated records in their minds, it is no less impossible to speak intelligibly to such men than to write legibly on a paper already scribbled over.' Hobbes-Molesworth, IV 1.

[2] '... a fact to which Hobbes afterwards referred in proof of his orthodoxy.' Leslie Stephen, *D. N. B.* XXVII 40.

[3] 'I conclude therefore, that in all things not contrary to the moral

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was written, as has been alleged, with the express purpose of subserving the designs of Cromwell and his party, we cannot here stop to enquire. It is at least certain that it afforded no little moral support to the subsequent policy of the Protector, the lineaments of whose countenance appeared in the representation of the Leviathan on the title-page. But it is as embodying an unsparing attack upon the predominant studies of the time, that the *Leviathan* chiefly demands our attention,—presenting as it also does, in its unimpassioned and philosophic tone, a marked contrast to that controversial literature which had for years been pouring forth from the presses of the Continent and those of England, but singularly in harmony with the opinions of the late French philosopher. What Descartes had implicitly censured, Hobbes now openly condemned. The traditional idolatry of Aristotle and the tenets thence 'derived to the universities,' and 'thence' again 'into the Church,' seem to him comparable only to those 'false commentaries and vain traditions' wherewith the Jewish Rabbis of old were declared by the Divine Master 'to have corrupted the Law and the Prophets.' The original writings of the 'schoole divines' themselves, he characterizes as 'nothing else for the most part, but insignificant traines of strange and barbarous words, or words otherwise used then in the common use of the Latine tongue,—such as would pose Cicero and Varro and all the grammarians of ancient Rome[1].' Then, turning to the instruction itself, derived from such text-books, he inveighs against 'the ecclesiastiques,' as taking 'from young men the use of reason, by certain charms compounded of metaphysics, miracles, and traditions, and absurd scripture, whereby they are good for nothing else but to execute what they command them.' 'But,' he goes on to say, 'the operatories of the clergy are well enough known

law,...all subjects are abound to obey that for Divine law, which is declared to be so, by the laws of the Commonwealth.' See *Leviathan* (ed. 1651), pp. 149, 270. 'Making,' observes Herbert Thorndike in 1659, 'that right' [of the primitive Churches] 'which the Scriptures give them for the time, to escheat to the civil power, when it is Christian, and dissolving the said Churches into the State or Commonwealth which, once Christian, is from thenceforth the Church.' *Of the Principles of Christian Truth*, *Works*, II 26.

[1] *Leviathan* (u.s.), pp. 370–2.

P. IV. to be the universities, that received their discipline from authority pontificall[1].'

While the philosopher was thus denouncing the traditional learning of the universities, the Jesuit was scarcely more sparing in his criticisms of their actual discipline and methods of instruction,—criticisms, moreover, which told directly over a far wider area; for while Descartes and Hobbes could address their appeals only to the educated few, the fathers of the Society could rely on a much larger audience scattered throughout the provinces. And notwithstanding the rebuff just inflicted on their insidious policy in Paris, in connexion with the Collège de Pontoise, they were now rousing themselves with fresh energy to confront the growing opposition of the Jansenists[2]. The shrewd observations left on record by Robert Parsons, towards the close of the sixteenth century, still slumbered, it is true, in manuscript, and were destined to remain so until nearly a century had elapsed from the time when they were written, but during his life he had given frequent expression to similar views, and the chapters of the *Jesuit's Memorial*[3], relating to the universities, really embody the gravamen of the Jesuit attack. The two philosophers had appealed to those who were, to a great extent, indisposed to listen to the representations urged upon their notice; the Jesuit fathers preferred their plaint before a wider audience, and one which was neither unintelligent nor unsympathetic, save where fanaticism had completely closed the ear to the voice of common sense. The master of Douay[4] (for such he virtually was), in arranging his 'suggestions,'—

[1] *Leviathan*, p. 379.

[2] In 1650; see Jourdain (C.), *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, I 172. For the charges brought against them by the University, see *Ibid.* I 153. For a long time, students attending their classes had been refused admission to degrees. *Ibid.* I 150–1.

[3] *The Jesuit's Memorial, for the intended Reformation of England, under their first Popish Prince. Published from the Copy that was presented to the late King James II. With an Introduction and some Animadversions, by Edward Gee, Rector of St Benedict Paul's Wharf, and Chaplain to their Majesties.* London, 1690. See more particularly Pt. II, cc. 4 and 5. The title given by Parsons himself to his treatise was simply that inserted in the margin above.

[4] Parsons, according to Flanigan, *Church History* (II 262), had direct control of all the foreign ecclesiastical seminaries controlled by the Jesuits, and Dr Law considers him to have been 'virtually master of Douay College.' *D. N. B.* XLIII 416.

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drawn up 'with a view to the honour of God and the good of our countrye,'—was careful, accordingly, at the commencement, to single out the most palpable defect in the existing system of the two universities, by denouncing, in the plainest terms and in that forcible English which long after moved the admiration of Swift, the prevailing excess of disputation in connexion with religious questions. It was not that he disapproved of the disputation itself, in the abstract, any more than did Voetius, if it were conducted by competent dialecticians as a means of arriving at a definite conclusion; but he deplored the abuses to which it was seen to be subject, even in the days of Whitgift and Cartwright, and he accordingly propounded a formal scheme for its ultimate suppression. It was his proposal, that each of the main questions at issue between the 'Heretics' and the Catholics should successively be decided much as, in ancient times, disputes had been settled between contending tribes, that is to say, by a formal conflict between certain selected champions on either side, the issue of the same to be accepted as decisive of the whole quarrel. Four disputants and a 'Moderator,' of recognised attainments and ability, were to be chosen by each of the two religious parties as champions of their respective Faiths, and a day having been fixed and a place for assembling decided upon (either in London, Oxford or Cambridge), where 'all kind of books' were to be 'allowed them for their contentment[1],' a series of disputations was to take place, limited however to a single week and conducted on a definite plan, previously agreed upon. Then the results arrived at were to be given to the world 'in print, for the satisfaction of such as could not be present,' and 'all circumstances' to 'be declared, how and when, by whom and in what order' the disputations were waged. 'I am of opinion,' says Parsons, 'that such a disputation, full, free, equal and liberal, would break wholly the credit of all heresies in England, and that afterwards few books would be needful on our part,—as in truth it were to be wished that few or none were written

[1] *I.e.* for reference, so as to *satisfy* the audience of the correctness of a citation, etc.

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in the vulgar tongue, against hereticks; but rather that Books of Devotion and vertuous Life should enter in their place, and the memory die of the other wranglings[1].' The whole question concerning disputations being thus disposed of, he proceeds, in another chapter, to comment on certain other abuses or objectionable features, observable both at Oxford and at Cambridge, which would, he considers, be best dealt with by the appointment of a Commission, and it is interesting to find that here the Catholic and the Presbyterian appear in full agreement. Just as, half a century later, Dr Thomas Hill, the master of Trinity, along with his party, is to be found demurring to the frequency and gravity of the oaths imposed in connexion with the ordinary academic career[2], so Parsons, in the very front of his enumeration of matters to be amended, places 'the exceeding great multitude of Oaths, which are wont to be given to them that take degree of School in our Universities[3].' His next demurrer is to the extent to which 'particular colleges' endeavour to monopolize the function of providing for the ordinary instruction of their students by appointing as lecturers only members of their own body, which practice, he holds, 'doth greatly hurt and hinder the publick profit of students in their learning; for neither so learned and substantial Readers can be had in private colleges as were necessary to be publick masters; nor can the number of schools[4] be so great, and chosen in every particular college or hall, as were convenient to furnish a course of any science with reputation and profit; whereof also ensueth that neither the Master nor his scholars are able or much animated to go forward in the same[5].' It was to be expected that the writer would plead for the revival of the study of the canon law; but he does so with certain reservations, suggesting that, along with the civil law,

[1] *Memorial*, pp. 36–40.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 332–4. It is, however, to be remembered that Parsons had himself once been, as Mr Carlos Davis observes, 'a Calvinist of the deepest dye,' and he may have continued to sympathize, in some measure, with the party which he had deserted in relation to the question of Oaths. See Mr Davis's *Balliol College*, pp. 89, 106–8; Foley, *Records of the English Province* (S. J.), vi 679.

[3] *Memorial*, p. 152.

[4] In the sense of *classes*.

[5] *Memorial*, p. 153.

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it should represent one and the same faculty, and that students graduating in that faculty should be required 'to have studied not only humanity and rhetoric, but also their course of logick and philosophy,' the 'time and labour of study' requisite in the faculty of law being thus co-ordinated with the requirements for degrees in divinity and medicine, 'all which lectures,' he points out, 'are either wanting or very weak in our English universities at this day[1].'

Such trenchant criticisms, emanating from such a quarter, may serve to diminish the surprise of the student of academic history, on finding that Dr Edward Gee, of St John's College, —a fierce controversialist in the days of James II to become eventually a thriving pluralist under William and Mary,— after editing Parsons' tractate for the press and giving some account of the author himself in a lengthy Introduction, brings his sketch to a conclusion with the following words: 'As I take the Jesuits to be the very worst of men, so I think the preceeding accounts have proved Father Parsons to be the very worst of Jesuits[2].' For our present purpose, however, it will be sufficient to recognise the broad fact, that, whatever might be the demerits or the motives of the members of the Society,—warned off, as they were, from Paris and denounced from all the professorial chairs of the Protestant universities,—they could discern and expose the defects, as regards studies, discipline and organization, of the English universities with a practical insight far better calculated to win the suffrages of Englishmen themselves than was the fascinating but impracticable day-dream of Milton.

The widespread dissatisfaction with the existing methods of controversy in England was certainly not diminished by the perplexities that followed upon the promulgation of the 'Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel,' which took place at nearly the same time as the publication of the *Leviathan*, and originated, somewhat singularly, in the interest excited by John Eliot's propaganda among the aborigines of Massachusetts. The Committee appointed for carrying the new measure into effect soon discovered that

[1] *Memorial*, pp. 156–8. [2] *Ibid. Introduction*, p. lvi.

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their task involved a far larger amount of investigation and deliberation than had been anticipated, necessitating as it did, to quote the description of Masson, 'such a vast extension of its purport that it exercised the House and the public mind more laboriously than anything else.' 'For months and months,' he adds, 'everybody heard of this *Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel*, of its conferences with the Petitioning ministers, and of the shoals of suggestions that were poured in upon it from other quarters[1].' The mere enumeration, indeed, of the different questions which the Committee were called upon to consider, occupying, as it does, several pages of his volume, alone suffices to render his statement quite intelligible, especially when we bear in mind the highly practical character of the measure ultimately brought before the House[2].

To the foregoing attacks by the philosopher and the Jesuit there next succeeded that of the satirist. William Sancroft, just ejected from his fellowship and living in retirement at Fressingfield, composed his *Fur Praedestinatus*[3], a solemn satire of Calvinistic doctrine published anonymously, and the authorship of which he appears never to have admitted. Its exceptional cleverness, indeed, caused it long to be regarded as the production of another pen. A more serious contribution to the current controversial literature and one which told strongly in favour of the opposite party, was the translation, brought out in the same year, of Daillé's treatise *Du vrai Emploi des Pères*, by Thomas Smith of Christ's College. It was the design of the author to shew that the questions in dispute between the Reformed Churches and the Romanists required to be solved 'by some other means'

[1] *Life of Milton*, IV 388, 390–2.

[2] '*The Propagation of the Gospel* had come in fact to mean *The Supply and Sustenance of a Preaching Ministry throughout the Commonwealth*.' *Ibid.* p. 388.

[3] *Fur Praedestinatus* (*u. s.* p. 426, n. 1), pp. 2–3. According to Dr Thomas Birch (*Life of Tillotson*, p. 160), the satire was a joint composition 'with Mr George Davenport and another of his friends.' Sancroft, notwithstanding his learning and undoubted probity, was certainly neither possessed of much original power nor clearness of judgment. See Burnet, *Hist. of Own Time*, II 145; Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, II[11] 610–11. The statement of Leibniz that the *Fur* was originally a Dutch publication, of which it was a translation, appears to be incorrect. See Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, IV[7] 34 n.; Leibniz, *Theodicea*, sec. 137.

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than those afforded by the Patristic writings,—a vast and venerable collection of oracular utterances, it was true, but one from which it was impossible to formulate a final standard of belief whereby the orthodoxy of any doctrine put forward by a modern theologian could be decided. His own position, however, as minister to the congregation of the Reformed Church in Paris, made it difficult to accept him as an unbiassed witness in relation to what he describes as 'the controversies that are this day in Religion[1]'; although the sympathies of the Latitudinarian party were doubtless at once aroused when the Cambridge translator drew attention to the fact that Daillé's discourse, in its original French garb, had excited the admiration of Falkland and Chillingworth, and that it was also known to be commended by Jeremy Taylor[2]. But the Anglican party could not conceal their alarm when it was made clear that the drift of the argument would be to convert the Fathers into witnesses against those very doctrines and observances, which, derived originally from Rome, the Church of England had hitherto continued to cherish, although in a modified form. Regarded, indeed, from this point of view, the evidence to be gathered from the Fathers might be considered as of the highest value, though chiefly of a negative character; and the author himself, so far from discouraging the study of their writings by the theological student, strongly urged that it should be systematically pursued at the universities, and that the auxiliary studies of the learned languages should, on that very account, be also encouraged[3].

[1] *A Treatise concerning the right Use of the Fathers, in the Decision of the Controversies that are at this Day in Religion. Written in French by John Daille, Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church at Paris*, London, 1651. Smith, in an address to the 'Reader' signs only his initials 'T. S.' He was never fellow of his college, as stated by Jekyll, in Preface (p. xiv) to edition of 1843.

[2] 'The translation of this Tract hath been oft attempted, and oftener desired by many Noble Personages of this and other Nations, among others by Sir Lucius Cory, late Lord Viscount Falkland, who with his dear friend Mr Chillingworth made very much use of it in all their writings against the Romanists....I could tell you how highly this Author is esteemed by the learned and famous Dr Andr. Rivet...but writing to Englishmen I will only name the judicious Doctor Jer. Taylor,' etc. 'T. S. *To the Reader, Chr. Coll.* Aug. 1. 1651.'

[3] 'My opinion therefore is, that although the authority of the Fathers

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Intimate as had been the connexion between Cambridge and those divergent forms of Christian belief which developed in America and in Germany, it yet remains to recognise the fact that the relations between the university and the rise of Independency were still more direct and unquestionable. Peter Heylin, when, in the full flow of the reaction which followed upon the Restoration, he compiled his biography of Laud, did not fail to press home the charge; and he singles out the little band of fugitives who found shelter in Rotterdam, as the originators of the movement which, in connexion with our narrative, now assumes a foremost importance. Rotterdam, at this period, was very far from being a second Amsterdam. It had neither the civic magnanimity, the ample resources, nor the tolerant spirit of the still growing capital on the Zuyder Zee,—features which had elicited the admiration of Descartes, and, a few years later, won from Comenius his glowing eulogium[1], the outcome, doubtless, to some extent, of the intercourse that there obtained between conflicting elements, alike seeking shelter from persecution, but mutually debarred from reproducing the methods of religious bigotry. As early as the third decade of the seventeenth century, Rotterdam had harboured a little community of Scotch presbyterians, who, in the absence of any settled pastor, were fain to rely on the occasional ministrations of some army chaplain or some teacher from another centre, for religious sympathy and counsel, and, in default of these, to join the congregation of the Dutch

be not sufficient to prove the Truth of those Articles which are now maintained by the Church of Rome against the Protestants, although the Ancients should perhaps have believed the same, it may notwithstanding serve to prove the Falseness of them, in case that we should find by the Fathers that the Ancients were either wholly ignorant of them, or at least acknowledged them not for such as they would now have us believe them to be: which is a business that so nearly concerns the Protestants, as that to be able to bring about their design, I conceive *they ought to imploy a good part of their time in reading over the Books of the Ancients.* Onely it is requisite that either Party, when they undertake so tedious and so important a businesse as this is, should come very well provided of all necessary parts; as namely of the knowledg of the languages, and of history, and should also be very well read in the Scriptures.' *A Treatise*, etc., p. 194.

[1] 'Ocelle Urbium Amsterdamum, decus Belgii, exultatio Europae.' Dedicat. to the *Didactica Opera omnia* (1657).

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Reformed Church in the city. It was only as a last resource, and not without misgiving, that they occasionally attended the services of the new congregation of English Independents[1]. But whenever they did so, it may be reasonably assumed that they looked anxiously for any indications of unity and harmony which might seem to encourage the hope of an ultimate merging of differences among the Reformed Churches, while it is certain that whatever expectations they may have cherished were destined to be completely disappointed. The arrival in 1639 of Thomas Goodwin, to assume the pastorate at Arnheim, some fifty miles distant on the Lech, doubtless served to raise their hopes. Educated at Christ's College, fellow of St Catherine's, afternoon preacher for a time at Trinity Church and subsequently its vicar, and throughout a loyal disciple of Sibbes and Preston, Goodwin was one whose ability could scarcely be questioned. But in the following year he returned to England, although not before he had exchanged views and taken counsel with the four divines whom he left behind in Holland,—Philip Nye, of Magdalen, Oxford (the same society over which Goodwin himself was afterwards to preside), and the three divines from Emmanuel, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge,—the whole five having, in all probability, already, to a great extent, agreed upon those conclusions with regard to the contending sectaries in England, which subsequently gave rise to the production of the *Apologeticall Narration*[2]. That notable tractate,—wherein the writers appear as assuming towards Presbyterianism much the same attitude that the Smectymnuans had taken up towards Episcopalianism, and that the authors of the *Certain Disquisitions* had adopted towards the Covenanters,—first formulated the principles of a new departure. 'These men,' says Heylin,

[1] 'Those of the residents who had a sufficient knowledge of the language attached themselves to the Dutch Reformed Communion, which, in doctrine and discipline, corresponded with the Church of Scotland; and some of them attended the ministry of Mr John Durie, chaplain to the English merchants, or frequented a recently formed congregation of Independents.' See Steven (Rev. W.), *History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, etc. (1833).

[2] *An Apologeticall Narration, humbly submitted to the Hon. Houses of Parliament*, 1643.

'affecting neither the severe discipline of Presbytery, nor the licentiousness incident to Brownism, embraced Robinson's model of Church-government in their congregations, consisting of a coordination of several Churches for their mutual comfort; not a subordination of one to the other, in the way of direction or command. Hence came the name of INDEPENDENTS[1].'

The three Emmanuel men, who appear to have been of nearly the same age, were all alike fugitives from ecclesiastical persecution,—Bridge and Burroughs from the inquisitorial rule of bishop Wren, Simpson from the tyranny of Laud. Bridge, however, had been a fellow of his college, and his predecessor in the pastorate to which he now succeeded, had been no other than the widely known Hugh Peters. Peters, who had been educated at Trinity College, had been the disciple of William Ames at Franeker; and just as Ames had become the devoted follower of Perkins in Cambridge[2], so Peters, in turn, became the unquestioning disciple of Ames in the new school in Frisia, and had eventually preached his funeral sermon. The Dutch government had recognised his merits by granting him a salary of five thousand guilders, and in 1633 Peters repaired to Rotterdam, there to edit his great teacher's posthumous treatise, and to propagate his doctrines. 'If there is a way,' Ames had said to him shortly before his death, 'if there is a way of public worship in the world that will last, it is this[3].' The disciple was not one to falter where his instructor had been confident, and he now proceeded to draw up a 'short covenant' of fifteen articles, to serve as an epitome of doctrine for the guidance of his congregation. But Laud's untiring enmity had tracked him across the sea, and he soon after sailed for

[1] *Cyprianus Anglicanus* (ed. 1671), p. 364. It is interesting to compare Robert Baillie's account: 'Master Robanson did derive his way to his separate congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did carry it over to *Plymouth* in *New England*; here Master Cotton did take it up, and transmit it from thence to Master Goodwin, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in *Old England* first, and after, to more in *Holland*.' *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (London, 1645), p. 54.

[2] For Ames see Vol. II 510-3.

[3] Peters, *Last Report of the English Wars* (1646), p. 14.

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America, arriving in Boston in 1635; so that when Bridge arrived in Rotterdam, it was too late for him to profit by the counsels of his strenuous and able predecessor. The new instructor was, however, cordially welcomed by the magistrates of the city, and the congregation continued to receive numerous and influential accessions, while, before long, he found a coadjutor in Samuel Ward, a former scholar of St John's College and one of the first fellows of Sidney College. If we may credit a story told by Baillie[1], Bridge and Ward now agreed formally to repudiate their Anglican ordination; and Bridge, accordingly, ordained Ward to the ministry, and was thereupon himself ordained by Ward[2]. The stay of Sidrach Simpson was, perhaps, the briefest of all. He soon found himself at variance with Bridge, and withdrew from the co-pastorate which he had at first accepted, to minister to the spiritual needs of a separate congregation, largely composed of 'Seekers' and Baptists. The rivalry between the two proved fatal, however, to the peace of the English community, and Simpson ultimately quitted Holland to become a lecturer in London and a member of the Westminster Assembly. In the mean time, the little Church at Arnheim had invited Ward to become their pastor, but, after a brief probation, had dismissed him, on grounds which were afterwards shewn to be not merely insufficient but false; and, after allowing him and his family to remain for several months 'without all maintenance in a strange land,' were fain to reinstate him, without however making any endeavour to compensate him for the injury and the privations to which he had been subjected. It was a pitiable episode, and, in the opinion of Thomas Edwards, filled up the measure of the

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he sails for Boston and is succeeded by William Bridge: b. 1600 (?), d. 1670.

Samuel Ward: scholar of St John's College: B.A. 1[illegible], d. 1640.

Variance between Bridge and Simpson.

return of the latter to England.

The Church at Arnheim

its harsh treatment of Ward.

Thomas Edwards of Queens' College: b. 1[illegible], d. 1647.

[1] A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time: wherein the *Tenets* of the principall Sects, especially of the *Independents*, are drawn together in a Map, for the most part, in the words of their own Authours, and their maine principles are examined by the Touch-stone of the Holy Scriptures. By Robert Baillie, Minister at Glasgow. Published by Authority. London, 1645.

[2] 'They all renounced their Ordination in England, and ordained one another in Holland; first Master Bridges ordained Master Ward, and then immediately Master Ward ordained Master Bridges.' *Ibid.* p. 82. Baillie here cites as his authority *The Anatomy of Independency, by a Learned Minister in Holland* (1644), p. 22.

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discredit which the Apologists had brought upon themselves in Holland[1]. That fiery polemic,—ever since his conversion to Presbyterianism[2],—had been equally distinguished by the ardour with which he espoused its interests[3], and the animosity with which he assailed the Independents. Rarely, indeed, do we find the principle of toleration called in question in a more intolerant fashion. Milton, who dubbed him 'shallow Edwards,'—Fuller, who had formed a shrewd estimate of the man when they were contemporaries at Queens'[4],—Jeremiah Burroughs[5], at a time when the excitement connected with the Apologists had in a great measure subsided,—all alike left on permanent record their strong dislike of a spirit of invective and abuse in which the first elements of Christian charity seemed altogether forgotten. The *Apologeticall Narration* was a prolix but far from acrimonious exposition of the grounds on which the writers rested their claim for protection against the coercive intolerance of a Presbyterian majority both in Parliament and in the Assembly; the *Antapologia*[6] of Edwards, which came forth in

[1] 'If the Church offending had been enjoined, or had ordered themselves to have paid him the profits of his place, or to have given him a good summe of money on their fast day, this had been some reliefe for a wrongfull sentence and a person injured thereby, and might have been a meanes to have preserved them from doing the like for time to come, but for a minister and his family to be so long in a sad condition *without all maintenance in a strange land*, and in the issue for those who did this to acknowledge only their sinful aberration, and the Minister thus suffering to acknowledge his sin too, and both of them to be humbled for it alike; this was a poor remedy.' *Antapologia*, pp. 149, 150. Baillie (to whom this episode appears not to have been known) represents the little community as maintaining 'small intercourse with others' and much 'taciturnity of their own affairs,' 'yet,' he goes on to say, 'so much of their wayes is come to light upon divers occasions, as will not be very inductive and alluring of indifferent spirits, to tred in their footsteps.' *A Dissuasive*, etc., p. 78.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 77–8.

[3] '...not only preaching, praying, and stirring up the people to stand by them' [the Presbyterians] 'but even advancing money.' *Gangraena*, Pt. II p. 2.

[4] See *supra*, p. 77, n. 2.

[5] '... I am very confident, and I am not alone in this my confidence, that Bishop Wren was not more mischievous to the Prelacy, than he [Edwards] hath been to the Presbytery; I doubt whether there ever was any in the Christian world who was looked upon as a man professing godlinesse in that heigth that he hath beene, that ever manifested so much boldnesse and malice against such as himselfe acknowledges to be godly, as he hath done.' *Vindication of Mr Burroughes* (London, 1646), sig. A 2 v.

[6] *Antapologia: or a full Answer to the* Apologeticall Narration *of Mr Goodwin, Mr Nye, Mr Sympson, Mr Burroughs, Mr Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines. Wherein*

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1644, was an intolerant rejection of their claim, grounded on the assumption that the dominant creed was entitled to implicit acceptance. As Mr Hunt observes, 'the Divine right of Presbyterianism was, with the Presbyterians, as much a mental madness as the Divine right of Episcopacy with the followers of Laud[1]'; and Edwards probably conceived his triumph complete when he published his volume with a title-page whereon the names of the Apologists were duly gibbeted. The further dissensions that ensued, not only in Rotterdam but at other centres, afforded him an opportunity for renewing his attack; and in his *Gangraena*, which appeared in 1646, we gain an insight into the conditions under which the great Independent body was gradually formed, which we should otherwise lack,—both treatises being designed, to quote the author's own words, 'for a true glasse to behold the faces of Presbyterie and Independencie in, with the beauty, order, strength of the one, and the deformity, disorder and weakness of the other[2].' According, indeed, to Edwards, it was to evade suffering and privation, rather than heroically encounter such evils, that the exiles in Arnheim and Rotterdam had crossed the waters; and, as he drew the picture, it was 'in a time of common danger and suffering *in their own land*' that they had gone forth, 'with their wives, children, estates, friends, Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens over into Holland, where they lived in safety, plenty, pompe and ease, enjoying their own wayes and freedome'; and then, 'when the coasts were cleered, came over into England, were entertain'd and receiv'd with all respects and applause, and *are now Members of the Assembly of Divines*[3].' He scornfully puts aside, as sheer querulousness, the protest of the Apologists against the unfair criticisms to which they had been subjected,—'as though,' he observes, 'a few men, going in a new by-way different from all the Reformed

is handled many of the Controversies of those Times [in the enumeration of fourteen Controversies which follows, no. 10 is 'Of Tolerations, and particularly of the Toleration of Independencie']. *Humbly also submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, by Thomas Edwards, Minister of the Gospel.* London, 1644.

[1] *Religious Thought in England*, i 260.

[2] *Antapologia*, 'To the Reader,' sig. A.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 2.

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P. IV. Churches of Christendome, and that with so high a hand,' 'should not expect speaking against, and to have their eares filled with outcryes and exclamations!' As for their extreme reticence, and abstention from a formal enunciation of their distinctive belief, this, he declares to be nothing less than a cloak to conceal their virtual identity with the divines of New England,—'I heard Mr Bridge since this Parliament openly affirme it, for himselfe and others, we agree with them of *New-England*, and are of their Church-way: and Mr Burroughs hath said so too[1].'

In the mean time, Sidrach Simpson had found little cause to regret his decision to return to England. In the Assembly he was distinguished by the boldness with which he pleaded the cause of liberty of conscience; and, long before monarchy was actually overthrown, he had advocated an appeal from King and Parliament to a truly national Assembly. In 1650, he was appointed master of Pembroke in the place of Dr Vines,—one of the most noteworthy changes resulting from the enforcement of the Engagement in the university; and in 1653, he was presented by the commissioners of the Great Seal to the rectory of St Bartholomew, Exchange, in opposition to the unanimous election of Mr George Hall by the Vestry[2]. Simpson's relations with the official world, both

[1] *Antapol.* pp. 11–12. Edwards' conclusion, indeed, was nearly identical in its assumptions with that advanced, some fifty years later, by one of the most eminent of the Nonjurors, Charles Leslie, in defence of episcopal government,—whereby all error in the teaching of the Church was asserted to be the inevitable result of disregard of the bishop's authority. Leslie pointed out that when, at the Restoration, that authority had been re-established, some sixty previously existing sects had disappeared; it was evident, therefore, that episcopacy was the legitimate and only effectual preventive of disunion. See his *Case of the Regale and of the Pontificat stated. In a Conference concerning the Independency of the Church*. London, 1702, pp. 161–6. With regard to penal laws and Test Acts Leslie is silent, but Dr Johnson pronounced him the 'only reasoner' among the Nonjurors, and, when Boswell suggested the name of William Law, simply ejaculated, 'Lor, I forgot.'

[2] The names of the Commissioners by whom he was appointed,—Sir Thomas Widdrington, Bulstrode Whitelock and John Lisle (the regicide),—suffice to indicate the party with whom he was in favour. Simpson's appointment was made, apparently, in April 1653, and his sermon was preached in the following July. His discourse, accordingly, acquired additional force from the fact that he represented the party of the Independents. See Freshfield, *Vestry Book of St Bartholomew, Exchange* (1890), pp. xxxi–ii; and, for the significance of the whole election,

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in the capital and the university, were, accordingly, now such as to enable him adequately to estimate the gravity of the crisis that was impending. Already, in 1652, Roger Williams, temporarily back in London from Providence, had printed there, without publisher's name, his pamphlet against a 'Hireling Ministry,' and had predicted that the fall of the seminaries which educated that ministry was at hand[1].

Roger Williams publishes *Hireling Ministry*: Feb. 1652.

Christ's College was at this time ably ruled by Dr Bolton, whose unselfish spirit and single-minded devotion to the duties of his office, along with the growing influence of Dr Henry More, did much to sustain the spirits and raise the tone of the entire society. In the opinion of Dr Peile, the fellows, taken as a body, were superior to their predecessors[2]. In 1649, the college had attracted from St Catherine's (at that time in a very depressed condition) and elected to fellowships, three bachelors of arts, two of whom afterwards achieved distinction,—namely Joseph Sedgwick, whose influence with those in authority was sufficient to carry his election over the afterwards better known Matthew Robinson, and George Rust, afterwards bishop of Dromore[3]. Sedgwick, although his sympathies were with the Independents, could not but regard with apprehension the advance of the new movement, threatening, as it did, to envelope and crush within its folds all academic learning, which it contemned as a tedious acquisition whereof its own inspired prophets and their docile followers had alike no need; and in a sermon at Great St Mary's on the first of May, 1653, he now did his

Christ's College in 1653.

Joseph Sedgwick, M.A. 1652. Master of Repton School 1667–72. Master of Stamford School 1676–82.

His sermon at Great St Mary's:

the evidence given by Mr Shaw, *Hist. of the English Church*, II 268–78.

[1] *The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, or a Discourse touching the Propagating the Gospel of Christ Jesus. Humbly Presented to such Pious and Honourable Hands, whom the present Debate thereof concerns. By* ROGER WILLIAMS, *of Providence in New England*. London, Printed in the second Moneth, 1652. For his attack on the universities more especially, see pp. 14–18.

[2] *Hist. of Christ's College*, p. 171.

[3] The third fellow was one Thomas Fuller, 'not the Sidney man,' Dr Peile observes in a helpful letter (16 Jan. 1909). I incline therefore to conclude that it was the fellow of Christ's and *not* Thomas Fuller, the historian, who sided with Charles Hotham in the latter's memorable contest (see *supra*, pp. 413–4). The influence of George Rust would be likely to prevail with the younger Fuller who, however, obtained the degree of D.D. in 1665 by royal mandate.

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CH. IV. best to denounce and expose that 'Spirit of Enthusiasme and pretended Inspiration, that disturbs and strikes at the Universities.' A few days prior to the delivery of this sermon, William Dell, master of Caius College, had also printed a sermon, entitled the 'Stumbling Stone,' to which, as a marked manifestation of renewed hostility, Sedgwick deemed it necessary to make some reply in the form of a 'Postscript' of ten pages; and on further revolving in his mind the whole question at issue, he finally decided to publish a third and more elaborate treatise, extending to 25 closely printed quarto pages, on 'the Necessity of Learning to an able Minister of the Gospel,' in which he sought to bring home to the reader the baneful results which had already followed upon utterances like those of the master of Caius and again denounced the yet graver consequences that awaited the universities from the spreading influence of *Enthusiasm*[1]. The three compositions represent, accordingly, three distinct gradations of sentiment and expression. The Sermon,—on the text, *Follow after Charity* (1 Cor. xiv 1),—had for its key-note, the laying aside of theological dissension, and might well seem not inappropriate to a crisis when war or peace with the Dutch was known to be a question of but a few days. 'What,' asked the preacher, 'do we by our dissentions but furnish our adversaries with matter of calumny? University with Town, scholars with scholars, study peace and charity! I need not tell you how acceptable to God, how worthy of the Christian calling this duty is.' 'Minde you, men, brethren and fathers, your duty, maintain strictness of discipline, profitableness of study and reality of learning: and maugre all the oppositions of malice and ignorance, the

[1] *A Sermon preached at S. Marie's in the University of Cambridge May 1st 1653, or, an Essay to the discovery of the Spirit of Enthusiasme and pretended Inspiration, that disturbs and strikes at the* UNIVERSITIES: *By* JOSEPH SEDGWICK, *M^r of Arts, and Fellow of Christ's Coll. in the University of Cambridge. Together with an Appendix, wherein M^r* DEL'S STUMBLINGSTONE *is briefly repli'd unto: and a fuller discourse of the use of* UNIVERSITIES *and Learning upon an Ecclesiastical account, submitted by the same Authour to the judgement of every impartial and rational Christian.* London, 1655. [The pagination of these three treatises is continuous, although the third has a separate title-page.]

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Universities shall be acknowledged the eyes of the land, the fountain of a godly and an able Ministery[1].'

In replying to the author of *The Stumbling Stone*[2], he briefly re-affirms and defends the position of the Independent party with regard to the views maintained by Dell, declaring that '*A National Church is not Antichristian. That a Congregation of external believers and professours is an Apostolicall Church. That set times and places of meeting are designable under the Gospel. That the Ministery of the Gospel requires Ecclesiastical Ordination. That all believers are not Ministers. That the teaching of the Spirit is not enablement enough to the Ministery. That Philosophy, Arts and Sciences accomplish a Minister. That tongues are necessary to a full understanding of Scripture. That University Habits and Degrees are lawful, and speake nothing of Antichristianisme. That the Institution of the University for the supply of the Ministery is according to Christian prudence and the duty of a Christian State.*' 'Should you please,' he says, 'to contradict any of these assertions,' 'I shall promise a serious examination, and either a plaine conviction, or serious acknowledgment of truth[3].'

It is, however, in his third treatise[4] that Sedgwick for the first time puts forth his full strength, and states the case for the defence against those who decried the culture of the universities,—whether regarded as an aid to the theologian or to the requirements of practical life,—with a cogency and directness that may well have penetrated even the overweening conceit of a Webster or a Dell. By this time, the gravity of the crisis impending in the State had become yet more alarming, and his language, whether when dealing with the Enthusiast or the Sceptic, assumes a correspondingly outspoken tone and expression. In his Preface to the Reader, he thus deals with the former:—'Of all things I can least endure *Enthusiasm*, unlesse it be in brave, lofty and

[1] *A Sermon*, etc. pp. 13, 16.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 17-26, with heading 'An Appendix, or Postscript,' etc.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 25-6.
[4] 'Ενθουσιασμὸς Διδασκαλικός. *Learning's necessity to an able Minister of the Gospel.* By Joseph Sedgwick, M^r of Arts and Fellow of Christ's College in the University of Cambridge. London, 1653.

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Romantick lines. Then, methinks, it sounds rarely, and turn'd into Latine verse, might be bound up with Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. Else I have no patience to heare, in plaine English and sober sadness, *God made the Authour of lies*. These pretenders to the Spirit should not in justice trouble the World with their wild conceptions, till they can speak sense and make out their Positions rationally, or *shew miracles*[1].' From this reproach, indeed, of assuming to themselves supernatural powers, the Fifth Monarchy man and the Ranter would appear to have been comparatively free; although their apparent disinclination was perhaps quite as much the result of fear as of dislike to imposture, for, at this time, any such assumptions were more likely to be interpreted as evidence of their being leagued with the powers of Darkness than with those of Light. Lecky long ago pointed out, that the Presbyterian divine was exceptionally inclined to listen to charges of witchcraft[2]; and within less than ten years prior to the time when Sedgwick put forth his challenge, John Lowes, of St John's College, a master of arts who had held for half a century the living of Brandeston in Suffolk, had suffered as a wizard, at the stake,—a sentence which Richard Baxter is said to have openly approved. It was consequently something far more terrible than simple detection and the 'indignation' that might ensue on the exposure of an 'insolent fraud[3],' which now confronted the pretender to miraculous powers; *mutatis mutandis*, the tribunal was generally only too ready to credit him with them, and Buckle has noted the significant fact that in the trials for witchcraft in Scotland, not a single case of imposture is on record[4].

Not less effective is Sedgwick's exposure of the fallacy by which, as he shews, Dell and his supporters were practically making common cause with the Jesuits:—

'The Reformation of Religion,' he says, 'and the reviving of τῆς

[1] *A Sermon*, etc. p. 32.

[2] *Hist. of Rationalism in Europe* (1882), I 127-136. 'As late as 1736 "the divines of the Associated Presbytery" passed a resolution declaring their belief in witchcraft, and deploring the scepticism that was general.' *Ibid.* p. 136.

[3] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. 1854), II 180-1.

[4] *Hist. of Civilization*, II 189-190.

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ἔξωθεν παιδείας,—in plaine English, the Gentile learning,—were contemporary and happily promoted by the same Instruments. And it were strange if the Reformation begun in Knowledge, could no otherwise be carried on then by returning to the ignorance of darker and more degenerate ages. What can an adversary to the Reformation in reason think else, but that they have convinced us of the insufficiency of our cause, and that now we are sensible Learning was only an argument for us, when our opponents had not attained to enough to discover our fallacies, impostures and learned juglings? What greater triumph can the *Jesuites* desire, then to see us beat out of our confidence of Learning, and put to a poore and irrational shift of private infallible Inspiration[1]?'

The influence of the nascent Royal Society breathes in the bold assertion that:

'Philosophy according to the traditions of men and the principles of the World, the philosophy of the Sects, philosophicall quirks and subtilties and ungrounded dreams and fancies concerning *Angels* and the like, is nothing to genuine philosophy proceeding upon true principles of nature,—*i.e.* God's discovery of himself to our understandings by the light of Reason and works of Creation[2].'

He cou[illegible] the pre[illegible] philoso[illegible] the Sect[illegible] with th[illegible] derived [illegible] the stud[illegible] Nature.

And while he admits the fact that 'the authority and discipline of the University hath been weakned by some such spirits amongst us as our Adversaries,' he nevertheless can venture to say,

'I call all that know *Cambridge* (and I question not but others can testifie as much for Oxford),—all that judge by nothing of faction and prejudice,—that there is no collection of men this day in England, that can shew more eminent examples of true Worth, reall, sober Piety and Religion, then are in our University[3].'

He defe[illegible] the ac[illegible] state of [illegible] cipline [illegible] Univers[illegible]

To the argument urged, 'You scholars cannot agree in the Truth! *ergo* what need of Universities?' he rejoins,—

'It is a strange accusation, that we are a Society of Men. We confesse we seek after truth, and, if we erre, it is because we are fallible. Nay, that we differ, is an argument that we set ourselves to seek the truth, and not lazily conspire in that which, for ought we can tell certainly, may be absolute falsehood,—which is all, I doubt, a perfect unity of opinion will amount to, till it be the fruit of an universall

Differe[illegible] of opin[illegible] among [illegible] no arg[illegible] [illegible] search [illegible] Truth.

[1] *Learning's Necessity*, etc. pp. 43–4.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 57.

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CHAP. IV. infallibility of spirit. Rather the ingenuity of an indifferent and free enquiry into Truth, is true Noblenesse[1].'

Within a few weeks of the delivery of Sedgwick's sermon, Sidrach Simpson appeared in the same pulpit, to enforce a similar argument with all the authority derived both from his wider experience and more extended influence. He had been invited to preach the Commencement sermon in July, and his discourse, delivered before a congregation which William Dell afterwards described as composed 'especially of ministers, and gathered together from several parts of the nation,' attracted all the more attention in that, while giving expression to very advanced views in connexion with doctrine, it was eminently conservative as a defence of learning. From certain brief notes, taken by no friendly hand, we gather that, as an oratorical effort, it perhaps surpassed that of his predecessor, but was hardly equal to it with regard to force of argument. The universities of England, the preacher maintained, were as the outworks to the citadel of religion, and as the Outer court to the temple of the Gospel,—in short, not less affine to the spirit of the New Testament than the schools of the prophets in Judaea had been to that of the Old Testament. Those who decried the schools had ever, from the days of Julian the Apostate, downwards, been the enemies also of religion; and if it were true that 'the Spirit,' alone, sufficed for the teaching of doctrine, unaided by the 'means' afforded by the universities and humane learning, then the laity might 'as well be without the Ordinances themselves.' 'We shall never,' said the preacher, as he brought his sermon to a conclusion, 'we shall never keep up religion, if we do not keep up learning, for when learning goes down, religion goes down too.' 'Your destruction,' he cried, as he glanced around upon his erudite audience, 'will never be but from yourselves[2].'

[1] *Learning's Necessity*, p. 57.

[2] The compilers of the Bodleian Catalogue (ed. 1843), III 480, followed by those of the British Museum Catalogue and also by 'A. G.' in his *Life* of Simpson in the *D. N. B.*, have fallen into the error of representing Simpson as himself the author of *A plain and Necessary Confutation of divers gross and Antichristian Errors, delivered to the University Congregation, the last Commencement, anno*

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Although Simpson appears never to have printed his discourse, it doubtless produced deep and widespread effects; and following, as it did, close upon the publication of Sedgwick's sermon, can hardly have failed to bring home to the consciousness of Dell himself the necessity of a reply. It was now four years since the master of Caius had succeeded to office[1], and amid the strenuous controversies which had been going on during that time, his temper had not improved. He had inveighed against the university in which he was a Head, and had availed himself of the opportunities which that important post afforded him, to utter his invectives from the university pulpit[2]. He believed, indeed, or at least he professed to believe, that the reputation of both Oxford and Cambridge was highest where learning least prevailed[3], and in his own argument he relied neither on historical comparisons nor on ascertained facts, addressing himself chiefly to those who were disqualified, by the lack of the judicial temper and of habits of accurate thought, from forming a competent judgement on the actual evidence. He commences his *Confutation*, it is true, by protesting that he is far from being hostile to humane learning 'upon all accounts.' 'On the contrary, I allow it (so it be sober and serious) in its own place and sphear, as well as other humane things: but I do oppose it, as it is made another John Baptist, to

1653. *By Mr Sydrach Simpson, Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.* London, Printed by Robert White, etc. 1654. It is Dell who is the 'Confuter,' as is clearly shewn by his language in the 'Apologie to the Reader,'—'If it shall seem grievous to any, that I have dealt thus freely and plainly with Mr Sydrach Simpson, one of the first pastors of an independent Congregation in England,' etc., sig. A 2. All that we know of Simpson's discourse is derived from certain 'notes' 'taken from Mr Simpson's mouth and delivered to me [Dell] by an honest hand, and affirmed to be true for the substance of them' (p. 3). These are printed by Dell himself in pp. 2–3 of his *Confutation*. I cannot find that Simpson himself ever printed his Sermon; the dissolution of the 'nominated' Parliament, within five months after, may have suggested that his dissuasives were no longer needed, or his own death, which took place in the following April, may have prevented publication.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 365–6.

[2] Sedgwick's language evidently implies that Dell had said things in the university pulpit which had not, at that time, been printed, the former's criticism, being, in his own words, 'a composure and collection of what I had at several times observed by *diligent attending upon his preaching*, and reading some discourses of his and others of the same Spirit.' *To the Reader*, sig. A 2, prefixed to Sermon.

[3] See *supra*, p. 389, n. 1.

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prepare the way of Christ into the world, or to prepare the world's way to Christ.' 'For humane learning,' he goes on to say, 'mingled with divinity, or the Gospel of Christ understood according to Aristotle, hath begun, continued, and perfected the mysterie of iniquity in the outward Church[1]'; and then, in reply to those who might deem his censure of the universities too severe, he adds, 'I have done in this matter but as Wickliff, Hus, Luther, and several others, holy men of God and happy instruments in the hand of Christ, have done before me[2].' In short, Dell's argument (if such it can be termed) is conducted on the gratuitous assumption that the chief and most widely famed universities abroad,—Prague, Cologne, Heidelberg and Leipzig,—were still, essentially, what they had been in the days of the early Reformers,—to quote his own words: 'not only as to the inward substance of all things, to wit, their statutes, philosophy, and divinity, but also in a great measure to their outward forms, what they were in their first Antichristian institution, that is to say, the strongest holds that Antichrist hath had among us[3].' Although, accordingly, John Hall (as we have already seen[4]), only five years before, had deemed it necessary to draw attention to the manner in which the Continental universities were gaining on Oxford and Cambridge with respect both to range of studies and eminence of their teachers, Dell, whose complete ignorance, alike of the Reformed and of the Catholic centres abroad, is a noteworthy feature in his writings, is apparently unconscious of any such changes as having taken place or being actually in progress. And, notwithstanding that, for nearly a century, both the English universities had professed to educate the clergy as members of a 'pure and Reformed Church,' in conformity with new statutes given by a Protestant queen, they still remained, in his view, much what the German universities had been in Luther's eyes,—'open to condemnation in the very institution and constitution of them, and chiefly in their

[1] *An Apologie*, etc. [prefixed to the *Confutation*]. sig. A 2 r.
[2] *Ibid.* sig. (*a*) r.
[3] *Ibid.* sig. (*a* 2) v.
[4] See *supra*, pp. 371–3.

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chief studies,—humane learning and school-divinity[1].' After devoting some fifty quarto pages to his lengthened argument against Simpson's positions, and twenty-five more to the denunciation of divinity degrees, Dell succeeds, somewhat to the reader's surprise, in condensing into six pages his own suggestions 'for the Right Reformation of Learning[2].' And here, singularly enough, he appears as plausible and practical as he had before seemed extravagant and captious,—his observations bearing not a little resemblance to what has already been noted in the tractates of John Hall and John Milton, relating to the same subject. It is consequently only fair to recognize the fact, that, notwithstanding the intemperance of language and perversity in the treatment of evidence which characterize his other treatises, the master of Caius College here appears as one of the earliest of English writers to insist on the education of the People as a foremost duty of the State, and of the State as distinguished from the Church. In pursuance of this theory, he advocates accordingly the foundation of Schools throughout the country, 'not only in cities and great towns, but also (as much as may be) in all lesser villages.' And in such schools he would advise that there should be both a more extended range of subjects and greater discrimination in their treatment: 'let them first teach them to read their native tongues, which they speak without teaching; and then presently, as they understand, bring them to read the Holy Scriptures, which though for the present they understand not, yet may they (through the blessing of God) come to understand them afterwards.' 'In the cities and greater towns,' he goes on to say, 'are the greater schools and the greater opportunities to send children to them, let them teach them also the Latine and Greek tongues, and the Hebrew also, which is the easiest of them all, and ought to be in great account with us, for the Old Testament's sake.' In common with later writers, and

[1] *A Testimony from the Word against Divinity Degrees in the University*, p. 21 [30 pp.: no title or date].

[2] The pagination of these six pages is continuous from that of the *Testimony*.

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more especially Locke, he advises that a principle of selection should be observed in the authors studied, lest 'whilst youth do learn the language of the heathen, they also learn their wickedness.' On the other hand, he suggests an extension of the range of study, and of its use; even logic, 'although in divinity it is termed *gladius diaboli*, "the devil's sword," ' may, he considers, be of real service, '*if reason manage that art of reason.*' 'The Mathematics,' he holds, 'are to be had in good esteem in the universities, as arithmetic, geometry, geography and the like, which, as they carry no wickedness in them, so can they besides be very useful to humane society, and the affaires of this present life.' He next proceeds to advocate the studies of physic and law, but 'according to that reformation, which a wise and godly authority will cause them to pass under, both being now exceedingly corrupt and out of order, both for practice and fees.' Finally, returning to his disloyal attack on his Alma Mater and on Oxford, he confesses that he 'knows no reason' why colleges should not be founded elsewhere.

'For if,' he says, 'humane learning be so necessary to the knowledge and teaching of the Scriptures as the Universities pretend, they surely are without love to their brethren, who would have these studies thus confined to these places, and do swear men to read and teach them nowhere else: certainly it is most manifest, that these men love their own private gaine more than the common good of the people. But now seeing by the hand of God, a Kingdome is turned into a Commonwealth, and tyranny into freedome, we judge it most prejudicial to the common good of a Commonwealth, that these two Universities should make a monopoly of humane learning to themselves, especially (as is said) seeing they say, nobody can well understand or teach the Scriptures without it; and so by reason of this their encroachment, against the rule of love, through the former grants of Popes and Kings, all men should be necessitated to send their children hither from all parts of the Nation, some scores or hundred miles, for liberal education, to the great trouble and charge of parents: especially this considered, that the Universities usually, have been places of great licentiousness and profaneness, whereby it often comes to pass, that parents sending their children far from them, young and hopeful, have for all their care and cost, after several yeers received them back againe with their tongues and Arts, proud, profane, wicked, abominable, and incorrigible wretches.

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Wherefore doubtless it would be more suitable to a Commonwealth (if we become so indeed, and not in word onely) and more advantagious to the good of all the people, to have Universities or Colledges, one at least in every great town or city in the nation, as in London, York, Bristow [*sic*] Exceter, Norwich, and the like; and for the State to allow to these Colledges an honest and competent maintenance, for some godly and learned men to teach the Tongues and Arts, under a due reformation. And this the State may the better do (by provision out of every County, or otherwise, as shall be judged best) seeing there will be no need of indowment of Scholarships, inasmuch as the people having Colledges in their own cities, neer their own houses, may maintain their children at home, whilst they learn in the Schools; which would indeed be the greatest advantage to learning that can be thought of[1].'

Dell's known eccentricity of character and impracticability of temper might, not improbably, have altogether closed the public ear to his appeal, had not other writers, whose practical experience gave them a better title to be listened to in such a controversy, given a virtual support to the views embodied in the preceding paragraph. Foremost among these was John Webster, the self-styled 'Hyphastes[2],' whose name, although he implies he had studied at Cambridge, is not discoverable in the registers. Before taking orders, he had held for some years the mastership of the grammar school at Clitheroe in Yorkshire; and, like Dell, he subsequently became a chaplain in the army. To such a common experience, we may perhaps attribute the fact that they both advocated the bestowal of increased attention on medical studies; but while Dell might seem in a manner bound to protest against the neglect of a science which his college was especially designed to promote, Webster appears to have gained by his familiarity with camp life a practical acquaintance with both surgery and chemistry. It must be admitted also that, like Dell, he was noted for his contentious disposition. At the close of the war, he had been intruded into the living of Mitton, not far from Clitheroe, and, in his retirement there he appears, like the two Hothams, to have

[1] *A Testimony*, etc. pp. 27–8.
[2] From the Greek ὑφάντης, 'a weaver.'

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embraced the doctrines of Jacob Boehme, and there, too, he composed his *Academiarum Examen*[1]. The internal evidence would lead us to infer that he had already seen Dell's several treatises; for he is careful, in the prefatory Epistle, to explain that it is not *his* intention 'to traduce or calumniate the academies themselves, but only the corruptions that time and negligence hath introduced there.' It is to be noted, however, that his volume is dedicated 'To the Right Honorable Major General Lambert,' and Lambert, who, like Webster, was a Yorkshireman, was probably far from disinclined to listen to a free criticism of the existing universities and to arguments in favour of the creation of new centres further north; he was moreover, at this juncture, at the summit of his influence as a politician, having, only a few days before, presented the Deed by which Parliament formally resigned its powers into the hands of Cromwell; while he was also favorably regarded by the royalist party, by whom he was admitted to be 'learned and well qualified, of courage, conduct, good nature, and discretion[2].'

In his prefatory Address, Webster makes his appeal 'to all that truly love the advancement of learning in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, or elsewhere,' while he describes himself as 'a free-born Englishman, a citizen of the world and a seeker after knowledge,'...'willing to teach what I know and learn what I know not,' an account which he considers ought to be sufficient to reassure all 'modest inquirers.' Having thus prudently limited the range of his attack to defects with respect to which he had a right to an opinion, he directs what he has to say as a critic chiefly to the existing 'customs and methode' of the Schools with their scholastic exercises, urging, as a serious objection, that, in all

[1] *Academiarum Examen, or the Examination of Academies. Wherein is discussed and examined, the Matter, Method and Customes of Academick and Scholastic Learning, and the insufficiency thereof discovered and laid open: As also some expedients proposed for the Reforming of Schools, and the perfecting and promoting of all kind of Science. Offered to the judgements of all those that love the proficiencie of Arts and Sciences, and the Advancement of Learning.* London, MDCLIV [MS. note in copy in Univ. Library, 'Decemb. 19, 1653'].

[2] *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, II 206; *D. N. B.* XXXII 13; Gardiner, *Commonwealth*, etc. II 226, 275, 283.

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such exercises 'they make use of the Latin tongue...whereby the way to attain Knowledge is made more difficult and the time more tedious, and so *we almost become strangers to our own mother tongue*.' The stress of his criticism, however, is concerned with the defects of the existing curriculum rather than its abuses, and here the justice of his comments is so obvious, that it seems difficult to understand how more than another century was yet to pass away, before his suggestions were carried, even partially, into effect. He dwells upon the desirability and excellence of physical studies; he deplores the neglect of mathematics; the 'sloathfulness and negligence of the professors and artists,' as a body, describing them as ignorant 'that their scrutiny should be through the whole theatre of nature,' and that 'their only study and labour ought to be to acquire and find out salves for every sore and medicines for every malady, and not to be enchained with the formal prescriptions of schools, Halls, colleges, or masters[1].' Then he turns to extol that great discovery of Harvey, 'our never sufficiently honoured countryman,' and expresses his regret that it has not been more generally utilized. He dwells with like emphasis on the merits of Gilbert's treatise, *De Magnete*. 'What shall I say,' he asks, 'of the atomical learning revived by that noble and indefatigable person, Renatus Des Cartes[2]?' He next pauses to say a good word in behalf of the elder John Brinsley, once, like himself, a schoolmaster, but ejected from his post on account of his religious opinions; and, finally, reverting again to the subject of mathematics, urges the signal services rendered by Oughtred to the study, and concludes with an expression of his fervent hope 'that this so noble and excellent a science, with all the parts of it, both general and special, vulgar and mystical, might be brought into use and practice in the schools[3].'

It was not long before both Dell's attack and that of Webster came into the hands of Dr Wilkins and Seth Ward at Oxford, where the Warden of Wadham and his friend, the

[1] *Examen*, p. 75.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 78.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 103.

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professor, were alike still occupied, as we last saw them[1], with that work of education which was so visibly prospering under their supervision. They decided that both the manifestos before them called for a reply; but it was not until 1654 that the *Vindiciae Academiarum*[2] saw the light, and by that time the danger which had menaced the universities was over. The grave banter and occasional severity of rebuke with which the two teachers of Oxford proceeded to treat these unscrupulous defamers of academic learning and its methods, were consequently only what might be looked for from scholars equally assured of their own position and of the justice of their cause. The joint reply which they now put forth, although dealing principally with Webster's *Examen*, affords, however, too valuable an illustration of the varied aspects of university culture in those days to be here summarily dismissed.

For reasons which do not transpire, the authors preferred to remain anonymous; but their respective shares in the work are distinguished by appending capitals,—these, again, being not the *initials* but the *finals* of their names[3]. The letters 'N. S.' at the foot of page 7 indicate, accordingly, that the 'Epistle,' thus signed, is written by Wilkins to Ward, the writer subscribing himself 'Your most affectionate Friend and Servant,' and the burden of his letter being, to urge upon the professor the desirability of not leaving the *Examen* unanswered. The warden of Wadham does not hesitate, however, to speak his mind with considerable freedom concerning Webster, Dell and Hobbes alike; at the same time availing himself of the opportunity to urge, on Seth Ward's behalf, certain considerations which the latter's native modesty would have hardly permitted him to put forward in his own defence. But as Webster's tractate had been the immediate cause of the publication of the *Vindiciae*, the

[1] *Supra*, pp. 315-6.

[2] VINDICIAE ACADEMIARUM *containing some brief Animadversions upon Mr Webster's Books, stiled*, THE EXAMINATION OF ACADEMIES. *Together with an Appendix concerning what M. Hobbs and Mr Dell have published on this Argument.* Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University, for Thomas Robinson, 1654.

[3] Thus 'N. S.' (*Vindiciae*, p. 7) denotes John Wilkins, and 'H. D.' (*Ibid.* pp. 50 and 65) Seth Ward.

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writer's arguments, like those of Ward himself, are mainly devoted to its refutation. To both, indeed, this task was rendered comparatively easy by the fact that, while the author of the *Examen* evidently possessed but a very slight acquaintance with Cambridge and knew still less about Oxford, the Savilian professor had the advantage of being exceptionally familiar with both, and it soon becomes evident that the retired schoolmaster by the waters of the remote Ribble is altogether overmatched by the two pundits on the classic banks of the Isis. It would have been difficult, indeed, at that time, to name a teacher whose reputation was more likely than that of Seth Ward to command a respectful hearing alike at Oxford and at Cambridge, distinguished as he was, as the oracle of a rising school, and himself in correspondence with the chief mathematicians throughout Europe; while the Warden, on the other hand, appears to have had no hesitation in designating Webster as one of 'the gang of the vulgar Levellers,' 'amongst whom,' he adds, 'his ability to talk of some things out of the common road, hath raised him to the reputation of being τὶς μέγας, some extraordinary person; and by that means hath blown him up to such a selfe-confidence, as to think himselfe fit to reform the Universityes[1].' It is, however, to Ward that he leaves the main burden of disproof, especially as regards the curriculum of studies, while he contents himself with an argument in which the evidence is derived chiefly from the pages of the *Examen* itself. The Warden commences, accordingly, by bringing against their common antagonist a twofold indictment of signal ignorance: first, with respect to 'the present state of our universityes'; and, secondly, with regard to 'the common grounds of those Arts and Sciences which he undertakes to advance and promote'; but in both respects falling 'under that censure of folly and shame, which Solomon doth ascribe onto those that will venture to judge of a matter before they understand it[2].' Such candid language, will not, perhaps, appear too severe, if we bear in mind that Webster's

[1] *Vindiciae*, p. 7.
[2] *Vindiciae*, p. 1; *Proverbs* xviii. 13.

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indiscriminate onslaught had touched the Savilian professor's reputation and, indeed, that of the whole 'Philosophical Society' at Oxford, very closely. Ward, as we have already noted[1], was Oughtred's own pupil, and had, for nearly five years, been filling the Oxford chair of Astronomy; while, within a few months of his appointment, John Wallis of Emmanuel had been called to the corresponding chair of Geometry,—a post which he continued to fill for more than half a century. The two professors had before been known to each other at Cambridge; and their best efforts were now conjointly given to the promotion of mathematical studies at the sister university,—Ward, according to his biographer, not only devoting himself with all possible assiduity to the duties of his chair, but also proffering to all comers gratuitous instruction in mathematics generally, while the labours of both were cordially countenanced and seconded by the energetic warden of Wadham. On the other hand, it is a fact that cannot be disguised, that Wallis had quitted Cambridge simply because the study of mathematics had there died out, and, as Mr Ball is fain to admit, there was 'no career open to a teacher in that subject[2].' It was consequently somewhat galling to find Webster, whose very slight knowledge of the actual facts was limited to Cambridge, compassionately expressing his hope that the study might even yet 'be brought into use and practice at *both* universities[3],'—thus betraying his ignorance alike of the fate which had befallen it at the one and of the remarkable progress which it had, for some years, been making at the other. His observations on this subject, however, wide as they fell of the mark, were such as might fairly be left to Seth Ward himself adequately to expose; Wilkins, accordingly, prefers to level his main criticism at the no less misconceived assertion, that the two universities were still so wholly given over to a blind idolatry of Aristotle, that not merely what contravened the *dicta* of the Stagirite, but even that which essayed to complement them, were equally denounced. 'Which,' says the

[1] *Supra*, p. 314.

[2] Ball (W. W. R.), *Hist. of Mathematics at Cambridge*, p. 42.

[3] *Academiarum Examen*, p. 103.

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writer, 'is so notoriously false, that I should very much wonder with what confidence he could suppose it, if I did not find Mr Hobbs likewise guilty of the same mistake, Whereas, *those that understand those places, do know that there is not to be wished a more generall liberty in point of judgment or debate than what is here allowed.* So that there is scarce any hypothesis, which hath been formerly or lately entertained of judicious men, and seems to have in it any clearness or consistency, but hath here its strenuous assertours, as the atomical and magneticall in philosophy, the Copernican in astronomy, etc. And though we do very much honour Aristotle for his profound judgment and universall learning, yet are we so farre from being tyed up to his opinions, that persons of all conditions amongst us take liberty to dissent from him, and to declare against him, according as any contrary evidence doth engage them, *being ready to follow the Banner of Truth by whomsoever it shall be lifted up*[1].' On certain other, although minor, points, the warden of Wadham has equally the advantage of his opponent; and he is consequently able curtly to dismiss, as 'a loose and wild kind of vapouring,' some exceptionally unlucky comments which Webster had ventured to make with respect to 'Cryptography and the *universall character*,' of which he assumes the universities to be 'wholly ignorant, none of them having so much as touched at these things[2].' As a matter of fact, Dr Wilkins himself was, at this very time, busied with the collection of materials for his famous treatise on a *Real Character*, his researches being with him a frequent topic of conversation,—while professor Wallis already enjoyed a high reputation as a Cryptographist, the result partly of the skill with which, during the late War, he had deciphered some of the intercepted correspondence of the royalist forces[3].

The portion of their task which devolved upon Ward,—namely the exposure of Webster's blunders in detail,—

[1] *Vindiciae*, pp. 1–2.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 5.

[3] Peter Barwick, however, claims for Wallis the credit of having suppressed not a little of what he found in the correspondence which the enemy might have found only too serviceable. *Life of Dr John Barwick* (1724), p. 251. See also *D. N. B.* LIX 142.

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necessarily called for more lengthened treatment, and extends to forty pages. It is preceded by the former's reply to Wilkins' letter, in which the perfectly amicable relations between the two are attested by the writer's declaration that 'the pleasure of giving testimony to the service and respect' which he bears his friend is alone 'a reward exceedingly beyond the labour of the taske[1].' He compliments the Warden on his 'character' of Webster, describing it as 'perfect,' all that is left for himself to do, being to point out how 'the man,' as he styles him, stands condemned by his own utterances; and he forthwith proceeds, accordingly, to make it evident beyond all gainsaying, that the author of the *Examen* has been guilty of a succession of blunders and misapprehensions which sufficiently shew his incompetency for the onerous task that he had voluntarily assumed to himself, not only propounding a new theory of academic education, but also of demonstrating how far both Oxford and Cambridge come short of his lofty ideal. It may perhaps be doubted if any member of either university, whether resident or pursuing a professional career elsewhere, would have cared to turn to the pages of Webster's polemic, when he had already found it clearly shewn that the aggressor (like the knight of La Mancha, to whom Ward compares him) was himself subject to delusions[2]: that he found fault, for example, with the universities for their defective method of teaching 'grammar,' when the answer was, that they did not *profess* to teach it[3],—that he had, through a like mental confusion, mistaken the mathematical symbol for the cryptogram[4],—

[1] *Vindiciae*, p. 8.

[2] 'His predecessor in the military way (the famous hero of the *Mancha*) mistooke a windmill for an inchanted Castle, and this man (man did I say, this *Hero*) lyes under the same delusion.' *Ibid.* p. 10.

[3] 'The man supposes that Universities, like to the *Scholae Illustres* of the Jesuites, teach the Latin Grammar, and to goe through even the lowest elements of learning; but you know Sir, that it is neither usuall nor lawful to teach the Latine Grammar in the Universities. If this man have ever seene the Universities, they have been the Romish Schools and Academies, to whose elevation, the learning which he discovers and the reformation he proposes, are (to use his excellent phrase) *coupled*.' *Vindiciae*, p. 17. For discontinuance of teaching of grammar in the Universities, see Author's *History*, II 163, n. 4; also, in Appendix (A) to same, *Trinity College Statutes* (1560), pp. 609, 611.

[4] *Vindiciae*, p. 18.

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that his criticisms of Aristotle were all b owed from Gassendi[1],—and that he was equally mistaken in supposing that Aristotle's *Organon* was a text-book in either university[2] and that the authority of the Stagirite there took precedence of all Christian philosophers[3]. To his complaint that the disputations in the Schools were about 'Notions and paper-Idols,' Ward contemptuously rejoins, 'Was there ever, or can there be, a Disputation about anything else but Notions[4]?' And, finally, when Webster urges 'that we doe not read the Mathematics,' his critic vouchsafes a rare assent, by allowing that 'we doe not so much and nearely as is fitting,' but adds, 'yet this I must needs say, that we read Ptolemy, Apollonius, and Euclide, and he [*i.e.* Webster] hath read nothing but John Dees English Preface[5].' In bringing his criticism to a close, the professor takes occasion to refer, in more general terms, to a class of 'pamphleteers,' who, under the pretext of giving effect to the teaching of Bacon, had been demanding the entire abolition of all logomachies, urging that 'instead of verball Exercises, we should set upon experiments and observations,' and, laying aside 'our Disputations, Declamations, and Publick Lectures,' 'betake ourselves to Agriculture, Mechanicks, Chymistry, and the like[6].' Such a cry, familiar enough in the present day, when its plausibility has ofttimes appealed with no small effect to the minds of many, alike

[1] 'That there is not one Argument against *Aristotle*, which he hath not taken entirely out of Gassendi, *Exercitationes adversus Aristoteleas*, besides a little out of *Helmont*; to spare words I have annexed this Table' [a table of parallel passages follows]. *Vindiciae*, pp. 32–3; see also p. 28. The full title of the treatise referred to by Ward is, *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus aristoteleos, in quibus praecipua totius peripateticae doctrinae atque dialecticae fundamenta excutiuntur, opiniones vero aut novae aut ex veteribus obsoletae stabiliuntur.* Grenoble, 1624. 8vo. Here Gassendi, following in the track of Ramus (see Vol. II 404–14) and in agreement with Descartes (*supra*, p. 421), expresses his repudiation of Aristotle's authority as invariably valid. His *Syntagma Philosophicum*, in which he returns to the attack, first appeared at Lyon in 1658, in the complete edition of his Works.

[2] '*Aristotles Organon* is not read to the youth of this University (how justly I contend not) neither was it ever understood, or ever will be by M. *Webster*, then why should we fall out about it?' *Ibid.* p. 25.

[3] 'Are not the Christian Ethicks of Daneus, Scultetus, Amesius, Aquinas, and others, besides all those Authors you have mentioned, read and studyed before him in the Universities? What shall be done unto thee, O thou leasing tongue?' *Ibid.* p. 38.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 41.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 41–2.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 49.

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ignorant or careless of the fact that the same outcry had been raised and silenced as long ago as the days of the Protectorate, need scarcely here detain us; but the unanswerable rejoinder with which it was then dismissed by one who perhaps grasped the whole question at issue more thoroughly than any other English professor of his age, must not be left unquoted, scarcely less applicable as his words are to existing conditions at the present time, than they were when originally indited. Referring to the proposals involved in the passage above quoted, Seth Ward observes, 'It cannot be denied but this is the way, and the only way, to perfect Naturall Philosophy and Medicine: so that whosoever intend to professe the one or the other, are to take that course, and I have not neglected occasionally to tell the World that this way is pursued amongst us. But our Academies are of a more generall and comprehensive institution, and as there is a provision here made, that whosoever will be excellent in any kind, in any Art, Science, or Language, may here receive assistance, and be led by the hand, till he be come to be excellent: so is there a provision likewise, *that men be not forced into particular waies*, but may receive an institution variously answerable to their genius and designe[1].'

It is difficult not to suppose that the great majority of such Cambridge scholars as found time to study the *Vindiciae* must have felt that, while it was somewhat to be regretted that the captious schoolmaster had ever entered the university, it was still more a matter for concern that the professor had been allowed to leave it. But although Ward's masterly rejoinder earned for him the gratitude of both universities, he was by no means able to entertain like sentiments towards some of his supporters; and if Webster had written under

[1] *Vindiciae*, pp. 49-50. We accordingly here have it, on the unimpeachable authority of a professor of the University of Oxford in 1654, that, at that time, any student desirous of specializing in Natural Science (*e.g.* medicine, chemistry, or mineralogy), with a view to a professional career, was allowed to do so. While *every* student, apart from the question of a profession, was allowed complete freedom of choice in his subjects of study and entitled to receive instruction consonant with his 'genius and designe.' Neither Burrows, *Register of the Visitors* (pp. lxxxiii, cxxi) nor Mr Wells (*Wadham College*, pp. 75–6), although recognizing Seth Ward's conspicuous merit, appears to have read the *Vindiciae*.

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serious misapprehension with respect to facts, Thomas Hall, of Pembroke College, Oxford, at this time pastor of King's Norton and master of the slenderly endowed Grammar School there founded by Edward VI, blundered sadly with respect to persons. His *Histrio-Mastix*, which now appeared,—an ambitious effort to gain for the writer a share in the credit which had been reaped by the *Vindiciae*,—was a misnomer in its very title[1], having been written under the singular misconception that the Webster whom he proposed to chastise, was no other than the celebrated John Webster[2], the author of the *Duchess of Malfi* and other famous tragedies which, in the opinion of his contemporaries, had ranked as scarcely inferior to those of Shakespeare himself. As the tragedian had now been dead some twenty years, such a portentous blunder could only be interpreted as shewing that the author of the *Histrio-Mastix* was as little at home in the world of polite literature as Webster had been proved to be in the world academic. At first, Thomas Hall assures us, he had been inclined to put his manuscript aside, when he saw how ably the writers of the *Vindiciae* had performed their task[3]; but eventually he rushed into print, and he is undoubtedly entitled to the credit of having made a genuine contribution to the force of their refutation, by pointing out Webster's grave error of judgement in assuming to deprecate the neglect of the study of Astrology[4], that wide-spread

CHAP. Thomas Hall: b. 1610 d. 1665

His *Histrio-Mastix*

his confusion of the Webster

[1] *Histrio-Mastix. A Whip for Webster (as 'tis conceived) the Quondam Player: or An Examination of one John Webster's delusive Examen of Academics: where the Sophistry, Vanity and insufficiency of his Newfound-Light (tending to the subversion of Universities, Philosophers, Physicians, Magistrates, Ministers) is briefly discovered and the contrary Truth asserted.* London, Printed in the Year, 1644. The authorship is disclosed in the Preface, where we learn that it is by 'THOMAS HALL, B.D. and Pastour of King's Norton': see copy in Brit. Museum Library '224. a. 17.'

[2] '...This Mr Webster (as I suppose) is that Poet, whose glory was once to be the Author of Stage-Plaies but now the Tutor of Universities.' *Ibid.* p. 217.

[3] '...which since I penned my discourse, I find to be done so elaborately and accurately by two very learned pens' [note *in marg.* 'Dr Wilkins and Dr Ward'] 'that I was resolved to lay my own answer by.' *Ibid. Preface.*

[4] 'I cannot but wonder how Mr Webster durst be so impudent as to commend the worth, vertue and learning not only of these lying prognosticators, *Booker* and *Culpepper*, but he also extols that lying, railing, ignorant Wizard, Lyly, who hath not onely reviled the most learned and reverend Mr *Gataker*, with the ex-

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delusion which was now fast falling into deserved contempt. Hall also appended to his volume an 'elaborate defence of Logick, by a very learned Pen'; and subsequently published a treatise entitled '*Vindiciae Literarum*; or the Schools guarded' (1654), and notable chiefly for its somewhat limited conception of learning, as of value only so far as it approved itself ancillary to divinity.

In replying to his two other opponents, Seth Ward was not less happy. He discerns in Hobbes (the only one of the three who could compare with him in intellectual power) a thinker 'of good ability and solid parts,' but he demurs strongly to the dictatorial tone of the *Leviathan*, and politely insinuates that the writer is under much greater obligation to 'Mr Warner's MSS.[1]' than he has cared to acknowledge. He had himself, not long before, achieved a decisive victory over the philosopher in another field, and one which more directly concerned the scientific world, by his successful exposure of the delusion under which Hobbes laboured, of having solved what was at this time the crux of the mathematicians,—the squaring of the circle. The master of Caius College,—whose discursive irrelevance and declamatory rudeness left him no claim to like consideration, and who had already been handled by Wilkins with a severity yet greater than that with which he treated Webster,—is now described by the professor as 'an angry fanatick man, who wanting himselfe such academicall learning as would become his relation, would needs persuade others against it, like the ape in the fable[2]'; turning next to the reproach cast upon the universities as 'places of great licentiousness and profaneness,' Ward gives expression to an emphatic disclaimer as regards Oxford, coupled with a sharp retort in relation to Caius College which even its vituperative Head can hardly be supposed to have read altogether unmoved[3]; while he deems it

thodox ministry of the Land; but with his lies hath abused both Church and State, to the great discomfort of the Nation.' *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 207.

[1] Walter Warner, the mathematician, who died circ. 1640. He was B.A. of Oxford and a personal friend of Sir W. Raleigh. See Wood-Bliss, II 301-3; Thorndike's *Works* (*u.s.*), VI 115-6; *Vindiciae Academiarum*, p. 53.

[2] *Vindiciae*, p. 7.

[3] '...indeed the care and prudence and successe of our Immediate Go-

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sufficient, in replying to the charge that it was their aim to monopolize the teaching of humane learning, to remind his opponent that 'the privileges and statutes of both the universities have been always regulated' by the nation, whose 'soverraigne magistracy' is consequently implicitly called in question[1].

Ward's whole criticism is characterized by a marked sense of superiority and disdain of his opponents, not without an occasional deviation into sarcasm which led his biographer to describe it as written 'in a jocose style[2].' Such a feature, however, excites less surprise if we bear in mind that, at the time when the *Vindiciae* appeared, the great danger which had menaced the universities was at an end, and the 'nominated Parliament' was itself no more. But for a brief period, 'it had seemed,' to quote the language of Gardiner, 'as if no institution was to be spared,' and it was 'the far-reaching character of the changes demanded, together with the number of institutions attacked, which presaged a universal deluge. The conservative spirit was aroused in the nation, and those members of Parliament who shared in the general alarm knew that they would find support outside the walls of the House[3].' Various evidence attests that the danger was no visionary one. Pauluzzi, the Agent from Venice, writing, in December, to Morosini, imputes to Parliament a design of destroying both the universities[4]. And in London, John Webster himself, along with William Urbury, a former student of Brasenose, had engaged in a disputation in a church in Lombard Street, in which, to use Anthony Wood's expression, they had sought 'to knock down learning and the ministry together,' and the disputation itself had terminated in a popular tumult[5]. Composed, indeed, as the

vernors, as to the Advancement of Religion and Learning is such as Mr Dell may envy but he will never equall it; I should be very loath to injure him, yet common fame hath brought his name hither with a Character upon it of one whose studyed designe is (by letting fall all Discipline) to let in Licence with all its usual traine, both into Cays College and that other University; and that the consequence of what he hath done hitherto, hath been such as tends manifestly rather to the ruine than Reformation of that place. *Vindiciae*, pp. 63–4.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 63.

[2] *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 27.

[3] *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, II 275.

[4] *Letter Book* in Record Office; the letter is dated Dec. ‖ 1653.

[5] *Athenae Oxonienses*, II 175–6.

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CHAP. IV. 'Little Parliament' largely was, of Fifth Monarchy men,—of fanatics, that is to say, who believed that the temporal reign of Christ was at an end, and that Amsterdam and Rotterdam had been divinely ordained refuges for the Saints, in anticipation of the downfal of all existing institutions[1],—we must admit that their design was in harmony with their avowed convictions. On the very eve of the Dissolution, the voice of colonel Sydenham was heard declaring in Parliament, that the majority of those whom he addressed was aiming at nothing less than the destruction of Chancery, together with the law, and the property of the subject[2]. Richard Baxter, Clarendon and Echard, all testify to the same effect, and it now devolved on Cromwell to approve himself, as Ranke describes him, 'the champion of civil law and personal property.' 'He broke with his party,' says that writer, 'when it attacked the fundamental principles of society and of the State[3]'; and on the 12th December, 1653, he dispersed that short-lived remnant of a Parliament which, had it been able to carry its purpose into effect, would itself have dispersed the universities. Before another year had elapsed, in his famous speech as Protector, he recalled with satisfaction and amid deep-murmured applause, how, by that summary act, the laws and liberties of the realm had been preserved and vindicated; while, in relation to the question which then most closely touched the universities, he described the aim of the government, which he represented, as an endeavour 'to put a stop to that heady way of every man making himself a minister and preacher,'—'to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work,'—'and,' added the orator, 'I think I may say it hath committed that work to the trust of persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, men of as known ability and integrity, as, I believe, any this nation hath[4].'

That the alarm felt at both universities was fully justified

[1] For the demands of the Fifth Monarchy fanatics, see Gardiner (*u.s.* II 265–7): 'their aim,' he says, 'was to grasp the sword and to compel their countrymen to adapt themselves to the government of the Saints.'

[2] *Ibid.* II 279.

[3] *Hist. of England*, III 214.

[4] Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, Carlyle-Lomas, II 353–4.

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by the circumstances, is sufficiently proved by the testimony of both their distinguished vice-chancellors: that of John Lightfoot, at Cambridge in 1655, and that of Cromwell's own vice-chancellor at Oxford two years later, when the mere panic of 1653 had passed away. 'What,' asked the former in a notable oration delivered in his official capacity, 'would Cambridge have been without Cambridge? What a spectre of a dead University, what a skeleton of empty Colleges, what a funeral of the Muses and carcase of deceased Literature[1]!' In October, 1657, John Owen, on retiring from the office which he had continued to discharge for four years in succession, took occasion to refer to the highly critical condition of affairs when he first entered upon its duties, when their position, as he reminded his audience, was such as to be 'a subject for the diaries of the astrologers and the diurnals of the journalists,' and when 'to have stood up in defence of the public Schools would have been reckoned an offence against religion and piety.' 'But,' he went on to say, 'through the intervention of the Supreme Arbiter, the counsels of the conspirators were suddenly brought to confusion,' 'although their baneful purpose will be recalled to memory and denounced, so long as there shall be historians capable of recording the consultations and deeds of those courageous and wise men who were then summoned to the defeat of what represented all that could dishonour a civilized State[2].'

[1] *St Catharine's College* (by Dr G. F. Browne), p. 114; Lightfoot-Pitman, v 391–2.

[2] '...Imo jam eo deventum erat dementiae, ut e partibus gentis togatae stetisse violatae religionis et pietatis nomine censeretur. Omne autem illud, quod apud viros graves male audit atque est vere flagitiosum, per quam liberaliter quotidie in vos impegere malevoli...omnia eorum consilia, conatus omnes, dicto citius ita dissipavit summus Ille rerum omnium arbiter, ut rebus suis vix aut aegre consulerent qui nudius-tertius nostris avidissime inhiabantur.' *Oratio v quam, alio procancellario electo, munus illud jam depositurus fuit*, etc. Owen-Russell, xxi 611.

Gardiner reprints a List of the Members which subsequently appeared, in which the names of those who were for a 'Godly Learned Ministry and Universities' are distinguished by an asterisk and their opponents by a cross. Here, out of the four members for Cambridgeshire, three (John Sadler, Robert Castle, Samuel Warner) have the asterisk, the fourth, Thomas Warner, member for the Town, the cross. It would seem, accordingly, that the fanaticism of the townsmen of Cambridge, at this time, would have led them to concur in the abolition of the University. See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, II 258–261; also Cooper, *Annals*, III 433, n. 7.

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The dread crisis over, and Cromwell duly installed as Protector, a series of measures were enacted which served, to some extent, to reassure the supporters of moderate counsels and true learning. Not only was the Engagement repealed, but, in little more than another twelvemonth, the Protector issued his famous Proclamation,—'the Charter,' as Gardiner describes it, 'of religious freedom under the Protectorate.' By virtue of this notable decree, men of every recognized form of belief were thenceforth to be freed from molestation in 'the sober and quiet exercise' of their respective religious services. But 'Quakers[1], Ranters and others,' as 'notorious disturbers of the assemblies and congregations of Christians in their public and private meetings,' are especially excepted, such 'practices' being formally declared to be 'contrary to the just freedom and liberties of the people[2].'

Within two days after Cromwell's installation as Protector, the death of Dr Hill had again placed the mastership of Trinity in the hands of the Government. He passed away while still in middle life, but his health had been for some time indifferent, and his end was hastened by the anxieties of office and possibly by the above ominous crisis in our university history which he only just outlived. In his childhood he had exhibited that precocity which is rarely followed by fulness of days. When he first entered at Emmanuel, coming up from St Paul's School, he was found, if we may credit Calamy, not only excellent in Latin and Hebrew, but also possessed of a knowledge of Greek superior to that of most of the 'tutors.' Among the college friendships which he formed, that with Tuckney (slightly his senior) was attended with important results; the latter, as above noted[3], was a cousin of John Cotton; and after taking their M.A. degree, Hill and Tuckney went to carry on their studies under his auspices at

[1] Of the Quaker of the seventeenth century a good description is given by Masson in his *Life of Milton*, v 22–27; and among contemporary criticisms that in *A Looking Glass for Quakers*, London, 1657, sets forth the heresies involved in their teaching. Like Roger Williams, they denounced the Universities as 'pretended Seed plots and seminaries for the Ministry'—an educated and regular body of clergy being in their view an abomination.

[2] Gardiner, *u. s.* III 107–9; Masson, *Life of Milton*, v 12–28.

[3] *Supra*, p. 312.

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Boston. When we recall that it was the same teaching that had converted Preston, we may reasonably infer that Cotton's influence on the two younger men, with whom he had been acquainted at Emmanuel, was permanent. Before long, Hill became himself a tutor in that society, where his exemplary diligence contributed still further to extend its reputation: and in 1640 he was summoned to act as 'assessor' to the Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider innovations in Religion[1]. In the capital, where he gained considerable popularity as a preacher, he was one of the original members of the Westminster Assembly, and often, Tuckney tells us, ordered to preach before Parliament at 'their publick Fasts and upon other more solemn occasions[2].' It was when he was becoming yet more widely known, as a preacher in the highly Puritan parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, that he was unexpectedly summoned back to Emmanuel to undertake the duties of the Mastership; but before he had performed any function in that capacity, he was transferred to the headship of Trinity[3]. Here his administration, as depicted by his partial panegyrist, left nothing to be desired. He preached regularly in the chapel; he was careful to maintain a regular intercourse with the senior fellows; and he exacted, with unwonted vigilance, the due performance of their college exercises from the students[4]. It is certain, indeed, that he was a rigid disciplinarian and, consequently, far from popular. He imprisoned one of the fellows, who, over his cup in a tavern, had been heard to declare that the English parliament was a more rebellious body than the Irish themselves[5]. It can hardly have served to raise the Master in the good opinion of the bachelors of the society, when he prohibited

[1] Of this Committee, over which John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, presided, and in which other Cambridge men took a prominent part, there is a prolix account in Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata*, II 147; a more concise and intelligible one in Mr W. A. Shaw's *History of the English Church*, I 66–74.

[2] Lightfoot's *Journal*, *Works*, XIII 27, 218, 245. ΘΑΝΑΤΟΚΤΑΣΙΑ. *Or Death disarmed: A Sermon preached at St Maries in Cambridge, Decem.* 22. 1653.... *By* ANTHONY TUCKNEY, *D.D. Master of St Johns Colledge in Cambridge*. London, 1654. p. 32.

[3] 'Though Hill was nominated Master of Emmanuel, and speaks of himself in one of his books as "late Master," he does not appear to have been ever admitted.' Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 96.

[4] Tuckney's Sermon (u. s.), p. 33.

[5] Ball, *Notes*, etc. p. 94.

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CHAP. IV. the observance of a commendably sociable custom such as that of their regularly inviting the bachelors of St John's to an entertainment on Port Latin Day[1]; while, among the scholars, John Dryden appears to have never been able to lay aside his resentment at the humiliation to which he was subjected in being required to make a formal apology to the Vice-master in hall, 'for contumacy in taking of his punishment inflicted upon him[2].' The poet proceeded, notwithstanding, to his bachelor's degree, and throughout his residence had the reputation of an industrious scholar, distinguished by his familiarity with the Greek and Latin poets. But he never returned to receive the degree of master of arts, which, in 1688, was conferred upon him by the archbishop of Canterbury, at the royal request. The tone pervading Trinity under Hill's auspices can hardly, indeed, have failed to be repugnant to Dryden's ardent and impulsive temperament; and when, long afterwards, he visited Oxford, there to receive the recognition due to his established fame, he saluted the sister university as the English 'Athens,' and affected to deplore the fate which had consigned him, in his youthful inexperience, to the austere discipline of Spartan 'Thebes[3].' Another incident, which occurred a few months before the Master's death, was, not improbably, purposely designed to occasion him annoyance. In the month of March, 1653, we find Henry Paman writing to Sancroft, to inform him that, an evening or two before, the Common Prayer Book had again been used in the college chapel; and although its use had not, as yet, been made subject to a definite penalty, Dr Hill did not fail to allude to it in a subsequent sermon[4].

[1] The practice was forbidden on the ground that such meetings were 'occasions of Great Intemperance and other abuses to the great scandall of both colledges.' Ball, *Notes*, p. 95.

[2] 'Agreed then that Dryden be put out of commons for a fortnight at least, and that he goe not out of the Colledg during the time aforesaid, excepting to sermons, without express leave from the Master or Vice-Master, and that at the end of the fortnight he read a confession of his crime, in the Hall at dinner time, at the three Fellowes tables.' Ball, *u.s.* p. 95.

[3] 'Oxford to him a dearer name shall be | Than his own mother university, | Thebes did his green unknowing youth engage, | He chooses Athens in his riper age.' Epilogue to *The University of Oxford*, Dryden-Bell, III 254.

[4] 'Dr Hill, next morning, they say, snuffed; he thought sure his incense would not ascend with strange fire,

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Arrowsmith, who now succeeded Hill in the mastership, had certainly a quieter time. He was, in fact, already wearying of the conflict. Since his appointment as head of St John's[1], his career had been one of arduous study, laborious duties, and incessant strife; and, during his nine years' tenure of the mastership, the discordant elements had demanded constant vigilance and intervention. Professor Mayor notes, indeed, that 'the feuds between the old and new fellows attracted, at one time, the notice of the Commons[2].' Taking warning by his past experience, the new Master would seem, accordingly, to have resolved not to become involved in college disputes at Trinity, and his tenure of office, as regards the college, is almost a blank. A serious physical infirmity[3] might fairly have been pleaded in his excuse, had he chosen to be equally reticent as a writer. But a sense of duty, combined with a strongly combative nature, still urged him to the conflict, in which, again, he was more often to be found assuming an aggressive rather than a merely defensive attitude. John Bunyan himself was not more thoroughly imbued with that conception of the Christian's career, which depicts the good and faithful servant as a soldier of the Church militant; and, whether seated at the Westminster Assembly, or discoursing from the pulpit or from the professorial chair, John Arrowsmith invariably responds to this ideal. In his first, his 'probation' lecture, he singled out a grave misapplication of Scripture, on the part of the Jesuits, for detailed and vehement denunciation[4]. His earliest published

and presently swept the chapel with an exposition.' H. Paman to Sancroft, 5th March 1634. D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft*, p. 50. The use of the Prayer Book by a minister was not made subject to any penalty prior to 1654, when those who had used it subsequent to the first of January in that year were declared subject to ejection. Its use in Trinity College Chapel may, not improbably, have been intended as a protest against the expedient introduced by bishop Sanderson in the same year (1633), of retaining its use, but 'under such a disguise as to obviate offence and escape penalties,' a course which gave rise to a formal discussion by the leading clergy in London. See Thorndike-Haddan, vi 212 and note.

[1] *Supra*, pp. 303–5.

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 639.

[3] 'So that learning is now so much advanced, as Arrowsmith's Glass eye sees more than his Natural.' *The Assembly Man: written in the year* 1647. London, 1681. [A fierce Satire on the Assembly by Sir John Birkenhead.]

[4] 'Arrowsmith read his probation lecture wherein he blamed the Jesuits for expounding what was said of Eve,

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sermon had for its theme, *The Covenant-avenging Sword*[1]; his best-known and most popular treatise, the *Tactica Sacra*[2], is a figurative description of the Christian's equipment for the fight, although one which the theologian of the present day can only scan with feelings somewhat similar to those with which a modern antiquary surveys a collection of mediaeval armour. In the Assembly he had taken a prominent part on Committees, especially those for Revising the Confession of Faith and for the Accommodation of Church Government; he had also served as a Trier in the Sixth Classis[3]. In 1651, he had been appointed Regius professor of divinity. Soon after his election to his second mastership, however, he had been nominated one of the twenty-one Commissioners appointed to survey the counties, and empowered, along with selected residents, to carry out sweeping changes,—to eject unfit ministers, install others, and even to unite or divide parishes[4]. Viewed in connexion with these official duties, the description of Arrowsmith by a contemporary member of the college, as 'a very sickly man, that seldom came abroad[5],' becomes more intelligible. The master had probably made up his mind to hold aloof from dissensions in college by keeping out of the way, and his periods of absence as a commissioner would serve to aid him in this design; while his professorial Chair afforded him the opportunity of still carrying on the war against whatever he held to be superstition, false doctrine, or mysticism. Judging, indeed, from the specimens of his lectures which have come down to us, he must, in this capacity, have rendered no little

in Genesis iii 15, as referring to the Virgin Mary.' See Cary, *Civil War*, II 371.

[1] *The Covenant-avenging Sword brandished*, 1643.

[2] *Tactica Sacra, sive de Milite spirituali Pugnante, Vincente, & Triumphante Dissertatio, tribus Libris comprehensa; per Iohannem Arrowsmith, Doctorem, & Exprofessorem S. Theologiae, Praefectum Collegii Sanctae & Individuae Trinitatis, quod est Cantabrigiae. Cantabrigiae*, 1657. A treatise which Thomas Baker is at the trouble to note that he has *not* read, although the copy presented by the author himself had long been on the Library shelf (P. 9. 33) at St John's. Baker-Mayor, p. 227. The book was however reprinted at Amsterdam in 1700.

[4] Shaw (W. A.), *History of the English Church*, I 360, II 48, 401.

[4] See Scobell, *Commission for Approbation of Public Preachers, Ordinances*, Pt. II 279. Masson, *Life of Milton*, IV 571.

[5] Letter from a 'Mr Paine,' quoted by Mr Ball, *u.s.* pp. 97–9. See also Lightfoot-Pitman, V 398.

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service to the cause of orthodox belief; and, in relation to our present enquiry, the three brief 'Orations' which he delivered at the Commencement of 1655, and afterwards published under the general title of *Anti-Weigelianae*[1], are exceptionally noteworthy as a defence of sound academic traditions. His ostensible design, it is true, was to call attention to the revolutionary character of the teaching of a once famous foreign divine, long passed away,—but his real purpose, it can hardly be doubted, was to denounce and refute, in plainer language than could otherwise prudently be employed, before an audience largely composed of Independents, the narrowness of view and disastrous tendencies of doctrines which, as resuscitated in England, had so recently menaced both Oxford and Cambridge with virtual extermination. Otherwise, simply to recall to memory and expose the theories of that gentle mystic, Valentine Weigel, who, more than two generations before, had gone to his rest in his pastorate of distant Zschopau, amid the encircling forests of the Erzgebirge, might scarcely seem worthy of an occasion which had brought together the 'noble, venerable and learned throng,' whom the lecturer salutes in his final Oration[2]. It is true, indeed, that Weigel's writings, which the author himself had left unpublished[3], were at once so strongly anti-Lutheran, and so tinged throughout with mysticism and pantheism, that an Elector of Saxony had recently given orders that, wherever found, they should be burnt. It was also undeniable that, in more than one respect, they bore a suspicious resemblance to the teaching of the Catharists,—that mysterious sect which, three centuries before, crossing the Adriatic from Macedonia, had migrated in successive waves to the eastern coasts of Italy, or, passing onward from

[1] *Accesserunt Ejusdem* ORATIONES *aliquot Anti-Weigelianae et pro Reformatis Academiis Apologeticae, quas ibidem è Cathedra nuper habuit in Magnis Comitiis.* [Continuation of title of *Tactica Sacra*, the Orations being printed as an Appendix to same (see p. Zz 4) but with distinct pagination.]

[2] If we assume that Arrowsmith's first lecture was delivered on the opening day of Commencement, and his third (and last) on the 7th of July, when the assemblage would probably be at its fullest, we can understand why he especially addressed his audience on the latter occasion, as 'Alumnorum et Hospitum corona nobilis, venerabilis, erudita.' *Oratio* III, p. 19.

[3] 'Die ersten Drucke Weigelscher Schriften erschienen in den Jahren 1609-14 in Halle bei J. Kresslin.' *Herzog-Hauck*, XXI 38.

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CH. IV. the Vistula to the Scheldt, and from the Rhone to the Seine, had attracted converts and multiplied adherents throughout central Europe, until Philip Augustus was roused to unwonted apprehension and Innocent III trembled for the safety of his temporal domains. But, on the other hand, it was not less certain that Weigel's teaching had already, years before, been formally refuted and shewn to be inimical to the universities of Europe, whether Reformed or Catholic. As long ago as 1634, Mark Wendelin, the Rector of the Reformed archiepiscopal gymnasium at Anhalt, had published at Hanover an elaborate manual, expressly designed as a kind of armoury from whence the neophyte and the advanced student of theology might alike equip themselves with arguments sufficient for the refutation of almost every heresy that had troubled the True Church from the days of Constantine down to the seventeenth century[1]. In a 'dedicatory Epistle' prefixed to his treatise, Wendelin had been at special pains to point out the revolutionary tendencies of Weigel's teaching as regarded the universities, and Arrowsmith now considered that he could hardly do better than read aloud to his august audience some of the quotations from Weigel's writings which he had there found, and especially those in which the pastor of Zschopau had enunciated his theory of the religious life, a life which, as he held, found its truest and fullest expression in genuinely spiritual devotion,—devotion, that is to say, which ignored set times and solemn gatherings at appointed centres, and was opposed, in its very conception, to the idea involved in such terms as 'congregation' (*coetus*) and 'university.' For 'throughout Christendom there was not a single university wherein the true Christ was to be found!' 'Tell me,' cried Weigel, 'of one? Universities, Consistories, Councils, are, all alike, the creations of temporal potentates and inimical to Christ[2]!'

[1] *Christianae Theologiae Libri* II *Methodice Dispositi, perpetua Praeceptorum succinctorum et perspicuorum series explicati, etc. etc. Studio et opera Marci Friderici Wendelini, Archipalatini Gymnasii Anhaltini Rectoris, Theologiae, et Philosophiae Professoris.* 24mo. Amsterdam, 1639. The work was also translated into Hungarian by Prince Michael Apassi.

[2] 'Ecclesia non est in loco certo, non in coetibus, neque sibi associat principes: Nota ejus non sunt verba et sacramenta: Ubi coetus est visibilis, ibi vera Ecclesia non est: non est purganda Ecclesia, non resisten-

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It was hardly necessary for the professor, after reading ud these extracts, to proceed to their application; for nong his auditors it may be doubted whether there was a ngle divine who failed to grasp the fact, that the cry so ecently raised by Dell, Webster, and Roger Williams, and echoed by their unlettered followers, had now been clearly shewn to be identical with one which had been heard long before, in other lands, and that too at centres of learning famed throughout Europe; and that there and then, the involved fallacy had been exposed and its chief author silenced. How far its revival in England may have been the result of intercourse between Weigel's followers and those Cambridge exiles, whose presence at Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Anhalt has already claimed our notice, is a point with respect to which we have no evidence. Arrowsmith himself, had he possessed any information to that effect, would probably have preferred to be silent about it. For *his* purpose, it was at once more prudent and more effective, to exhibit the call for the abolition of the universities as appearing in conjunction with effete fanaticism and exploded errors, rather than seek to deal with it as it had just reappeared,—revived by living contemporaries among his own countrymen, and by writers who, like Milton, had undoubtedly succeeded in combining with their argument not a little that was in full harmony both with Christian doctrine and apparently sound practical discernment.

With no less tact, the professor had taken occasion, in his first oration, to draw attention to another historical parallel. Just as it had been the worldly wealth, and not the religious belief, of the Huguenot, that had marked him out for denunciation by the desperadoes of Paris, so it was the endowments of the professorships and colleges of Oxford and Cambrid that had tempted Levellers and Fifth Monarchy men propound schemes for the overthrow of the universi themselves[1]. That this allegation was no mere rheto

dum hereticis. In Academiis ne tantilla quidem Christi cognitio reperiri potest; nulla est in universo orbe ... in qua Christus reperiatur.'

Epist. Dedicatoria, p. 19; smith, *Oratio Prima*, p. 9.

[1] 'Census est qui censuras ... at in Parisiensi laniena N

CAP. IV. invention on the part of the professor but appealed to a knowledge of actual facts among his audience, would seem to be a reasonable inference from an item of evidence presented in a publication of the contemporary University Press. Among other features common to the Catharists and the followers of Weigel, was the communistic doctrine that the mere accumulation of wealth by the individual was un-Christian in practice, and its very possession, consequently, unlawful[1]; and, some twenty years before Arrowsmith published his *Orations*, a little book had issued from the Cambridge Press in which such theories were successfully satirized. The *Cuique Suum* is a composition in Latin elegiacs (occupying only seven pages[2]) designed to exhibit the extravagance and impracticability of the Catharist doctrine. 'Philoxenus, the son of Eugenius,' is a prosperous and liberally-disposed owner of an estate, who takes pleasure in relieving the distress of others, and especially that of the stranger at his gate, and content to find his reward in the grateful thanks which his bounty usually elicits. But in the case of a Catharist whom, unawares, he has one day entertained, he finds himself disappointed,—his charity evoking nothing but an exhibition of the grossest ingratitude, for the Catharist, emboldened by the good cheer of which he has been partaking, turns on his host, and instead of evincing the sense of indebtedness customary on the part of the way-worn traveller, endeavours to involve Philoxenus in argument. He begins by observing that all worldly possessions belong, rightfully, to God's people. The Catharists are God's people. And he, as one of them, claims that the wealth of his entertainer is rightfully his, and calls upon him no longer to

erat pro haeresi, fecitque Hugonotas non Religio sed opulentia.' *Anti-Weiocliana*, p. 5: an echo of the words of Joseph Sedgwick, two years before: 'Crimen est Academicis nil aliud quam quod | Ditescere videantur et sapere, supra quod par est | Ministris (si Deo placet) Evangelicis.' Lines prefixed to the 'Επίσκοποι Διδακτικοί (1653).

[1] For this tenet in the teaching of the Catharists, chiefly held by the sect known as the *Patarini*, see Schmidt (C.), *Histoire des Cathares*, II 156.

[2] CUIQUE SUUM. 'ΑΝΤΩΔΗ *contra* Cathari Cantilenam

Meum meum: | NOS | *Meum tuum:*
Tuum meum: | NOS | *Tuum tuum.*

Cantabrigiae
Ex celeberrimae Academiae Typographeo:
Ann. Dom. 1635.

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profane it, but to yield up possession[1]. His host rejoins that, if such be the case, his mastiff also belongs to the Catharist; but he at the same time invites his attention to the fact that the dog is already growling surlily at his would-be proprietor[2]. The Catharist politely retorts that Philoxenus is the greater hound of the two, and that it is perfectly certain that the gates of Heaven will never open to either of them[3]. Whereupon his host observes that *his* gate is open, and that, too, for the Catharist's departure; and that he himself, meanwhile, relies upon Providence to adjudicate upon their respective claims[4].

Although but a straw floating on the surface of the stream, this tiny volume is a noteworthy indication of the direction in which the current of popular feeling had long been flowing in the university, until at last it found expression from the professorial chair. At Cambridge, in 1654, it seemed, as it did to the world at large, that Providence *had* very recently intervened, and with no ambiguous result; and just as, at Oxford, Seth Ward and Dr Wilkins, in the preceding year, and John Owen, as Oxford's vice-chancellor, two years later, were able to exult at the delivery of their university from the tyranny of the dissolved Parliament[5], so the Cambridge professor, throughout his notable Commencement lectures, found no less cause for congratulation, and was even able to dwell, with something approaching enthusiasm, on features that either afforded ground for present satisfaction or for hope with regard to the future. He could advert to the restoration of ancient sources of revenue to their traditional and legitimate use,—to the fact that the Library was at last in possession of Bancroft's splendid bequest (a collection which he affirmed might vie with that

[1] *Cat.* Parcite mortales alienam invadere sortem:
Dona Dei vetita nec temerate manu.

[2] *Phi.* Scilicet iste canis tuus est, ut caetera. Dicat:
Adlambat sanctos, te dominante, pedes.
Ecce autem oblatrat; diductis rictibus hirrit:
Nec timet Adami numen herile novi.

[3] *Cat.* Ipse magis canis es *Philoxene*. Certum est
Haud tibi coelestes posse patere fores. [marg.] *Apoc.* 22. 15. *Ἔξω οἱ κύνες. Cuique Suum*, u.s.

[4] In the margin '*Rom.* 14. 4.'

[5] See *supra*, p. 471.

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CHAP. IV.

of the Vatican or the Bodleian)[1],—to the enlargement of the Library itself, now affording, by the incorporation of the Greek schools, adequate reception to the new treasures, and to the long array of volumes, on especially provided shelves, presenting a spectacle which, in the preceding year, had led John Evelyn to qualify his otherwise somewhat unfavorable impression of the Library at large[2]. Like Joseph Sedgwick, however[3], Arrowsmith pleaded for the laying aside of strife, and the advice of the veteran was added to that of the newly enlisted combatant. The one had advocated peace with the Town, the other now counselled amity with Oxford, and more especially the cessation of the ancient feud between the two universities with respect to their comparative antiquity[4]. Sir Simonds D'Ewes had been dead some years, not having long survived his expulsion from the House by Colonel Pride; and the professor was probably not unaware that the theory maintained by the departed antiquary was indefensible. Let these two venerable societies, he says, remember only that both alike are ornaments of the Church and the State, and still rightly to be regarded as such, notwithstanding the slur recently cast by 'certain chatterers' on the subject of liberal education. Like Sedgwick, he affirms the generally high status of morality and discipline in both universities: the colleges in each *are* seminaries of virtue and learning; the academic chairs, bulwarks of the Truth; the chapels,

Their presence noted by John Evelyn: 11 Aug. 1654.

Arrowsmith advises the cessation of controversy with Oxford.

He deplores the irrelevancy of the language of the early Reformers to existing conditions at Oxford and Cambridge.

[1] 'Si quid enim valuissent minae, vota, conatus quorundam maleferiatorum, nostra jamdudum *Troja in cœctem*, Alma Mater vel in umbram, vel in Novercam transisset; quae tamen hodie per singularem Dei gratiam, Ordinisque Senatorii benignitatem, antiquis gavisus latifundiis, novâque ditescens bibliothecâ *Vaticanae Basilicianaeve* aemulâ, magnorum insuper Comitiorum celebritate splenduerit; et advenas amicis ulnis, gremiales materno complectens sinu, de formosa quidem subole, licet parum fortasse numerosâ, non immodeste gloriatur.' *Oratio* I, p. 1. In 1655, Mr Venn's *Chart* shews the Matriculations to have been 255, a slight increase on the preceding years, but about 50 less than at Oxford.

[2] 'The Public Librarie but meane, tho' somewhat improv'd by the wainscotting and books lately added by Bp. Bancroft's Library and MSS.' Evelyn's *Diary* (1818), I 281; see also Willis-Clark, III 27–28.

[3] See *supra*, p. 448.

[4] '...neque enim moror inutilem illam de *Antiquitate* controversiam; faxit Deus ut *antiquetur*, utque omni praecisa simultatis materiâ, utraque sit tum ipsis mutuò, tum bonis omnibus antiquissima. Sunto gemellae, sorores saltem uterinae, de quibus meritò dicatur ut olim de Lea et Rahele, *Extruxerunt ambae domum Israelis*.' *Oratio* I 3.

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homes of piety; the museums, anvils whereon to fashion the acquirement of true scientific knowledge. And to apply to either university the language used by Luther or Beza with respect to the universities of their time, would be like taking ensample from the burning of the books of the magicians by the Christians at Ephesus, as a precedent for giving the literary treasures of Oxford and Cambridge to the flames[1]. With a fervent prayer, that the university may henceforth approve itself so strenuous in the maintenance of the Truth, that 'ere long it may be easier to find a wolf in England, or a toad in Ireland, than a Socinian, an Arminian, or a Weigelian, in Cambridge,' the lecturer brings his third oration to a close[2].

The conclusion of peace in the preceding year had diffused among nearly all parties the hope that calmer years awaited a troubled realm; and while the Regius professor could venture thus to aspire to conditions which would result in the cessation of theological warfare, all sections of the university had combined to congratulate the Protector on the restoration of pacific relations between the nation and its great naval rival. The contributors to the *Oliva Pacis*[3], however, could hardly be expected to exhibit much originality in connexion with a topic, suggestive, indeed, of much that redounded to their country's fame, but associated, as regarded the university itself, chiefly with diminished revenues and domestic privation. Their verses, accordingly, are chiefly remarkable for their monotonous reiteration of the well-worn theme, the essential superiority of the British navy. And even Duport, while contributing, as in duty bound, some stately Latin hexameters[4], found more congenial employment for his Muse, in a contemporary *jeu d'esprit*, wherein, taking refuge in elegiacs, he recalled how the late war had diverted

[1] 'Perinde fecerit qui de nostris ista deprædicaverit, ac si quis ex eo colligeret libros omnes igni tradendos, quòd *Ephesi* magicos comburebant Christiani. Eant, inquam, et res suas sibi habeant quorum oculis utpote morbo laborantibus invisa sunt adeò firmamenti Anglicani duo luminaria, ut eclipsin illis minitantur nullâ unquam lucis usurâ repellendam.' *Oratio* I *ibid.*

[2] *Oratio* III 26.

[3] *Oliva Pacis ad illustrissimum celsissimumq. Hiberum Reipub. Angliae Scotiae & Hiberniae Dominum Protectorem de Pace cum Foederatis Belgis feliciter sancita Carmen Cantabrigiense.* Cantabrigiae: ex celeberrimae Academiae Typographeo. A.D. 1654.

[4] *Musae Subsecivae*, pp. 326–7.

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CHAP. IV. the supply of coal, or, as he humorously expressed it, how Bellona, in lighting her torch, had managed to put out the kitchen fire and almost extinguished the household lamp:—

> Interea friget bello fervente culina,
> Dum venit a *Castro* vix ratis ulla *Novo*.
> Vix ollae & suus ignis adest, licet aspera flammas
> Bellona atque faces spargat utique suas.
> *Carbonum* Batavus commercia tollere tentat,
> Proque *aris* Anglus dimicat atque *focis*[1].

Cromwell's Pleasure the Visitation the Universities: Sept. 1654.

The Protector himself, on the other hand, appears to have discerned in the changed aspect of affairs an auspicious juncture for bringing forward a highly important measure in connexion with both Oxford and Cambridge,—the appointment of a Commission 'for the carrying on and perfecting of the Reformation and Regulation' of each university,—described by him as 'a work very much conducing to the glory of God and the public good[2].' Two months later, a sub-committee of the Grand Committee for Religion was appointed for the purpose of arriving, if possible, at some conclusion with regard to a certain standard of orthodoxy,—a task which the larger body had already essayed, but without arriving at any satisfactory agreement,—and also instructed 'to draw up *in terminis* the fundamentals of religion[3],' the latter to serve as a test in relation to Cromwell's newly conceived scheme of Toleration.

In endeavour to institute a more comprehensive standard of orthodoxy: Nov. 1654.

[1] *Musae Subsecivae*, p. 258.

[2] Scobell, *Ordinances*, II 394. According to Anthony Wood, the project originated in a suggestion made by Thomas Goodwin, the former pastor of the church at Arnheim (see *supra*, p. 441) but now president of Magdalen College, Oxford. It was accordingly regarded with suspicion by John Owen, who, though also an Independent, 'was of a different school from Goodwin, and had been superseded by him in Cromwell's favour.' Burrows, *Register, Introd.* p. lxxix; Wood, *Annals*, II 661. Owen appears to have inclined to Arminianism. It is to be noted that Cromwell's *Ordinance* ushered in Oxford's *third* Visitation,—the first having lasted from March 164⅞ to 13th April 1652; the second from 15th June 1652 (although nothing was done until June 20, 1653) to Sept. 1654, being, according to Burrows (*u.s.* p. 400), under the 'stringent direction' of Owen; while the third, with which we are now concerned, lasted from Sept. 1654 to April 1658, and was chiefly under the influence of Goodwin, and, towards its termination, that of Conant.

[3] See Shaw (W. A.), *Hist. of the English Church*, etc. II 84–6. Dr Shaw considers that 'Owen's fundamentals in 1654 were practically the same as in the proposals of February 1652,' and as those 'which occur finally in the Savoy congregational profession of 1658.' *Ibid.* II 87–8.

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Although neither of these important measures was destined to become actually operative, whether as a modification of education and discipline at the universities or of religious belief throughout the nation, they are equally deserving of careful consideration as embodying a very noteworthy effort to bring to a definite termination those controversies which had so long been disquieting the conscience of the educated divine, on the one hand, and that of the devout although illiterate layman, on the other. When dispassionately considered, indeed, it would seem that the design of the Protector had much in common with that of Whitgift and that of Laud; but while each of these eminent Churchmen had sought to put an end to dissension by processes which inevitably gave rise, in turn, to further questionings and demurs, it was Cromwell's cherished persuasion that, by requiring from the loyal subject a general assent only to those essential doctrines of the Faith which might be said to have remained unchallenged, save by extreme fanaticism, throughout the history of the Church, the State itself might be enabled to ignore those minor divergencies with respect to belief or ritual, of which nine-tenths of the existing sects might be said to be the outcome. How far such extended latitude of belief could safely be conceded,—that is to say, without giving rise, when all deterrent influences had thus been withdrawn, to a yet greater multiplication of sects than before,—was the question that awaited the coming generation. For the present, the two Commissions and the prolonged excitement to which they gave rise in both universities, demand our attention, not only as affording a useful illustration of the difficulties which invariably beset the effective working of measures, but also as requiring us somewhat to qualify the representations of those writers who have depicted the condition of both Oxford and Cambridge during the Protectorate as one of exceptional immunity from all forms of contention[1].

[1] 'The result' [of the *Ordinance*] 'was that the two Universities were now in better and quieter order than they had been since the first stormy interruption of their old routine by the Civil War.' Masson, v 73. See also Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans* (ed. 1822), IV 111–112.

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CHAP. IV. The distinctive feature of each Commission, as compared with previous bodies created for a like purpose, was the inclusion of most of the available Heads of Houses,—those dignitaries being appointed, moreover, not merely to act as assessors, but with power themselves to take the initiative in instituting enquiries and with the fullest discretion in conducting the same[1]; while, from their superior knowledge of facts, as residents, they had necessarily a great advantage over what may be termed the external element in each Commission. As regarded the latter, neither university had much reason for apprehensions like those which had before been evoked by the 'nominated Parliament.' Oxford, for example, could regard with equanimity the appearance of my Lord Saye and Sele[2] and his son, Nathanael Fiennes[3]; any alarm that might have been occasioned by the name of Humphry Mackworth (the elder) was ended by his death and interment in Westminster Abbey, before the Commission had well commenced its work; Bulstrode Whitelock, 'learned Bulstrode,' as Carlyle terms him, was still commissioner of the great seal, and, along with George Fleetwood, the regicide, might be relied upon to do just as much as, and no more than, might be pleasing to Oxford's chancellor. At Cambridge[4], again, the name of her chancellor, Oliver St John (Cromwell's relative by marriage), and that of his son, the lord Henry Cromwell,

[1] The 'Visitors' were to 'have, use and exercise all and every the like powers, authorities and jurisdictions as any person or persons heretofore appointed Visitors of either of the said Universities, or of any College or Colledges, Hall or Halls within the same, or which any Visitor or Visitors now have, or heretofore had and lawfully used and exercised by force or vertue of any law, statute, ordinance, custom, Commission, patent or foundation of any college or Hall respectively' (Scobell, *Ordinances*, II 306 and 394). Of the Oxford external Visitors, Wood ventures to assert that, living as they did, 'some near and some remote from' the university, 'they were utterly ignorant for a considerable time whether they were in the *Ordinance* or not' (Wood-Gutch, II 661). It is also to be noted that as the number of the external and resident Visitors was equal (thirteen in each case) and 'seven or more' might constitute a *quorum*, the probability of the Heads being usually in a majority was considerable.

[2] William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), known among his contemporaries as 'Old Subtlety.' See Professor Firth's account of him in the *D. N. B.* XVIII 433–6. 'At New College,' say its historians, 'his lordship's younger sons had already begun to live upon the College.' Rashdall and Rait, *New College*, p. 179.

[3] *D. N. B.* XVIII 430–2. Nathanael had been educated at Winchester and New College.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, III 461.

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together with those of John Lambert, John Thurloe (whose influence was well known to stand high at court[1]), and Francis Rous, must have appeared little less than guarantees that the Protector's wishes would be paramount. The Heads, on the other hand, although they could regard with equanimity the amount of pressure likely to be brought to bear upon them in any course of action upon which they might determine, must also have been conscious that their probable superiority in numerical strength at each formal session of the Commission, could only be asserted by the maintenance of unanimity among themselves, and this, it was doubtless foreseen, was likely to prove a somewhat precarious element. For, even supposing that the external Visitors would be content with no more assertion of their powers than, as we have seen, Charles Hotham was disposed to attribute to 'Cecil, Cook, and Haddon,' in connexion with the Elizabethan Statutes[2], it must have been evident, from the first, that the amount of contentious business which would devolve upon the entire Commission would be far greater in 1654 than it had been in 1570, seeing that it involved not merely a thorough scrutiny of the existing statutes of the university and the colleges, with a view to their revision and amendment, but also the drawing up of such new statutes as might appear to be necessary 'for the better ordering and government of the said university, in matters of religion, manners, discipline and exercises,'—the interpretation, moreover, of 'such statutes of any of the said colledges or halls, as being ambiguous or obscure, should be offered unto them for that purpose,'—and, finally, the acting as arbiters in any unsettled contro-

[1] Baillie, in referring to a discussion at a 'Facultie meeting' at Glasgow, describes Patrick Gillespie as warmly pressing 'the expedience of having a *courtier* Chancellor of our Universitie,' and suggesting that 'Thurloe was fittest.' Letter to William Spang, 11 Nov. 1658. *Letters* (ed. 1841-2), III 386. Baillie, however, declared himself as 'against all English flesh'; notwithstanding which, Thurloe was elected chancellor of Glasgow a few months later, a result deplored by the professor in the following terms: 'I think Mr Thurloe would doe weell, as a stranger to our nation and our affairs, and, at such a distance, unable to be duly informed of many things passing among us, in a letter to us, to signifie his unwillingness to continue longer under that title of our Chancellor, which Mr Gillespie did put on him, alone for a trick, to serve his own designes.' Letter to Mr James Sharp, 10 March 1660. *Ibid.* III 399.

[2] See *supra*, p. 410.

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PT. IV. versies arising out of defects or ambiguities in the existing codes both of the university and of the colleges[1]. It was consequently evident that, apart from the question of external criticism and intervention, there was considerable risk of internal disagreement, especially if the Head of one college were to be called upon, in conjunction with other Heads, to examine the statutes of another foundation and to arbitrate with respect to the meaning of any passages in the same,—thus assuming the function of an ordinary Visitor.

At Oxford, accordingly, we find that, as early as the 5th February 165⅓, a meeting was convened at the 'lodgings' of the Provost of Queen's College[2], and a series of proposals brought forward 'to be offered to the Visitors,' as bearing upon matters wherein the petitioners considered 'the interests, liberties and privileges of the University to be very much concerned.' Among these proposals was one in which it was urged, 'that the power of these Visitors do not extend to such Houses as have local Visitors of their own, fitly qualified to exercise that power with which they are intrusted by the statutes of those Houses'; while, in another, it was 'desired' that 'the Commission to be granted to such Visitors' should be 'limited to a time certain, *so as to continue for one year, and no longer*[3].' It was not, however, until four years later that either Commission, with its abortive labours, was finally brought to a conclusion, either at Oxford or at Cambridge, under circumstances hereafter to be noted.

[1] 'As also to hear, examine, decide and determine all and every such controversie and controversies by or upon any appeal or appeals, which shall be brought before them by any person or persons being a member of the said university, or of any students or scholars within the same, or any of the said colledges or halls, which are not clearly determinable by the statutes of such respective colledge or hall, or of the said universities respectively.' Scobell, *Ordinances*, II 366; Cooper, *Annals*, III 462.

[2] Gerard Langbaine, the elder, who had been elected Provost 11 March 1645, on the death of Christopher Potter. He was a zealous loyalist and supporter of episcopacy and had been a staunch opponent of the Visitation of 1648. On his death (5 Feb. 1657), he was succeeded by his friend Thomas Barlow, the librarian of the Bodleian. Langbaine himself was keeper of the University archives, and it is probable that Queen's College is indebted to these two distinguished Heads for the exceptionally complete state of its Registers throughout this period. *Life of Langbaine* in *D. N. B.* (XXXII 91), by Dr J. R. Magrath, Provost of Queen's College (to whom the author is also under obligation for information privately communicated); Burrows, *Register*, pp. lxxxii, lxxxiii, lxxxvii.

[3] Wood-Gutch, II 663–4.

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A lull in controversial contests ap s ave followed upon the appointment of the Commissions,—which may perhaps be partially attributable to a disposition to await the results by which their investigations might be attended, and still more those which should follow upon the promulgation, in the following February, of Cromwell's famous Proclamation[1]. As the year advanced, a bounteous harvest,—according to Fuller, 'as plentiful as any memory could parallel' and 'wanting only grateful hearts for the same,'—further tended to produce a spirit of contentment throughout the land, while he himself now brought his *Church History* to a close, with his *History of the University of Cambridge* appended thereto. Others, in like manner, forsaking controversy, betook themselves to more profitable labours. The University Press printed for Holstenius his Latin version of Porphyry, and for Isaac Barrow his edition of Euclid[2]; Francis Junius, who had retired to Friesland, brought out at Amsterdam his edition of Caedmon; while William Sancroft, still at Fressingfield, was editing for the press the collation of the Vulgate with the Greek text which John Bois of St John's had undertaken, a quarter of a century before, at the suggestion of Andrewes[3]. But the work which, at this time, was chiefly absorbing the energies of Cambridge scholars was one that, both in its conception and by the self-denying spirit in which it was carried on, offered a striking contrast to the predominant literature of previous years,—serving, as it did, silently to recall to the consciousness of the religious world, that Christianity was, after all, primarily designed to be a centralizing, beneficent, and harmonizing influence among mankind. It was at the Commencement of 1655, that John Lightfoot, in delivering the customary oration which accompanied the resignation of his office as vice-chancellor, took occasion to pay a well-deserved

[1] See *supra*, p. 472.

[2] *Euclidis Elementorum Libri* XV *breviter demonstrati, Opera Is. Barrow, Cantabrigiensis Coll. Trin. Soc.* Cantabrigiae. Impensis Guilielmi Nealand, Bibliopolae. A.D. 1655. 12mo.

[3] 'The renderings of the Vulgate are in the main defended, but Bois frequently proposes more exact translations of his own, both Latin and English. See *D. N. B.* v 313.

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IV. tribute to the labours of Brian Walton and his coadjutors in connexion with their famous *Polyglot*. His cheering words were all the more welcome, in that it had, at one time, seemed doubtful whether those painful scholars would be able to bring their vast design to a successful accomplishment. But the first two volumes had now appeared, and it was in tones of hope, and even confidence, that the orator urged on the translators to the completion of an enterprise 'whereby they were rendering the Scriptures accessible to half the nations of the world and to each in its own tongue, and thereby, at the same time, rearing a monument to themselves and to their country[1].'

Prior to the year 1652, Walton had been chiefly known by his researches in the history of Tithe, and neither Magdalene, whence he matriculated, nor Peterhouse, whither he migrated, appears to have preserved any facts of interest relating to their meritorious alumnus. In the above year, however, he issued a prospectus, along with a specimen sheet, of his proposed undertaking[2]. Selden was foremost in the expression of his approval[3], Ussher pledged himself to hearty cooperation; and Cromwell gave order that 'the work was to go on without let or hindrance,' and that the costly paper, which would have to be imported from

[1] 'Opus aeternae famae, *monumentum memorabile in sempiterna secula futurum* summae eruditionis, zeli, et in Deo bonarum literarum protectore fiduciae Cleri Anglicani, jam tum summè periclitantis. Macti estote, viri venerandi et doctissimi, qui in opere tam magnanimo desudatis. Pergite, quod facitis, tropaea vobis erigere, patriaeque; et perlegant opera vestra omnes gentes Sacra Biblia suis linguis; atque iisdem linguis eadem opera praedicentur fama eruditionis et literatura gentis Anglicanae.' *Preces et Oratio Domini Johannis Lightfoot, S. T. P. quibuscum Solennia Academiae Cantabrigiensis Comitia auspicatus est Anno Salutis*, MDCLV. Lightfoot-Pitman, v 395.

[2] *A Brief Description of an Edition of the Bible in the Original Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek, with the most ancient Translations of the Jewish and Christian Churches, viz. the Sept. Greek, Chaldee, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, etc. and the Latin Versions of them all; a new Apparatus, etc.* See Todd (Rev. H. J.), *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton* (1821), I 32-46. A copy of the *Propositions* which followed the *Prospectus* is preserved in the library of Sidney Sussex College, and is probably earlier than that in the British Museum. See *Ibid.* I 46, n. *r*.

[3] Selden, says Walton's biographer, 'signed with archbishop Ussher, the forcible letter in recommendation of it [the *Polyglot*]. He was one of those who were to be consulted in the progress of the work. He supplied the editor with what his valuable library afforded.' *Ibid.* I 316.

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Auvergne, should be admitted duty free[1]. Although, therefore, in 1655 all royalists were required to quit the capital[2], Walton and his coadjutors continued to carry on their labours there without interruption. Among them, Ussher was especially distinguished by the ardour with which he threw himself into the work, while he was enabled, at the same time, to render lasting service to the cause of Biblical studies, generally, by his sound judgement in estimating, more dispassionately than most preceding scholars had done, the extent to which such studies could be subserved by a knowledge of the Semitic languages[3]. But early in the following year, the great scholar,—scarcely more famed for his acquirements than for his readiness to impart his knowledge[4], on whom Parliament, to its honour, had bestowed a pension and to whom Richelieu had offered one,—was borne to his tomb in Westminster Abbey; and his valuable library, being soon after purchased by the State and presented to Trinity College, Dublin, became in a great measure lost to English scholars[5]. Ussher's place among the translators was taken by Thorndike, who, with the design of associating himself more directly with the work, would appear to have taken up his residence in London as early as 1652. He was at this time in exceptionally straitened circumstances, for the 'fifth' to which he was entitled from his former living of Barley seems not to have been paid him before 1656, while a charitable dole which he received from his own college of Trinity ceased to be granted after 1654[6], and he had con-

[1] Carlyle-Lomas, III 286–7.

[2] Gardiner, *u.s.* III 166.

[3] Walton, according to his biographer, placed Ussher at 'the head of his literary benefactors.' See Todd's *Life of Walton*, I 182.

[4] '...cui inter alias virtutes haec propria laus erat nil proprium habere, sed ex effusa bonitate omnia in Reip. Literariae bonum communicare.' *Ibid.* I 182 n.

[5] According to Dr Richard Parr, Ussher himself had originally intended to present his great collection to the College. See Parr, *Life of Usher*, pp. 10-11; Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, II 48. The influence of Dudley Loftus, the jurist, one of the most enthusiastic among the cooperators in the work connected with the *Polyglot* and grandson of Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, would not fail to be exerted to give effect to Ussher's wishes. See Todd, *Ibid.* I 248–251.

[6] The Conclusion Book of Trinity College shews that he had been annually in receipt of a small gratuity from that society, of which the final payment, made in 1654, is entered as 'his *ultimum vale*.' Thorndike-Haddan, VI 213, n. m; see also 127, n. *a*.

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AP. IV. sequently become dependent almost entirely on the generosity of Lord Scudamore supplemented by occasional aid from his own brother. On the other hand, his cooperation must have been especially serviceable to Walton, for Cambridge was far better known to Thorndike than it had been to Ussher, and the former was also in correspondence with the ablest scholars and most esteemed theologians of the country, with Lightfoot and with Pocock, and with Sheldon and William Sancroft; while there were not a few who, widely as they differed from him on Church questions, sympathised with the distinguished scholar whom the Puritan soldiery had so rudely thrust aside from the mastership of Sidney in order to make way for the incapable Minshull. The genuine interest felt by Thorndike in the great undertaking with which he had become associated was, again, unquestionable, and he was perhaps the best linguist among all of Walton's coadjutors,—certainly so, after that Wheelock, the university librarian, had been removed by death and could no longer be sought out in 'the obscure and litle cell, free from bitter taunts and checks,' wherein he had been wont to find a refuge from his persecutors[1]. The high value of Castell's services was equally unquestionable (although he does not appear to have been one of the correcting Committee) and his *Heptaglot Lexicon* afterwards formed a valuable supplement to the *Polyglot*. Thomas Smith of Christ's, the translator of Daillé, was however a member of the Committee; while, if the sister university could only claim to share with Cambridge the credit attaching to the labours of John Vicears[2] and David Stokes[3], those of Thomas Greaves (a brother of the Gresham professor) and Edward Pocock, her two most eminent Orientalists, were the outcome of Oxford training alone.

The unprecedented commercial success[4] that attended

[1] Todd, *u. s.* 1 233.

[2] John Vicears of Christ's College, B.A. 1622; M.A. Lincoln College, Oxford, 1625. To be distinguished from the John Vicars, the Presbyterian, satirized in *Hudibras*.

[3] Of Trinity College and subsequently fellow of Peterhouse: M.A. 1618; incorporated at Oxford 1645.

[4] As early as May 1653, Dr Walton informed Thomas Greaves that subscriptions amounting to £9000 had

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the publication of the 'Great Bible,' as it was frequently termed, the tall folio volumes of which constituted, for long afterwards, a prominent feature in our cathedral libraries, was accompanied, after the Restoration, by fitting recognition of the labours of those among the translators themselves who survived to receive church preferment or substantial recompense[1]. But any expectation of such reward, it may safely be asserted, was hardly an appreciable element in their purpose in entering upon that protracted toil, and the tribute paid to their memory, two centuries later, by one who, throughout life, himself laboured in a like spirit, seems almost an echo of the eulogy pronounced by John Lightfoot at the Commencement of 1655. 'A work,' says Thorndike's biographer, 'which a century and a half earlier had required the resources of a Ximenes, with the whole power and wealth of the great and intellectual Spanish Kingdom of his time, and the munificence of the most munificent of Popes, Leo the Tenth, to back him,—which had at a later time formed a design worthy of being undertaken at the charge of the King of Spain himself,—and which but a few years before had taxed the then pre-eminent learning of Parisian scholars, aided and thwarted alternately by the powerful patronage of a Richelieu,—was accomplished in England by the efforts of a small band of private divines, labouring under all the disadvantages which the late civil war, and the ruin of the English Church, and poverty, and religious strife, could heap upon them, and assisted only by the generous and (for England at the time) unprecedented aid of private subscribers, and by a scanty boon and a questionable patronage at the hands of the usurping powers[2].'

already been promised. Twells, *Life of Pocock*, sec. 3. The subscription price, £10, was, as Mr Purnell observes, a good investment, for the price soon rose to £50. *Magdalene College*, p. 95.

[1] Among those who thus reaped a reward, the chief were;—Walton himself, consecrated bishop of Chester, Dec. 1660; Castell, appointed professor of Arabic, 1666, prebendary of Canterbury, 1667; Thorndike, prebendary of Westminster, 1661; Lightfoot, prebendary of Ely, 1667; Thomas Greaves, prebendary of Peterborough, 1666; and David Stokes, who was restored, within a few months of the Restoration, both to his fellowship at Eton and his canonry at Windsor.

[2] Haddan (A. W.), *Life of Thorndike*, in Thorndike-Haddan, vi 203–4.

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CHAP. IV.

It is in connexion with Walton's *Polyglot* that we are presented with a noteworthy illustration of the interest which the progress of events in the two English universities was exciting in the universities north the Tweed, and this, more especially, now that Presbyterianism, dominant for a time both in Oxford and Cambridge, began to find its supremacy challenged, in turn, by the growing strength of the Independents. Among the many divines in Scotland by whom the conflict in England was carefully watched, there was no shrewder observer than Robert Baillie, at this time professor of divinity at Glasgow and subsequently Principal of that university, while his judgement in relation to the main questions involved was not a little aided by the fact that he was also exceptionally well informed with respect to the corresponding struggle in process in the United Provinces. His cousin, William Spang, who had been educated at Glasgow, had long been resident in that country as a minister to Scotch congregations; first at the 'Staple Port' at Campvere in Holland, and subsequently at Middelburg in Zeeland. The cousins frequently exchanged letters; and in their correspondence they confided to each other, with remarkable frankness, their impressions of the religious tendencies in the two countries in which their respective lots were cast. It was from Baillie's letters, almost exclusively, that the minister at Campvere compiled his account of affairs in Scotland in 1637 and 1638[1]; while it was from Spang that the professor at Glasgow mainly derived his knowledge of the details of the contests which were going on in the United Provinces. He was deeply concerned to hear how the best learning of that land of scholarly culture was becoming absorbed in controversy. As early as 1641, we find him writing as follows: 'I wish how you could finde a way to get your great men sett on *a profitable studie*: a pitie that Salmasius, Vossius, and Heinsius should so trifle their

[1] *Brevis et fidelis Narratio Motuum in Regno et Ecclesia Scotica excerpta ex scriptis utrinsque partis scitu dignissimis. Per Irinæum Philalethen. Isantisci, Anno* 1640. 'A piece of good and clean Latin; but he discovers himself in it, a most zealous champion of presbytery.' See Laing's *Appendix* to Baillie's *Letters*, etc. III cxv.

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dayes about toyes: I think Dr Rivett, if he laid it to heart, could move the Prince and State, or else the *Curatores Academiae*, or the provinciall Synods, or all of them, to interceed, so farr as their pressing request or authoritie or rewards could goe, to have these great spirits sett on work on those things which are most profitable for the Reformed Churches, especially to vindicate antiquitie from the hands of Baronius and other Papists[1].' Two years later, we find him writing, 'I wish you would send to the College Voetius's Theses, and all that comes from that man or your divines there[2].' What he found in Voetius appears to have convinced him that the method advocated by that eminent teacher was the right one, and he now strongly urged that it should be adopted as the weapon wherewith to fight that portentous demand for 'a universall libertie for all religions' which he declares 'the sectaries press most[3],' and particularly against the doctrines of Erastus,—'most of the House of Commons,' he writes in 1645, 'are downright Erastians[4],'—and in the following year he published his own tractate, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time*[5], denouncing the sectaries, and more especially the Independents. On the other hand, it was with grave concern that he learned that Voetius had spoken with approval of Cotton's *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, as 'consonant to truth and to the discipline of Holland.' 'He will wrong himself, and us and all the Reformed Churches[6]!' he wrote; although he was none the less moved when he learned that Lazarus Seaman had been heard to say in the Assembly, that 'Voetius was but one man, and the classis of Walcheren but one classis[7].' To some, however, it may possibly appear, that the worthy professor's pious horror and fervid denunciations of schism and divergencies of religious opinion elsewhere, would have carried greater weight, if Glasgow itself had not, at this very time,

[1] Baillie (Robt.), *Letters and Journals* (*u. s.*), I 357–8.
[2] *Ibid.* II 72. See also *supra*, p. 427, n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.* II 218.
[4] *Ibid.* II 265.
[5] *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time; wherein the Tenets of the Principall Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together in a Map.* 1644.
[6] *Letters and Journals*, II 269.
[7] *Ibid.* II 165.

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CHAP. IV. been deeply agitated by the fierce intolerance which found expression in connexion with the notable *Act of Classes*, of which Gardiner ventures to say, that 'Pride's Purge was less drastic[1].'

In 1649 we find Baillie approaching Voetius himself, in a brief Latin letter couched in highly complimentary terms, but expressive of little more than the writer's earnest hope that the indefatigable teacher of Utrecht may be blessed with length of days, so that 'his light may continue to shine aloft to dissipate the darkness in which Independents, Anabaptists, and other sectaries are ever seeking to involve the religious world in Britain[2].' But in 1655, when Descartes himself was no more, the professor addressed to his honoured correspondent a second letter, also in Latin but of much greater length and of considerable importance, in which he takes occasion strongly to deprecate 'that perverted tendency (*cacoethes*) which appears to be spreading in the schools of Protestantism,' wherein, he asserts, that, so far as his information goes, the traditional teaching, whether of the arts or of philosophy, is no longer characterized by that scrupulous care and precision so essential to the dignity alike of the instructor and the subject, while the text-books of the Jesuits are the only ones to be found in the hands of the students. 'False teachers,' he goes on to say, 'are ever seeking to lead astray the minds of their disciples,' and 'you yourself well know what was the design which that misguided heretic, Descartes, was seeking to carry into effect under the cover of his new and improved philosophy[3],' and he thereupon proceeds to insist that it is a matter of primary importance for the Reformed Churches, that an 'orthodox, solid, lucid compendium of philosophy, strictly systematic, both as

[1] *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I 16 and 233. See also Laing (D.), *Life of Robert Baillie*, in *Letters and Journals* of same, III lxvii-lxxi.

[2] '... non eos tantum errorum fumos quibus Pontificii, Arminiani et Sociniani vestras pro viribus ecclesias offuscare conantur, sed illas etiam tenebras quibus Independentes, Anabaptistae, Chiliastae, Antinomiani, caeteraque Sectariorum turba nostrae Britanniae coelum maximo jam nisu obscurare moliuntur.' *Ibid.* III 104.

[3] 'Probe nosti quae fatuus haereticus Cartesius sub novae suae et perfectioris philosophiae velo molitus est.' *Ibid.* III 268.

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regards the text and the *quaestiones* appended thereto, should be compiled for use in all the universities[1].' 'But amid the clouds that envelope our churches and colleges alike, at the present time,' he adds, 'I see no hope of such a work being produced either in England or in France; *our only hope is in you*[2].' In Glasgow, he adds, all studious minds are longing to welcome another volume of his correspondent's *Disputations*[3]. Voetius, in his reply, is not less outspoken than Baillie himself, nor is his tone more hopeful. Everything at Utrecht is in a doubtful and transitional state; and if Scotland, with its four universities, is unable to produce an authoritative manual of the kind that his correspondent desiderates, there is still less chance of such a work appearing in Belgium where Cartesianism is making rapid progress. Its doctrines have already been espoused by many, while a still larger number, although not formally enlisted in their support, have become immersed in controversies of which they would otherwise have never dreamed, and he intimates that the faculty of theology at Utrecht has recently passed through a highly perilous crisis in connexion with these questions. 'But should the tempest pass by, and new, foolish and petulant philosophasters no longer be intruded into academic chairs,'—he is evidently thinking of Regius and Reneri[4],—'it is not impossible that Utrecht may then be able to confer with other universities on the whole question of remodelling their entire course of philosophy[5].' It is certain,

[1] 'Profecto non parum interest Ecclesiis Reformatis, ut orthodoxum, solidum, et perspicuum philosophiae corpus, tam systematicum quam textuale et quaestionarium, exstet, in communem, si fieri posset, omnium Academiarum usum.' Baillie, *u. s.* III 268.

[2] 'Nescio si in Anglia aut Gallia fratres ullos inpraesentiarum habeamus, quibus volentibus simul et valentibus onus hoc posset imponi.... Unica in vobis restat spes.' *Ibid.*

[3] '...sed quod ante omnia studiosi hic omnes a te expetunt, est caeterarum tuarum Disputationum publicatio, cui dudum in primo volumine obstrinxisse tete occlamitant.' *Ibid.* 269.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 429–430.

[5] 'Si enim vestrarum quatuor Academiarum tam praeclarum institutum in spongiam incubuit, quid de nostris Belgicis sperandum? Quaedam ex illis per Cartesianam philosophiam graviter concussae sunt; aliae intestinis super eadem philosophia dissidiis admodum adhuc vacillant et fluctuant, turbonibus nusquam figentibus, nusquam quiescentibus; sobrie philosophantibus contra obnitentibus, et hoc unice agentibus ut clavum tenent, nec fluctibus opprimantur....Quod si haec tempestas aliquando desaeviat, et non amplius protrudantur in cathedras philoso-

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however, that Baillie himself was at this time in no hopeful state of mind with respect to academic Scotland. Only eight months before, in a letter to his cousin, he had deplored, in forcible language, the changed fortunes of Presbyterianism under the Protectorate and the measures taken by the English Parliament 'to plant and displant our Universities.' 'All our Colledges,' he wrote, 'are quicklie like to be undone. Our Churches are in great confusion: no intrant getts any stipend till he have petitioned and subscryved some acknowledgment to the English. When a very few of the Remonstrators or Independent partie will call a man, he gets a kirk and a stipend; but whom the Presbyterie, and well near the whole congregation, calls and admitts, he must preach in the fields, or in a barne, without stipend[1].' Cromwell's *Proclamation* was viewed by him with equal dissatisfaction,—'all our Confessions and Covenants,' he wrote to another correspondent, 'and absolutely all forms and models beside the text of Scripture, are abolished....The only excepted are Poperie, Prelacie and Licentiousnesse in the abstract: but seeing popish, prelaticall, and licentious men *professe the qualification*[2], and will give securitie for this, their exclusion seems to be but of free will, which is not durable[3].' It can scarcely, again, have served to diminish his discontent, that, at nearly the same time that Arrowsmith, at Cambridge, was advising the two English universities to abandon their ancient contention with respect to priority[4], those of Scotland should have deemed it worth their while to embark in a similar dispute among themselves, and this, too, at a crisis when a professor at Aberdeen was rousing himself to undertake the putting forth of another *Vindiciae*[5], in defence of

phicas novi philosophastri, et stulti ac petulantes juvenculi, tum demum nobis de cursibus philosophicis conjuncta Academiarum opera adornandis cogitandum esset.' Baillie, *u. s.* III 274.

[1] *Ibid.* III 244.

[2] *I.e.* 'fearing God, though of differing judgments.' See Gardiner, *u. s.* III 108.

[3] Letter to James Hamilton: *Ibid.* III 340–1.

[4] See *supra*, p. 482.

[5] 'I was so much offended with your former book, ..and your very idle and false gloriation of whole two hundreth year and above antiquitie before St Andrewes and us, that I have not read any of your writs in patience since.' See Baillie's Letter (23 March 1660) 'for his Reverend Brother Mr William Douglass,

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academic traditions in Scotland,—the rejoinder to demonstrations of a like character to those which had recently menaced the existence of Oxford and Cambridge.

But little as Robert Baillie loved Aberdeen, with her lukewarm Presbyterianism and leanings towards Gallic culture, and notwithstanding the jealousy with which he regarded all English interference and especially the intrusion of Cromwell's nominees, he could not conceal his admiration for the heroic spirit in which Walton and his coadjutors had pursued their labours to their final accomplishment, and given to the world what he himself terms 'that excellent book, the best to me that ever was printed[1].' At the very time that Batavia seemed to be making common cause with the sceptic, and Albion was admitting her inability to calm the troubled waters of doctrinal belief, the enlightened toil of a scanty band of Anglican scholars, in the prosecution of 'a profitable study,' had resulted, to quote the expression of Lightfoot, in the 'rearing of a monument[2]' which wellnigh all learned Europe was already regarding with expressions of emphatic commendation. In England, indeed, the only adverse criticism was that of John Owen, the Independent, —the same whom Laud's statutes had driven from Oxford[3], but whom Cromwell had installed as her vice-chancellor and to whom Trinity College, Dublin, was largely indebted for its restoration,—while he now, by his captious censure of Walton for his rejection of the authority of the Masoretic points, was virtually raising the whole question of verbal inspiration[4]. When we note, however, that Owen's bio-

Professor of Divinity in Aberdeen.' Baillie, *u. s.* III 402-3. The title of 'the former book' is *Academiarum Vindiciae, in quibus Novantium praejudicia contra Academias etiam Reformatas averruncantur, earumdemque Institutio recta proponitur.* Aberdoniae, 4to. 1659,—the volume itself being the outcome of an Oration by Douglass delivered in the Theological Hall at Aberdeen, 19th Nov. 1658.

[1] Baillie, Letter to James Cranford, 27th Aug. 1656, *u. s.* III 309.

[2] *Supra*, p. 490.

[3] Walton, on the other hand, was a follower of Laud in matters of ritual, and it is difficult to resist the impression that Owen's attack on the *Polyglot* was partly inspired by personal dislike. See Todd, *Life of Walton*, I 14-20.

[4] 'The gravamen of Walton's reply to Owen was that the latter, in his *Considerations*, when citing the views expressed in the *Prolegomena* to the *Polyglot*, 'perverted or falsified almost everything'—'the *Prolegomena* asserting the clean contrary in most things to what he would impose upon them.' Todd, *Ibid.* II 46.

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CHAP. IV.

grapher was fain, long afterwards, to admit that the apprehensions expressed by the dean of Christ Church 'were wholly groundless[1],' it may here suffice to cite the words in which Walton himself, in 1659, summed up his own elaborate defence: 'And though these weak endeavours be attended (as hath been the fate of all public works of this nature) with obloquy in some emulous and contradicting spirits, yet I shall think it sufficient that I have had the general approbation of men truly learned, judicious, and pious. And for those that are otherwise, I doubt not but the work will live in after ages, when their invectives shall be buried in oblivion[2].'

Walton's rejoinder to the same.

Before another twelve months had elapsed,—within a few days of the signing of the Declaration of Breda[3],—Baillie, foreseeing the changes that were inevitable, but still hopeful that the efforts of his Presbyterian friends would not prove altogether unavailing, could not forbear from giving expression to the wish, in a letter to a correspondent, that 'Dr Waltoun,' 'albeit bitterlie episcopall,' might yet 'for his great work' be 'cherished,' 'though,' he adds, 'it were with the Provostrie of Eaton College[4],'—a noteworthy instance, in those days, of scholarly sympathies rising superior to the prejudice attaching to sectarian bigotry.

Baillie's expression that Walton may obtain some just reward.

At the expiration of three years from the issuing of the Ordinance of 1654, which has already come under our notice, it devolved on the Visitors to give some account of the results of their labours, and the question of the renewal of the Ordinance itself came formally before Parliament. Ac-

Results that followed from the Ordinance of 1654.

[1] Orme (Wm.), *Memoirs of John Owen, D.D.* (1820), pp. 271-3; Todd, *u.s.* II 307.

[2] *The Considerator considered. Ibid.*

[3] The Declaration was signed 4th April 1660. With respect to the expectations previously excited of the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, Masson states that 'the Universities were to be constituted into presbyteries or inserted into such; and the whole of South Britain was to be patterned ecclesiastically at last in that exact resemblance to North Britain which had been the ideal before Independency burst in.' *Life of Milton*, V 550.

[4] Baillie, *u.s.* III 401. The Provostship of Eton fell, however, to Nicholas Monck (brother of the General), to whom Charles II made an absolute grant of the post 'in the same terms, *mutatis mutandis*, as a conveyance of land.' Maxwell Lyte, *Eton College*, p. 255.

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cording to Burton, 'a great debate' ensued in the House, and it was not without considerable opposition that a further term of six months was ultimately conceded, for although it was admitted that the investigations of the Commissioners had been attended with a marked improvement in the state of discipline throughout the university[1], complaints were also heard that, in their desire to carry out radical changes which threatened to revolutionize the entire academic constitution, they had exceeded their instructions[2]. It further transpired that, notwithstanding the display of feeling that had ensued at Cambridge, upon the episode at Peterhouse[3], the Heads, both new and old and in both universities, each virtually asserted his claim to a 'negative voice' in relation to the society of which he was the appointed governor[4]. The conditions which favoured and partly justified this re-assertion of their traditional authority are not far to seek. Lazarus Seaman, whose resolute tenacity of purpose[5] appears to have impressed both Cromwell and his son Richard, had set the example, during his tenure of the vice-chancellorship in 1654, of asserting the claims of the university for the repay-

[1] It was urged by Major-General Desborough, that 'whatever reproach might be made against the Ordinance, it had been a great means to regulate the university, and to purge it of loose and profane persons.' Burton (Thos.), *Diary*, II 63. At Oxford, John Owen had been able, as vice-chancellor, to point to a like reformation, four years earlier: 'We have done away with the wine shops, the ale sellers, the mimes, the farces, the buffoons, the public riots and the various disgraceful scenes that lately infested our streets. We can now once more shew ourselves in our former solemnities, and stand forth unrebuked.' *Oratio* at Oxford Commencement of 1654, quoted by Godwin, *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, IV 95. Godwin notes the fact that there had been no *Oratio* in the preceding year.

[2] 'Besides the taking away his Highness's right, you take away the right of the statutable visitors' (Burton, *Ibid.* II 63),—the observation of Sir Thomas Widdrington who was in the Speaker's chair. Sir Thomas was brother to Ralph Widdrington, who had gained both his fellowship at Christ's and his post as Public Orator largely through Cromwell's influence. See Peile, *Christ's College*, pp. 172–4.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 413–414.

[4] 'The Masters do not challenge' [*i.e.* claim] 'a negative voice, *in terminis*, yet they call it a necessary voice; so that, though all the scholars agreed about the choice of a Fellow, unless the Master allow it, all is void.' Sir Richard Onslow, the parliamentary general. Burton (*u.s.*), II 63.

[5] Hence the compliment paid him by Lightfoot, when presiding at the Disputations in 1655, on which occasion Seaman was to appear as 'respondent': 'Sic bonum et fortem militem arguit, nunquam frigere, nunquam defatigari.' Lightfoot-Pitman, V 400.

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CHAP. IV. ment of certain rents which the official collector had diverted to the public exchequer[1]; and a like appropriation of funds having taken place with respect to those promised augmentations of the incomes of the Heads,—which, as above noted, had been formally granted some years before,—he, again, appears as coming forward, and stating his own case with his customary bluntness. 'I am,' wrote the master of Peterhouse, 'in a chargeable office of employment in the University, my attendance is necessary and my means of subsistence not answerable to my expenses. I beg payment of arrears and payment for the future[2].' Similar action was taken, at nearly the same time, by the heads of St John's, Christ's, Jesus, King's, Queens', Trinity Hall, St Catherine's and Sidney, although their appeals were, for the most part, couched in more deferential language[3].

But while not unwilling to give a prompt response to these applications, the Council had other considerations to take into account which must not be lost sight of. The delay that had occurred in making the payments may fairly be attributed to the 'financial strain' arising out of the Dutch war[4]; and when, two years later, it was found necessary to levy a tax for the prosecution of the Spanish war, we find

[1] '...but the said Collector did pay ye saide summe (of wright due unto ye said Universitie) unto Thomas Falconbridge Esqre Recevor Generall for the State (as may appeare by the annexed Certificate) who allegeth that in regard it is brought into the Exchequer he may not pay it out to the Universitie without the speciall Order of y^r^ Highnes. May it therefore please your Highnes out of y^r^ zeale to Justice and noble inclinacion to ye countenancinge of Learninge to vouchsafe y^r^ Order to the said Recevour Generall for the payment of ye saide summe of 49^li^ 10^s^ to the said Universitie. And your pet^rs^ shall ever pray, etc. Ja. Seaman.' *State Papers* (*Dom.* 1654), LXXV, No. 18.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, v 428.

[3] In marked contrast to Seaman's petition, that of Worthington (now master of Jesus) deserves to be cited: 'Your Petitioner humbly represents, That ever since he came to Jesus Colledge in Cambridge, he hath constantly resided upon this place untill the last year, the sumer part of which he was absent and in regard of the then discouragements and uncertainties about the Augmentations which had not been of a long time payd him, he was in a maner necessitated to supply a place in the country for that sumer-quarter. May it therefore please your Highness to remove the Restraint that so the Augmentation may be payd to your Petitioner who continued in Cambridg the Winter, Spring and Autumn of that year, and *for the former yeares did always constantly reside upon his place* wch without the annexed Augmentation is wholy insufficient as to his subsistence there. And your Petitioner, etc.' Endorsed, 'Re-read 28 Mar. 1654.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*), *ann.* 1654, LXVIII, No. 56.

[4] See Gardiner, *u. s.* II 358–9.

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that all those who held office in the universities, from the Heads downwards, were expressly exempted, 'for and in respect of the stipends, wages and profits of their places and employments' in the university itself or in the colleges[1]. Cromwell himself, indeed, can hardly have wished to deal otherwise than liberally with those two ancient communities which he had so recently saved from destruction, but he appears also to have discerned, in the payment of the augmentations, an excellent opportunity for bringing about an important reform in the government of the colleges, by requiring that the Heads should themselves concentrate their energies more entirely on their official duties. In 1654, the Council had already ordered that no augmentation should be granted where there was a benefice attached to the mastership[2]. This, however, did not debar a Head from holding other preferment,—preferment, moreover, of a kind which might well afford a valid excuse for frequent absence. The master of Caius, for example, notwithstanding that he was in receipt of an augmentation of £60, which had recently been renewed, was generally resident at his rectory of Yelden, to which he had been presented by Lord Bolingbroke, and continued to hold the same, along with that of Westoning (where he had other property) until his death[3]; while Lazarus Seaman, who drew a regular income from his rectory of All Hallows in Bread Street, and had been appointed a member of the Commission of 1654, was rarely to be seen at Peterhouse save when his own personal interests were concerned. On the 22nd of January 165¼, accordingly, we find that a Bill was read a second time in Parliament, and duly committed, 'against the non-residence of Masters, Provosts, Presidents, Wardens,' etc. in the universities[4]. It did not pass without opposition, and Sir Lislebone Long, the presbyterian, and an elder of the classis of Wells, moved its rejection,—grounding his dissent on the allegation, that there were 'many worthy persons in the City, masters of

[1] Scobell, *Ordinances*, II 400, 403, 423; Cooper, *Annals*, III 466.
[2] Cooper, *Annals*, V 428.
[3] Venn, *Gonville and Caius College*, III 94.
[4] *Commons' Journals*, VII 881; Cooper, *Annals*, III 468.

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colleges,' who 'did more good by their non-residence[1].' It is evident, however, that increased importance was beginning to be attached to the office; and Manchester, the former chancellor of the university, who, but a few days before the debate, had declined to comply with Cromwell's summons to his new 'House of Lords[2],' was heard, about this time, to express an opinion that the income of a Head ought properly not to be below three hundred pounds.

Demurs were also to be heard at the proposed prolongation of the powers of the Commissioners, and the illustration, now afforded, of the difficulties generally attendant on the exercise of such powers gives a special value to the narrative. Lenthall was at this time one of Cromwell's firmest supporters, but his knowledge of university affairs was somewhat superficial. He had matriculated from St Alban Hall, but left Oxford without taking a degree; and although, at the elections for the Protector's first parliament, he had been returned as member for the shire, he was rarely to be seen in the university. He was, however, now Master of the Rolls, and by virtue of his tenure of that office he had been designated visitor of Lincoln College, in a new list of Visitors to the different Oxford colleges which had just been drawn up in anticipation of the representations of the Presbyterian party becoming operative[3]. This list, however, was never 'passed,' owing, says Anthony Wood, 'to the prevalency of the Independent party'; while, according to Mr Macleane, at Lincoln College itself, 'the intruded fellows' were, at this time, 'disposed to thorough Independency[4],'—representing, in Wood's view, 'the dregs of the other University.' Such were the circumstances under which Lenthall rose in the House, to propose that, if the Commission were to be prolonged, it should be for three months only, at the same time declaring that, whatever time Parliament might give, they would be encroaching on the Lord Protector's prerogative,—'and on the rights of the statutable Visitors as well,' said

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 468; Burton's *Diary*, II 338.
[2] *D. N. B.* XXXVIII 230.
[3] See Wood-Gutch, II 679–680.
[4] *Lincoln College*, p. 119.

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Widdrington[1].' There is nothing to warrant the supposition that either of the speakers had the slightest intention of proposing anything that would contravene the wishes of Cromwell, and we must consequently conclude that the Protector and his two supporters were alike beginning to augur far from favourably with respect to the advantages that were likely to result from the continued labours of the Commission; while, what may at first sight seem yet more surprising, we find that 'the Presbyterian gang of the university,' as Wood terms it, were so fully disposed to concur in such a view, that they were already 'using great endeavours,' 'to have the Commission annulled and other Visitors appointed[2].'

There can be no question that the rock on which the Commission seemed destined thus to go to pieces, was that difficult and delicate part of their task, the dealing with 'corrupt resignations' and 'corrupt elections' in the colleges, flagrant instances of which are referred to by Wood, as examples of practices which had become traditional at Magdalen, New, and All Souls[3]. The latter two societies, indeed, to quote Mr Robertson's expression, had already been 'particularly dishonoured by having a special and stringent code drawn up on their behalf'; while at All Souls, after certain elections had been peremptorily quashed by the Visitors and the society had been inhibited from making others, we find the fellows ultimately petitioning the new Protector, the lord Richard Cromwell, to intervene; and it is amid the confusion that attended the doing away with the Protectorate itself, that the curtain descends alike upon the further proceedings of the college and of the Visitation[4].

A clearer insight into the actual work of the Commission

[1] Burton's *Diary*, II 63; Cooper, *Annals*, III 467.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 676. 'The chief reasons for which submitted to the consideration of Parliament' are given, under the different heads. *Ibid.* II 677-9. It was this movement which, had it proved successful, was to be followed by the appointment of the new body of Visitors in which Lenthall was to be included.

[3] 'In the last of which were this year' [1657] 'such unworthy dealings (as the Visitors conceived) that the Protector and his Council was acquainted with them for remedy sake.' *Ibid.* II 676.

[4] Grant Robertson, *All Souls College*, pp. 127-134.

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at Oxford, is, however, afforded, if we turn to note the experiences of Jesus College, where a contest of a somewhat different character had been going on, but one of longer duration, and not a little resembling, in certain respects, the episode at Peterhouse[1]. As early as 1650, that 'stubborn little Welsh college,' as Burrows terms it, was once more in revolt,—this time, against the rule of its Principal, Dr Michael Roberts, whose government, if we may trust the allegations made by the vice-principal and four of the fellows, was characterized by acts of maladministration yet graver than those alleged against Lazarus Seaman, while the college itself is described by its historian as being 'in a chronic state of domestic feud[2].' At first, the fellows appealed to their own Visitor, the earl of Pembroke (the son of the late chancellor of the university), but were baffled by a counter appeal from Dr Roberts to the newly appointed Visitors; and they, accordingly, next decided on an appeal to the Protector[3]. Cromwell, however, referred their petition to the Council, and that body, in turn, agreed to refer it back 'to the cognizance and determination' of the Visitors. The fellows, accordingly, evidently acting under a sense of resentment at this prolonged procrastination on the part of the supreme authorities, decided themselves to expel their Principal. It was then, apparently, and not till then, that the Visitors undertook the labour of investigating the evidence[4], but only to arrive at a unanimous conclusion that it did not appear that Dr Roberts had been 'justly or legally expelled.' This decision was communicated on the 20th of February 1655, no further order being given at the time, except that the Visitors took upon themselves the appointment of the College officers for the next year; but in the month of May, 1656, they vouchsafed 'a very long and full hearing' to the

[1] See *supra*, pp. 394-403.

[2] Hardy (E. G.), *Jesus College*, p. 117. There were, at this time, only eight fellows.

[3] The Visitors had inhibited the Appeal made by the fellows to the earl of Pembroke (see Burrows, *Register*, pp. 402, 406); Mr Hardy represents the latter as appealing at the same time to the Visitors of the University and to their own Visitor; but see Burrows, 406, n. *a*.

[4] The charges formally brought against Dr Roberts, are given by Hardy (pp. 119-120), as transcribed from the Wynne MSS. in All Souls College.

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plaint of each party, and, 'upon mature deliberation,' declared themselves unable to 'see cause to confirm the act of the Fellows in the question of their Principal[1].' Dr Roberts, accordingly, remained at his post; while it is deserving of note that the College would seem to have undergone no loss of popularity during the preceding years, for in 1657 it numbered fifty-three Commoners, in addition to the Foundationers, the names on the books continuing to be almost entirely Welsh. Towards the end of the same year, however, Roberts resigned the Principalship into the hands of the Protector, but continued for some time in residence, and consequently, we must infer, still on terms of at least occasional intercourse with those who had sought to expel him[2], and receiving, at the same time, a certain amount of moral support from the Visitors themselves as well as from other members of the university. The fellows, on the other hand, continued to be at variance with the former body, a feature which can scarcely be deemed surprising when we bear in mind not only the staunch loyalist traditions of the society[3] but also the fact that it had failed to obtain representation either among the external or the resident members of the Commission. When, accordingly, on Roberts' resignation, the fellows took upon themselves to elect a new Principal and their choice fell upon Seth Ward, the whole proceeding was at once quashed by the Visitors, who installed one of their own number, Francis Howell, a fellow of Exeter (the Devonshire college) and an Independent. Such a result could not, of course, be deemed satisfactory by the Presbyterian party although it afforded additional justification of their statement, 'that those of the Visitors who were resident in the University did rather nourish and foment than appease differences, hearkening to the notions and addresses of any

[1] Burrows, *Register*, pp. 412–3.

[2] For this a precedent was afforded by the fact that his predecessor, Dr Mansell, ejected from the Principalship in 1648, had subsequently been invited to reside in the College, which he continued to do from 1652 until the Restoration. Hardy, pp. 121–2; Burrows, p. 413.

[3] '...the gallant little College, which nothing could effectually tame till the King, for whose family many brave Welshmen had died, came to his own again.' Burrows, u. s. p. cxvi.

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junior, factious, and troublesome person,'—'too often,' they added, 'to those who pretend to have any interest in their favour, *against the vote and determination of a whole college*'; while, as regarded the discretion vested in the colleges themselves, it was further submitted, 'that there were some which were obliged by oath to resist all determinations of Visitors made against Statutes, by all ways and means possible[1].' Taken as a whole, these 'Reasons submitted to the consideration of Parliament,'—a document put forth by the Presbyterian party extending over two quarto pages,—appear to deserve the praise bestowed upon them by Burrows, of being characterized by 'moderation and good sense.' Oxford, indeed, was by this time weary of being 'visited,' and plaintively urged that 'nine years were surely enough to purge and correct all humours and malignities,' while it was further represented that, 'of above five hundred Fellows which there were at the end of the War there be not many now remaining,'—that Heads of Houses had often been made 'both parties and judges in their own cause,'—and that experience already pointed strongly to the expediency of a return to the ancient system of appointing as Visitors of the respective colleges, 'great persons, in single capacities[2].' 'The growing strength of University independence,' continues Burrows, 'was finally proved by its victory over Owen himself, who, in his disgust at being unable to force his reforms on Convocation, attempted to carry them with a high hand, but found it best to desist: the Presbyterians were regaining power, and the Independents losing it[3]. We hear little more of

[1] Here the question of the obligation imposed by the College oath as opposed to the requirements of external authority (cf. *supra*, pp. 369, 410. 411), is manifestly reopened.

[2] *I.e.* persons of recognized position, but holding no other office in connexion with the University which might serve to prejudice their judgement. Anthony Wood himself signed the Protest (11 Feb. 165⅔). It was brought to him, he tells us, 'by Nathaniel Crewe, fellow of Lincoln College' [afterwards Lord Crewe and the great benefactor of that society].

Life and Times, 1 268; Clark (A.), *Lincoln College*, c. xi.

[3] 'The godly party they put up another petition and say "it is for the cause of Christ." Dr (John) Conant the vice-chancellor sent a letter to Dr (John) Owen then att London and told him that "he must make hast to Oxon for godliness layes a gasping," *i.e.* there was a petition to the Parliament to putt out Visitors.'...'No person was more ready than Crew, a presbyterian, to have the said Visitors put downe, notwithstanding he had before submitted to

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him at Oxford. Neither he nor the Visitors were any longer necessary; and the man had been formed, under so many varied experiences, who was exactly in his place as a substitute for Parliamentary Visitors. For three years, from the commencement of his vice-chancellorship in 1657, Dr Conant exercised the most beneficial influence, and passed on his charge unharmed till the Restoration once more set it on the old track from which the storms of twenty years had diverted it[1].'

The real value of the foregoing evidence, as an illustration of the conditions under which the control of the university and the administration of the different colleges were carried on, is but slightly diminished by the fact that the designs of the Visitors were not destined to be submitted to a practical test; while, as regards Cambridge, it is an especially noteworthy feature, that there appear to have been no corresponding experiences,—or, if such there were, they are not on record. The colleges, with one exception only, appear, during the same period, to have been free from domestic contention, and, in this respect, to quote Burrows' expression, are 'happy in having no history'; while, at Oxford, the misrule at All Souls, the 'Appeals' from Jesus, and certain matters calling for reform at New, constitute the main bulk of the entries in the eighty pages of the Visitors' Diary in the *Register*[2]. At Cambridge, again, the *odium theologicum* itself assumed a milder form, of which Tuckney, who now succeeded Arrowsmith as Regius professor of divinity, had already set an example in his controversy with Whichcote,—a correspondence which presents, in the whole tone of both writers, an edifying contrast to the acerbities of a Cheynell or a John Owen.

When the tidings arrived of the massacre in Piedmont, the widespread feeling of indignation altogether transcended

them, and had paid to them reverence and obedience.' 11 Feb. 165¾. Wood, *Life and Times*, I 268. The 'godly' party were the Independents.

[1] *Register*, u. s. pp. ci–cii.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 360–439.

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CHAP. IV. the limits of sectarian jealousies. A day of humiliation (June 14) was appointed and a Committee formed for the purpose of carrying relief to the hapless survivors. In the list of the subscriptions the Protector's name appeared as donor of £2000, while the collections throughout the country ultimately so far exceeded the needs of those for whom they were designed that a sum of £17,872 remained in the hands of the treasurers[1]. Milton composed his fine sonnet, destined to perpetuate the ruthless tragedy in the memory of after generations; Waller put forth his vigorous stanzas appealing to the nation's pride, as ruled by one who might claim to be the Protector, not of Britain only, but of the world[2].

The whole literature of the history of the Waldenses, both before and after the massacre, possesses for Cambridge an exceptional interest as associated with the annals of the University Library. Samuel Morland was a scholar of Winchester who matriculated as a sizar from Magdalene College in 1645, and afterwards became both a fellow and tutor of the society[3]. Although urged by his friends to take orders, he declined to do so, the bent of his genius being in the direction of those mathematical studies to which, as we have before noted, Cambridge at that time gave little encouragement; but on quitting the university, he appears to have decided on a diplomatic career, and in 1653 was so fortunate as to be selected a member of Bulstrode Whitelock's retinue in his important mission to the queen of Sweden. On his return to London, Morland appears to have become known to Thurloe and also to Ussher by whom his attention was first directed to the history of the 'Waldenses, as a subject well deserving further investigation[4].' He had already

[1] Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, III 417. 'About £30,000 was remitted to their Deputies at several payments, in this and the next year; but the confusions which followed upon the Protector's death prevented the clearing of the whole account till the Convention Parliament at the Restoration who ordered the remaining £7000 to be paid.' Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, IV 143–4.

[2] Gardiner, *Ibid.* III 424, 425.

[3] Mr Thompson Cooper (*D. N. B.* XXXIX 68) makes Morland himself say that he 'took no degree' at Cambridge. The Registers, however, give Matric. 1645, B.A. 1649, M.A. 1653. Samuel Pepys was one of his pupils. Purnell, *Magdalene College*, p. 121.

[4] *Introduction to History of the Evangelical Churches*, etc. [see *infra*, p. 512, n. 2], sig. a 2.

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acquired the command of a good e ary Latin sty accomplishment which may have partly decided Crom employ him as his envoy to the courts of the French m and the Duke of Savoy, to represent the fearful wrong had been inflicted on the peaceful Vaudois, and obt the one case, the co-operation of Mazarin, and in the to bring the Duke and his mother to a full sense enormities that had been committed by their soldiery. letter from the Protector, which Morland presented at 'intreating his highness to recall that merciless ed Gastaldo,' is a dignified and courtly missive, well calc to bring about its object, without unnecessarily rousi susceptibilities of the bigoted sister of Henrietta His errand duly discharged, the envoy did not, at on out on his return to England, but was permitted t government to settle, for a time, as its English resid Geneva, which he describes as 'a place not more pleas reason of its lovely situation, than eminent for the s constant, and painful preaching of the Word, and ad tration of the Sacraments,...accompanied with a si piety, and Christian behaviour in general, both of Gov and people.' 'I had not remained,' he goes on to say, ' months in this place before I received a letter fro Secretary Thurlo, wherein he was pleased to intimate how usefully both for the present Age and future gener I might employ my vacant hours during the time retirement; namely, by drawing into an exact Histo that had lately happened to the poor Protestants i Valleys of Piemont,...and setting down all the particul a distinct and clear method[1].' Morland could hardly felt himself free to act otherwise than as his powerful suggested, especially when he recalled the exhortat Ussher, the news of whose death reached him in the of his researches[2]; while, in the work of collectin

[1] *Introduction*, etc., *u. s.* See also Firth (Prof.), *Last Years of the Protectorate*, II 221.

[2] 'Now when I had sate down and seriously considered the contents of this letter, joyned to the strict given me by the late deceas Primate of Ireland, one of th ders of this our later Age, t the same subject, I began to p

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CH. IV. 'minutes, records, vouchers and attestations' requisite for his purpose he was assisted by a Waldensian minister, named Jean Leger, who kept an academy at Geneva, and who himself, long after, composed an elaborate work on the same subject[1]. It was, consequently, not until the year 1656 was drawing to its close, that he arrived in England, to be graciously welcomed at Whitehall, and subsequently to receive the thanks of a select Committee appointed by Cromwell to consider the Report of his labours. And it was not until 1658 that the results of those labours appeared, in the form of a costly folio[2] dedicated to the Protector, and the author himself, as Thurloe's secretary, became a recognized state official[3].

myself,' etc., *Ibid.* Usher's keen interest in the history of the Vaudois had doubtless been especially excited by his study of the manuscripts, which (along with the greater part of his Library) subsequently came into the possession of Trinity College, Dublin, and of which James Henthorn Todd, Hebrew professor in the University, gives a critical account in his *Books of the Vaudois*, Dublin, 1865. See *supra*, p. 491, n. 3.

[1] *Histoire générale des Églises Evangeliques de Piemont.* Amsterdam, 1680. Leger, according to Thompson Cooper, produced what 'may be regarded as an enlarged edition of Morland's book' (*D. N. B.* xxxix 68), and 'Morland was probably misled' by his 'incorrect statements.' But Cooper's account of Morland is written with a strong bias, to which Masson's treatment of the subject (*Milton*, v 38-41) supplies a certain corrective; but that of Gardiner (*u. s.* c. xlvii) is at once the most complete and the most discriminating to be found in recent writers. As was the case with the Huguenots, it was largely the steadily progressive organization of the Vaudois, together with their quiet industry, that drew upon them the hatred and invited the cupidity of a lawless soldiery.

[2] *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont. Containing a most exact Geographical Description of the Place, and a faithful Account of the Doctrine, Life, and Persecutions of the Ancient Inhabitants. Together with a most naked and punctual Relation of the late* Bloudy Massacre, 1655. *And a Narrative of all the following Transactions, to the Year of our Lord,* 1658. *All which are justified, partly by divers Ancient Manuscripts written many hundred Years before* Calvin *or* Luther, *and partly by other most Authentick Attestations: the true* Originals *of the greatest part whereof, are to be seen in their proper languages by all the curious, in the Publick* Library *of the famous University of* Cambridge. *Collected and compiled with much pains and industry, by* Samuel Morland, Esq; *During his abode in* Geneva *in quality of* His Highness Commissioner *Extraordinary for the affairs of the said Valleys, and particularly for the* Distribution of the Collected Moneys, among the remnant of those poor distressed People. London. Printed for Adoniram Byfield, 1658.

[3] 'Morland's connexion with Cromwell,' says Brudshaw, 'is probably the reason why his gift is so completely ignored in all our records and commemorations, while much more insignificant benefactors have been duly held up for veneration. The still more remarkable fact that for more than a century the Librarians themselves uniformly denied the

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Morland brought with him six volumes of Walden manuscripts, which, along with a large collection of pa relating to the history of the sect, he presented to University Library after the publication of his volume[1]; whatever doubts might be entertained with respect to judgement and literary acumen shewn in the pages of t work, there could be none with regard either to the valu his gift or to the capacity of the Librarian then in ch adequately to estimate its value. Of William Moore, died in the following year, some account has already b given[2]. Although ejected from his fellowship, it was wish to be buried in Caius college chapel; and his de would probably have found its accomplishment had not Master's strong prejudices been allowed to prevail. He consequently interred in Great St Mary's, where his fun sermon was preached by his successor in the librarians Thomas Smith of Christ's, the translator of Daillé; who b emphatic testimony alike to the high attainments and virtues of his departed friend. 'You can scarce name,' the preacher, 'the piece' [*i.e.* department] 'of knowle wherein he was not eminent: one of the ablest that ev met with, not only in the knotty pieces of Divinity, Case conscience, and Chronologie, and all ingenuous sciences, e cially History and all kinde of Antiquity (which, if any th must bring the men of this age to their wits again, when is done) but also in Anatomy, Physick, Mathematicks, and like. *Those who are the most eminent for all these now England being of his education*[3].... 'Tis well known t he was through his whole life a diligent collectour transcriber of the choicest Manuscripts which he co

existence of the most important part of the collection, is well known, and is only one example in a thousand of the disregard of such treasures which the whole history of the Library brings to light.' *The University Library* (1881), p. 21.

[1] Hence the repeated statement (prefixed to each *piece justificative* or document, printed in full in Books III and IV of the volume),—'*to be seen in the publick Library of the famous University of Cambridg.*' A ce number of the documents were, h ever, 'authentick copies comm cated by Mr Secretary Thurloe.'

[2] See *supra*, p. 231.

[3] This somewhat surprising st ment is confirmed by an entry m by Thomas Baker on the flyleaf his own copy of the *Life* (see follow note): 'But his pupils have b wanting in not giving him a Mo ment, which he well deserves.'

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possibly purchase by love or money.... While he was in the University library, how diligent he was for the publick good from first to last, what incredible pains he took there for you, and for how trifling a recompence ye all sufficiently know. And when the sharpness of his disease would not suffer him to frequent that place, he delivered to me *a catalogue* of all the Manuscripts in that library (except the Oriental) writ every word with his own hand; which I am to deliver into the publick library, as soon as it is open again[1].'

It may safely be assumed, therefore, that it was not through any inadvertence on the part either of William Moore or Thomas Smith, that, to quote the words of their successor in the nineteenth century, 'for more than a hundred years, the librarians themselves uniformly denied the existence of the most important part of the collection[2]' presented by Morland. There is evidence, indeed, of the volumes having been used by Peter Allix in 1689, but from that date until 1862,—when they were rediscovered by Bradshaw himself, who found 'the volumes all standing on the shelves as near to the "documents" as the difference of size would allow,' so that 'the only wonder is how they could ever have been lost sight of,'—they had ceased even to be identified, 'having come to be regarded as miscellaneous pieces, apparently in Spanish, of no particular importance[3].'

That the mere fact of the donor having been one of Cromwell's agents should, as Bradshaw suggests, have caused the collection itself to be 'so completely ignored,' is by no means improbable. Even, before his death, Cromwell's popularity was already on the wane. His famous *Proclamation* proved equally unacceptable to the three great

[1] *The Life and Death of Mr William Moore, late Fellow of Caius College and Keeper of the University Library: as it was delivered in a Sermon preached at his funeral solemnity, April 24, 1659. In St Maries Church in Cambridge, by Tho. Smith, B.D. his Successour.* Printed by John Field, Printer to the University of Cambridge. 1660. I am indebted to our Librarian for the loan of his own copy (formerly in Baker's possession) of this rare little volume.

[2] *The Cambridge University Library*, p. 21.

[3] Cambridge Antiquarian Society, *Communications*, II 205.

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religious parties whose distinctive tenets it virtually disregarded, and to the fanatics whose practices it justly censured; while his proposal to found a third university at Durham embroiled him with both universities. At Oxford, indeed, the latter project was probably one of the reasons which led him to resign the chancellorship, for Conant, who was now vice-chancellor and the chief leader of the Presbyterian party, was known to be strongly opposed to such a measure. In July 1657, accordingly, the Protector tendered his resignation, alleging, to quote his own language, that his continuance in office 'might not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs[1],'—words which, at the time, were generally supposed to refer to the recent treaty with France for the continuance of the Spanish war, whereby he was accused of having sacrificed the balance of power in Europe. On the 18th of the following September, his son Richard, although then the representative of the sister university in Parliament[2], was installed as Chancellor at Oxford, where his investiture with such supremacy would certainly not be rendered less popular by the fact that, by this time, according to professor Firth, 'in his journeys through England, he was received with the pomp befitting the heir of the throne.' But twelvemonths later, the hand, that 'had controlled the helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw[3],' was withdrawn by death, and the son succeeded to the Protectorship also.

Throughout the university, and more especially among the Heads, there were no signs of any desire to withhold the customary tribute to the memory of one who had died supreme ruler of the realm; but in the expression of their felicitations to his successor, it is evident that, among the more experienced and cautious contributors, there prevailed

[1] Carlyle-Lomas, III 306.

[2] *D.N.B.* XIII 187. On 16 Dec. 1653, Parliament had decreed that there should be four members for Cambridgeshire, while the Town and the University were alike to be represented by *one* member only. That Henry Cromwell should have been the University representative from 1654 to 1656, and his brother from 1656 to 1659, is probably to be attributed quite as much to their numerous and influential family connexions among the surrounding county families as to their father's interest in the University itself.

[3] Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans* (ed. 1738), IV 204.

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P. IV. a certain reserve and perplexity which contrasts strongly with the unmeasured adulation of the younger of the number. To the majority, indeed, whose actual knowledge of Richard Cromwell's capacity was vague, it probably seemed only fitting that his accession should be hailed as that of a new Marcellus, and the two proctors, Joseph Hill of Magdalene and John Luke[1] of Sidney, on whom it devolved[2] to compose the dedication of the *Luctus et Gratulatio*[3], might be pardoned for assuming,—what, indeed, the junior proctor explicitly affirms,—that all the paternal virtues had descended on the son whom the late 'Monarch' had himself nominated his successor, and in whose person he might be said to have, in a manner, returned to earth, to continue his administration of the government[4]. When, however, we note that the language of the two other fellows of Sidney who appear as contributors, is pitched in the same key, we can hardly doubt that all three had taken their cue from their Head, and it must be admitted that, if any one Head in Cambridge was, more than another, under obligation to Cromwell, it was Dr Minshull. In his own contribution, which appears on the first page of the volume, he had found no difficulty in declaring that Richard, 'alike in disposition and mind was the very image of his father,' and, turning to apostrophize the King of Terrors himself, enquires, 'where was now His victory[5]?' Nalson, accordingly, another of the fellows, after similarly invoking the shade of Cromwell himself, attributes to it the declaration that, having 'transferred his swift intelligence and unvanquishable powers to his great son, he shall still survive[6]'; while William Preston, a bachelor,

[1] Luke, who became fellow in 1654, was afterwards fellow of Christ's and professor of Arabic from 1685 to 1702.

[2] 'nondum admisso Procancellario,' Dr Bond, Worthington's successor, not having as yet been admitted.

[3] *Musarum Cantabrigiensium Luctus et Gratulatio: ille in Funere | Oliveri Anglise, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Protectoris: | hæc | de Ricardi successione felicissima, ad eundem.* Cantabrigiæ: Apud Joannem Field, Academiæ Typographum. 1658.

[4] 'Traditur hæredi, patrio cum nomine, virtus: | Inque puri Gnato, summe Monarche, redis.' *Musarum*, etc. p. B 1.

[5] 'Ingenii porrò, mentisque est vera paternæ | Effigies; Ubi, Mors, tua nunc victoria? nusquam.' *Ibid.* p. *1 r.

[6] 'Ast celeres animos, invictaque robora, Magnum | Transfudi in Gnatum: sic tibi vivus ero.' *Ibid.* p. E 4 r.

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thinks it a passable conceit, to sugg... that Cromwel had chosen to descend below the horizon, inasmuch as h would not suffer two suns to be visible at the same To such hyperboles, more befitting the court of an E despot than that of a Protestant monarch, the marke trast presented by the contributions which emanate King's, may probably, also, be partly attributable character of its Head,—the example set by the high-m and dispassionate Whichcote being in harmony wit influence which he had exerted over that society throu his tenure of the provostship. 'Religious truth,' he pr 'relies solely on spiritual weapons; Cromwell had dis to coerce others in matters of belief, and had reap reward in being spared to see long life, and he now re peace. It was not thus that tyrants died! His so ascended the throne, acceptable to the entire realm understands how to guide those who follow after things; and it is no ungrateful task to become the le those who are themselves actuated by noble aspiration to compel such is thankless work[2].' Thus the P embodying his thoughts in excellent hexameters; eight of his scholars,—two in the same metre, the oth elegiacs,—follow in his steps, with contributions cre alike as specimens of Latin verse and as characteri the most part by reasonable sobriety of thought and phor,—an exception, however, being presented in the by 'E. Bachiler,' whose profuse laudation of Richard regarded only as the outcome of presumptuous ign The Heads of Caius, St Catherine's, Trinity Hall, T and Corpus, sent in no contributions, the master of th named society manifesting that habitual caution probably on this occasion served to save him from subs

[1] 'Disparere prior voluit, dum surgeret alter; | Quod natura simul non sinit esse duos (*soles*).' *Ibid.* p. C 2 r.

[2] 'Magna Fides penetrat Cor spiritualibus armis, | Aggreditur victrix, totum peragratque per orbem, | Plena sui, subnixa Deo, carnalia spernens | ...At Pater hic patriae non est tormenta minatus; | Annos usque expirat, et pace quiescit. Filius ascend lis, gratusque Britannis, | Quaeque Deum sapiunt sci flectere lente. | Nam Ratione generosum ducere suave est, At mentem ingenuam tr gratum atque molestum.' *Ib*

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CHAP. IV. ejection. The three contributions afterwards singled out by Zachary Grey, in proof of his assertion that 'nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery[1],' are those by Tuckney, Seaman, and Moses, the master of Pembroke; with respect to which it must be admitted that the contribution by the first-named certainly adds nothing to his reputation; that of the second, although commonplace in conception, is better verse than he was supposed to be capable of writing; while the third, after comparing Oliver to a fallen oak, greets Richard as a bright sun! The lines by Worthington at Jesus bear the impress of their highly cultured author alike in diction and sentiment. The master of Christ's preferred to enshroud his ideas in Hebrew, and Widdrington[2] (now both Greek professor and Public Orator) in Greek elegiacs. The silence of the master of Trinity must not be attributed to motives like those which weighed with Dr Love,—Dr Arrowsmith was at this time nearing the close of his arduous career; but his influence is probably to be discerned in the fact, that the contributions from his college more than doubled those of any other society, with the sole exception of King's, among them being one by his relative, Thomas Arrowsmith, now a bachelor fellow; while one 'R. Critton,' who contributes both Greek and Latin verses, seems to be animated by a spirit well worthy of a disciple of the author of the *Tactica Sacra*[3], inasmuch as, alone among the contributors, he takes upon himself to assume a tone that is warlike rather than peaceful, by suggesting to the Protector that his father had reduced three kingdoms to obedience, but that there still remains another power, 'the Triple Crown of the Roman Wolf,' which requires to be summoned to lower the fasces before the English colours[4],—a suggestion

[1] *Impartial Examination of the Fourth Volume of Mr Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans*, pp. 226-7.

[2] Of Ralph Widdrington, the brother of Sir Thomas, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Dr Peile says: 'From 1654-60 (when he resigned the office) he was Greek Professor, being elected against Isaac Barrow, who, according to Aubrey (Aubrey-Clark, i 90), "had the consent of the University, but Oliver Cromwell put in Dr Widdrington."' *Hist. of Christ's College*, pp. 173-4.

[3] See *supra*, p. 501, n. 2.

[4] 'Devicit tria regna Pater, superanda Tibi uni | Restat Romani trina corona Lupi; | Ut (crucis huic si

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about as unacceptable to the peace-loving Richard as it was unjust to the humble-minded Alexander VII, chiefly intent, at this very time, on the abolition of that system of nepotism which had so long impaired the dignity of the Papal Court under his predecessors.

But whatever misconception may have existed in the university with respect to the new Protector's capacity for government was destined to be soon dispelled. As early as 1650, the Committee for the Reformation of the Universities had announced its resolve, not 'to recommend any more persons to fellowships or scholarships in any of the colleges or halls in either of the Universities respectively, where there is a competent number of Fellows to chuse according to Statute,' and this resolution had been cited by Charles Hotham as 'a strong argument' against interference with such elections under any circumstances[1]. And although that Committee had ceased to exist in 1652[2], and Cromwell's powers as Protector placed him in the position of royalty itself, the evidence would tend rather to shew that they were sparingly used. We find him, indeed, sending a mandate to Queens' College in 1656–7, for the election of 'John Lauson' (already a member of the society and afterwards President of the College of Physicians) to a fellowship, but the reply which he received was as follows:—

'*Januar.* 19, 1656–7. *Resolved by the determination of the major part of the Fellowes, that Mr Lauson be not admitted fellow upon the mandate of my Lord Protector, till further addresses be made to his Highness in that behalf, for as much as they are not satisfyed in the condition mentioned in the sayd mandate*[3].'

And thus, apparently, the matter rested. In the following year, a similar exercise of his prerogative is on record in connexion with an honorary degree, his 'Mandate' being addressed to 'Our trusty and well beloved the Vicechancellor

tantus amor) Mox Praesul adoret 'Romanus vestras, Anglica signa, cruces.' *Luctus et Gratulatio*, p. D 3–4.

[1] *True State of the Case*, etc. *u.s.* p. 91.

[2] See Shaw, *u.s.* II 225.

[3] Searle, *Hist. of the Queenes' College*, p. 568. John Lawson of London, adm. pensioner of Queens', 12 Nov. 1648, M.A. 1656; M.D. of Padua 1659 and incorporated at Cambridge 1659. Died 21 May 1705. *Ibid.* p. 569.

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CHAP. IV. and Senate of our University of Cambridge,' and couched in the following terms:

'*Whereas we are informed that you cannot by the Statutes, and according to the Customes of your University, admit any to the Degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had been some years before admitted in a College: And whereas we are also certify'd that* BENJ[n] ROGERS *hath attained to eminence of skill in that Faculty: We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of Men in that or any other Ingenuous Faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and Pleasure, by these our Letters, that, notwithstanding your said Statutes and Customs, You cause* BENJ[n] ROGERS *to be admitted and created Bach. in Music in some one or more of your Congregations assembled in that our University: He paying such dues, as are belonging to that Degree and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in Music. And for the so doing These our Letters shall be your Warrant.*

Given at Whitehall the 28th day of May 1658[1].'

Although Benjamin Rogers was at this time a comparatively unknown man, the University found no difficulty in suspending a general statute[2] at the behest of the supreme ruler of the realm and in order to afford recognition to artistic merit; the Protector's mandate was accordingly obeyed without a dissentient voice; and Cambridge was thus enabled to anticipate, by some ten years, the more tardy appreciation subsequently shewn by Oxford, of the merits of the distinguished composer whose cathedral music was to become, before the close of the century, the theme of admiration among the *virtuosi* of the realm; while his melodious hymn, *Te O Deum colimus*, still daily sung in the hall of Magdalen, and every Mayday morn from her ancient tower, preserves his memory when the more elaborate productions of his genius have almost ceased to be heard.

It was a very different matter, however, when, a month later, Oliver so far yielded to the restless importunity of Lazarus Seaman as to recommend his son, Joseph Seaman, for election to a fellowship at Peterhouse. We have it, on

[1] Baker MSS. D 129-130; Carlyle-Lomas, III 311.

[2] 'Nec ulli concedatur gratia ut ejus admisso stet ei pro completis gradu et forma sub poena perjurii procancellarii et eorum qui fuerint in capite nisi sint regiae majestati a secretis aut episcopi aut nobiles vel nobilium filii.' *Statute of Elizabeth, Documents*, I 464.

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the authority of Richard, that the fellowship had been standing vacant for 'the space of fourteen years att least[1].' Information of what had taken place was probably secretly transmitted to the authorities, and Oliver's 'recommendation' was forestalled by a counter representation to the effect that the vacancy had already been filled up by the college electors at an earlier date, and a deputation of some of their number to the Protector at Whitehall succeeded in obtaining from him 'a repudiation of any desire to exercise illegal pressure,' while the authorities were at the same time enjoined to suspend proceedings until in receipt of further instructions[2]. But before another three months had passed, the Protector himself was no more; and then, in November 1658, we find Richard sending a peremptory order to the 'Master' (*sic*) and fellows of Queens' College, 'to admit Martin Pindar, B.A. of the college, 'to the fellowship lately held by Simon Patereke' [Patrick][3]. His attention being next directed to the question of Joseph Seaman's election at Peterhouse, he decided to cut the knot which his father had designed to untie, and summed up his view of the case in the following terms: 'Hearing from a member of our Privy Council that Seaman [*i.e.* Joseph] has the fellowship, as there is no Visitor for the College, and his place during vacancy can only be supplied by the chief magistrate, we declared Seaman admitted by ourselves as Visitor, and ordered the Master to admit him, but he is obstructed by some of the fellows. We therefore declare our pleasure that he be a perpetual fellow, from the delivery of the former letter[4]. And though this case be singular and not provided for by the Statutes of the College, so that no dispensation needs to be granted about it, yet being informed

[1] 'We have seen his [late] Highness's letter to you of 21 June 1658, recommending Jos. Seaman, B.A. of your Colledge, to Mr Monning's fellowship, which has been void by the space of 14 years att least. The president of the Colledge received the letter 26 June, and for his part obeyed.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*), CLXXXIV, no. 72.

[2] Walker, *Peterhouse*, pp. 116–7.

[3] *State Papers* (*Dom.*), 1658, vol. CLXXVIII, no. 74. Simon Patrick, the future bishop of Ely, to whose Autobiography we are indebted for numerous details respecting Queens' College during the presidency of Dr Horton.

[4] *I.e.* the letter sent by Oliver referred to above.

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that some of the fellows desire it, we grant it, and dispense with any Statute to the contrary[1].'

When we recall to mind some of the facts which came before us in connexion with the contest between Charles Hotham and the overbearing head of Peterhouse[2], and now find the latter wresting from the irresolute Richard the concession which his father would probably have withheld, it is difficult not to surmise that equity, at least, had throughout been on the side of the party of resistance. There is, however, no reason for supposing that, dictatorial as was his language, the new Protector was actuated by any design of reversing his father's policy. On the contrary, as soon as the new Parliament had assembled and, along with Thurloe as its leader, had sworn fidelity to himself, it was forthwith announced that the deed for constituting the College at Durham a University only awaited sealing in order to become operative. In this design, Cromwell had been aided by the advice of John Lambert, Edward Montagu (first earl of Sandwich), and Francis Rous, a former provost of Eton; and the Charter which he had given the College in 1657 might, very probably, have already excited misgiving, seeing that it not only authorized the transfer to the new foundation of the endowments of the Cathedral together with its library, but also conferred on it the right 'to keep and maintain' a press[3], at the same time instituting fellows, tutors, and professors,—so that, in short, the College needed only a chancellor and the right to confer degrees in order to become a fully constituted University. At Cambridge, accordingly, the Senate forthwith nominated six delegates[4] to exhibit to the Lord Protector a petition against the

[1] *State Papers* (*Dom.*), 1658, vol. CLXXXIV, no. 72.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 408-16.

[3] 'And that the said Master or Provost, Fellows and Scholars of the said College for the time being, and their successors, may from time to time print or cause to be printed *Bookes* of all or any kind of volumes, and may license other books to the Press.' Grey (Zach.), *Impartial Examination*, etc. IV, Append. p. 122.

[4] These were Thomas Horton, president of Queens', Benjamin Whichcote, and Lazarus Seaman (as Doctors of Divinity), Thomas Slater, M.D., Ralph Widdrington, as Public Orator, and Thomas Bucke, one of the Esquire Bedels. Cooper, *Annals*, III 473; *Statuta Acad. Cantabr.* p. 393.

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measure, as 'not only prejudicial to but also destructive of those charters and fundamental privileges of this University, which your petitioners are jointly and severally obliged by oath to maintain'; and they therefore besought his Highness 'to inhibit the sealing...untill such time as your petitioners are heard what they have to alledge in the maintenance of their charters and ancient rights[1].' A similar petition sent up from Oxford, by the hands of the Principal of Brazenose and Dr John Wallis, arrived about the same time, and before the end of April the two deputations were admitted together at Whitehall. The Protector was by no means desirous, at this juncture, of becoming involved in new contentious business, and, to quote Anthony Wood's terse account of what ensued, 'he forthwith promised that nothing should be done therein to the prejudice of the Universities till both were heard therein; and did moreover grant an Order to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal to this purpose:

RICHARD P.

It is our will and pleasure that the Lords Keepers of the Great Seal do forbear passing the said Grant for Durham College until further Order from us.

Whitehall 22 April 1659.

'So that the business resting here, till such time that Richard (the Mushroom Prince) was deposed, the matter was soon forgotten, and not long after, when King Charles II was restored, the said College of Durham was restored also to its antient Inhabitants, viz. the Dean and Chapter formerly of that place[2].'

When electing Richard Cromwell as his father's successor, there had probably been but few members of the late Parliament to whom it occurred that, in thus reverting to the theory of hereditary succession, they were also creating a valid argument for his deposition. But as the incapacity of the son became evident, even to the Independents who were his chief supporters, the Presbyterian party could not fail to

[1] Cooper, *Ibid.* III 473–4. [2] Wood-Gutch, II 294.

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recall that the father of the young prince now in exile, had himself, when at Newport, advised that an endeavour should be made to find a basis for doctrinal agreement between themselves and the members of the Anglican communion; and as the question with regard to Richard's successor came before them, they might reasonably consider that they could hardly do better than elect, in the place of the ruler whose father had brought about the overthrow of their party, the son of the monarch who had recognized the desirability of forming an alliance with them. It was thus, at least, that Edward Stillingfleet reasoned, as, retired from his fellowship at St John's College to his rectory at Sutton, and now in his twenty-fourth year, he commenced to write his famous *Irenicum*, wherein the arguments in favour of such a compromise were elaborately set forth, and the authority of the late King cited in their support[1].

Very different was the point of view from which John Milton regarded the crisis of 1659. His aims, as Masson has pointed out, had been gradually diverging from those of Cromwell, and the course of events throughout the Protectorate had been fraught, for him, with disappointment. 'Milton wanted to see Church and State entirely separated; Cromwell had mixed them, intertwined them, more than ever. Milton wanted to see the utter abolition in England of anything that could be called a clergy; Cromwell had made it one of the chief objects of his rule to maintain a clergy and extend it massively[2].' In the course of the month of May, it became known that Richard's abdication was

[1] 'His Majesty thinketh it well worthy the studies and endeavours of Divines of both opinions, laying aside emulation and private interests, to reduce Episcopacy and Presbytery into such a well proportioned Form of superiority and subordination, as may best resemble the Apostolical and Primitive times, so far forth as the different condition of the times, and the exigencies of all considerable circumstances will admit.' IRENICUM: *A Weapon-Salve for the Churches Wounds, or the Divine Right of Particular Forms of Church-Government, discussed and examined according to the Principles of the Law of Nature, the Positive Laws of God, the practice of the Apostles and the Primitive Church, and the judgment of Reformed Divines*, etc. By Edward Stillingfleete, Rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire. The Second Edition. London, 1662, p. 415. The Preface to this edition (substantially nearly the same as the first) is however dated 'Octob. 26. 1660,' and the greater part of the treatise was probably written in 1659.

[2] *Life of Milton*, v 600.

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impending, and one of the earliest measures of the new Parliament (known as the 'restored Rump') which assembled on the 21st, was to pass a Resolution, 'That the Universities and Schools of Learning shall be so countenanced and reformed, as that they may become the nurseries of piety and learning[1].' If we note that this Resolution was one of a series, which had resulted from a consideration by the above Parliament of a petition and address from the Army, we may perhaps conjecture that the design of its authors was rather to revolutionize than reform both Oxford and Cambridge. Four days later, Richard Cromwell abdicated, and Milton was no longer Latin Secretary, and he might consequently now venture to speak his whole mind. His dissatisfaction with the actual condition of affairs was, by this time, at its height,—Presbyterianism everywhere fast regaining that ascendancy, which it had seemed likely, only a few months before, to forfeit, owing to its incautious neglect of Church ordinances[2],—the Independents, on the other hand, losing ground, and especially at Cambridge, so that they were already evincing a desire to compromise[3]; while, at Oxford, John Owen was reluctantly giving place to Conant! Milton hailed the opportunity afforded him, and in the following August published his *Considerations*[4], a tiny volume in large type, which grave men might carry in the pocket and read at leisure, wherein the writer proceeded to denounce not only an Established Church but also those universities which trained its clergy. The *Considerations* are prefaced by *An Address to Parliament*[5] designed more especially to bespeak the attention of the legislators of the

[1] *Commons' Journals*, VII 661; Cooper, *Annals*, III 474.

[2] See Dr Shaw's account of this phase of the Presbyterian system, in his *Hist. of the English Church*, etc. II 98–152. 'It is,' he says, 'to the everlasting reproach of presbytery that such a state of things should have existed.' *Ib.* p. 152. He however states elsewhere, that 'the triumph of the army struck a deathblow at the Presbyterian discipline.' *Ib.* p. 136.

[3] Masson, *Life of Milton*, V 342–3.

[4] *Considerations | touching | the likeliest means to remove | Hirelings | out of the Church. | Wherein is also discours'd of | Tithes, Church-fees, | Church-revenues; | and whether any maintenance | of ministers can be settl'd | by Law. | The author J.M.* | London, 1659.

[5] *To the Parlament of the commonwealth of England with the dominions thereof* [unpaged]. *Ibid.*

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realm, whom he describes as already occupied with 'petitions,' in which the writers were tendering advice to the recipients with respect to 'new models of a Commonwealth.' 'You will interpret it,' says Milton, 'much more the dutie of a Christian to offer what his conscience perswades him may be of more moment to the freedom and better constituting of *the Church*, since it is a deed of highest charitie to help undeceive the people, and a work worthiest your authoritie, —in all things els authors, assertors, and now recoverers of our libertie,—to deliver us, the only people of all Protestants left still undelivered, from the oppressions of a Simonious, decimating clergie.' He then proceeds, in the *Considerations* itself, to concentrate his attack on the Universities, where, as he asserts, the whole education of the clergy is carried on under a false assumption, namely that their future profession requires the culture there imparted, while, he adds, the pretensions of the graduate himself are often insufferable, —for after having received his education almost entirely 'at the public cost[1],' he is frequently to be heard complaining of the scantiness of the income which he derives from the pursuit of the profession which he has chosen[2]. For the leading feature of the academic training,—the attention bestowed on dialectics, which, subsequent to the time when Milton quitted Cambridge, had become invested with additional

[1] '... the poor Waldenses, the ancient stock of our reformation, without these helps that I speak of, bred up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as in the study of scripture (which is the only true theologie) that they might be no burden to the church.' *Considerations*, pp. 98 9.

[2] 'But they will say, we had betaken us to som other trade or profession, had we not expected to find a better livelihood by the ministerie. This is that which I looked for, to discover them openly neither true lovers of learning, and so very seldom guilty of it, nor true ministers of the gospel.' *Considerations*, p. 132. How inapplicable this reproach was, in the time of the Commonwealth, may be gathered from the following assertion by a Master of St John's College, published in 1654: 'In Cambridge now, more then anywhere I know, or in these latter times have heard of, you may have δδαναον εὐαγγέλιον, the more to the honor (I say not of such thrifty hearers, but) of God in the first place, and then of that *Reformation* which so many do so traduce and spit at; as also of those more noble spirited Preachers, who so freely offer to God that which costeth them so much, for which of men they receive nothing.' Tuckney (Anthony), *Sermon preached at St Maries in Cambridge, Decemb.* 22, 1653, *at the publick Funerals of Dr Hill*, etc. pp. 59–60.

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importance through the impulse given to the practice by Voetius,—he manifests especial contempt, stigmatizing 'those theological disputations there held by professors and graduates' as 'such as tend least of all to the edification or capacitie of the people, but rather perplex and leaven pure doctrine with scholastic trash then enable any minister to the better preaching of the gospel[1].' He considers, indeed, that 'all the learning, either human or divine, necessary to a minister, may as easily and less chargeably be had in any private house'; and even the formation of a good library, such as he implies it was the ambition of not a few young divines to get together, is pronounced by him 'not necessary to his ministerial either breeding or function,' and 'if Father and Councils be thought needful, let the State provide them[2].'

In partial explanation of this harsh and captious criticism, it may fairly be urged that Milton's blindness, now of some seven years' duration, combined with the laboriousness of his secretarial duties, may in some measure account for the misconceptions with respect to the actual condition of the universities under which he apparently wrote; while, as Masson observed, the *Considerations*, along with his *Treatise of Civil Power* (which appeared in the same year), represent his earliest 'considerable English dictations' subsequent to the commencement of his loss of sight[3]. In disproof of the above assertions, it may here suffice, as regards Oxford, to cite the oft-quoted passage in Clarendon, who, notwithstanding his depreciatory estimate of all that guided thought and action during the Protectorate, was fain, long afterwards, to admit that 'the stupidity, negligence, malice and perverseness' of those in authority, had, greatly to his astonishment, not only failed 'to extirpate all the learning, religion, and loyalty that had flourished there,' but that the University had actually 'yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who

[1] *Considerations*, etc. p. 138.

[2] '...we may also compute the charges of his needful library, which though some *shame not* to value at £600 [=£2000 now] may be competently furnished for £60 [=£200 now].' Masson, *Life of Milton*, v 614; *Ibid.* pp. 136-9.

[3] *Milton*, v 582, 605.

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were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that, when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that University abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation[1].' 'We cannot fail to observe,' says Burrows, after citing the above testimony, 'that whatever violence, necessary or unnecessary, had accompanied the Parliamentary reform, the University at least kept up its high character as a place of religion and seat of learning; and that it did so all along in close connexion with by far the larger portion of its ancient statutes, customs, and traditions[2].'

With regard to Cambridge, although no equally emphatic testimony is on record, the characters of those who bore sway in the university and the tendency of their influence during the same period undoubtedly point to a like conclusion. Among their number, Anthony Tuckney, who succeeded to the mastership of St John's when Arrowsmith was transferred to Trinity, appears to have been the chief leader, a fact attributable mainly to his great force of character, aided perhaps by his seniority (in point of years) to all the other Heads, with the exception of Minshull. 'As much esteemed and reverenced as any master ever was[3],' is Baker's estimate of one whom he nevertheless regarded as a schismatic; while with respect to Tuckney and his predecessor, he adds,—'as a right owing to their memory,'—that 'though they were not perhaps so learned as some of those who have both before and since filled that post and station, yet their government was so good and the discipline under them so strict and regular, that learning then flourished, and it was under them that some of those great men had

[1] *Hist. of the Great Rebellion* (ed. Macray), iv 259.

[2] *Introduction* to *Register of Visitors*, p. cvii; similarly Grosart, *Preface* to Beaumont's *Works* (p. xv), ventured to assert that 'our national Universities never were more scholarly, never had more thoroughly-furnished professors and teachers than during the Commonwealth.'

[3] Baker-Mayor, v 229.

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their education that were afterwards the ornaments of the following age[1].' There is nothing in the facts which have reached us to contravene this description; and the incidental evidence materially confirms it. In Tuckney, however, there was a certain intellectual equipoise which we miss in Arrowsmith. Although a theologian of pronounced convictions and an administrator with great strength of purpose, his sense of what was practicable had been quickened by his experiences as a London rector[2], and he could both understand the point of view of those from whom he differed, and also co-operate with them for the attainment of some desirable end. There were Masters, such as Lazarus Seaman and Dell, in whom it is difficult to discern a stronger motive than that of self-aggrandizement,—their college coming only second, and the university nowhere, in their regard. Tuckney, on the other hand, never allowed his devotion to the interests of the society over which he presided to obscure his sense of duty to the university at large; and he preferred to look upon his fellow Heads as coadjutors rather than rivals. When, indeed, in his noteworthy eulogium of Dr Hill, he singles it out as one of the latter's distinguishing good qualities, that 'the general good and well-ordering of the University' were alike 'his careful thought in private with himself' and 'the matter of his frequent discourse with others[3],' we recognize a trait which these contemporary masters of Trinity and St John's certainly possessed in common. Although, again, a staunch defender of the doctrine embodied in the Westminster Confession, Tuckney strongly objected to the proposal that others should be called upon 'to subserve or swear to' the same[4]; and while upholding,

[1] Baker-Mayor, I 232.

[2] He had been appointed, after leaving Boston for London in 1643, to the sequestered rectory of St Michael-le-Querne in Cheapside. *D. N. B.* LVII 286.

[3] 'Scarce was there a time that he met with us, but hee was asking or proposing something or other that way. It seemeth his care was to keep up those Universities, which others would ruin.' *Sermon preached at St Maries*, etc. (*u. s.*), p. 55.

[4] 'In the Assemblie I gave my vote with others, that the Confession of Faith, putt-out by Authoritie, should not bee required to bee eyther sworne or subscribed to,—wee having bin burnt in the hand in that kind before,—but so as not to be publickly preached or written against.' *Eight Letters of Dr Antony Tuckney and Dr Benjamin Whichcote* (ed. Salter, 1753), p. 76; Salter's *Preface*, p. xv.

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with no less determination, the requirements of the Engagement, he did his best to shield William Sancroft from the consequences of his refusal to subscribe. So, too, at the commencement of his celebrated controversy with his former pupil, Whichcote, he describes his actuating motives to be not only 'zeal for God's glory and truth,' but also a desire that '*your name* and repute may not be blemished, and that myself with your other friends may not be grieved, but comforted and edified by your ministry[1],'—language, the sincerity of which hardly admits of question; while it is pleasing to note that when, some five years later, Tuckney succeeded Arrowsmith in the Regius professorship, Whichcote was one of the electors. So again, the kindly recognition which Tuckney, as master of Emmanuel, had extended to the rising genius of Whichcote's disciple, Nathanael Culverwel, is attested by William Dillingham, in his dedication of the former's *Light of Nature*, after the author's death[2]. On the other hand, according to Calamy, he was distinguished among the Heads by his resolute resistance to orders from 'the higher powers,' whenever he deemed their mandate to be in excess of their prerogative[3]; while his genuine conscientiousness in the same capacity found expression in his well-known *dictum* with respect to the principle which chiefly regulated his choice in elections to fellowships, namely that of attaching more importance to proved attainments than to reputed sanctity,—'they may deceive me in their godliness,' he would say, 'but they cannot in their scholarship[4].' Perhaps, however, the sobriety of his judgement was never more conspicuous than in the disavowal which he had the courage to make, at a time when the Millenarian controversy was at

[1] *Eight Letters*, etc. p. 5.

[2] 'Honoured Sirs, The many testimonies of your real affection to this pious and learned Authour (especially while he lay under the discipline of so sad a Providence) deserve all grateful acknowledgement,' etc. *Dedication* of *The Light of Nature, with several other Treatises*, by Nathanael Culverwel, Master of Arts, and lately Fellow of Emmanuel Colledge. London, 1652. [A posthumous publication, the Dedication being written by the editor, William Dillingham.]

[3] *Account of the Ejected Ministers* (ed. 1777), 1 206.

[4] 'This story of him, so much to his honor, is still upon record in the College; and was told me by the present worthy Master.' Salter (Sam.), *Preface* to the *Eight Letters*, etc. p. xv.

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its height, of his ability to adjudicate, or even offer an opinion, with regard to those various interpretations of sacred prophecy which theologians of almost every school, from the time of Mede to that of Vavasour Powell, had been confidently putting forth, as manifestly finding their verification and actual fulfilment in contemporary or impending events[1]. In short, a penetrating intelligence and a wholesome dread of enthusiasm, combined with great self-restraint in dealing with questions of religious or philosophical belief, would appear to have gained for Tuckney a reputation somewhat beyond that to which he was entitled by virtue either of his attainments or his actual contributions to learning; and from Whichcote, who deferred to his arguments with 'reverence and esteem[2],' to Robert Baillie, who consulted him on the drawing up of a course of 'philosophy' which would enable the teacher to dispense with the manuals of the Jesuits, his advice was deferentially sought by scholars whose claim to an opinion on the subject was, in some cases, superior to his own[3]. His rigid Calvinism, however, repelled not a few; and at Jesus, under Worthington, and at King's, under Whichcote, students were conscious of breathing a different atmosphere. Of these two eminent men, both of whom had been tutors at Emmanuel, the latter was nine years the senior of the former, and in 1657 Worthington married Whichcote's niece. But although kindred spirits, their activity took a different turn. The provost of King's wrote but little, and, by his own confession, was by no means

[1] 'For my own part, I freely professe,...that in *propheticis nullus sum*. When I see so many far more versed in them than I am, so exceedingly differing among themselves, and oftentimes so manifestly mistaken, although it doth not dishearten me from a sober enquiry, yet it giveth me a faire warning to be neither over-forward in opinion, nor too peremptory in asserting things of this nature.' 'To the Reader' prefixed to *A brief Exposition with practical Observations upon the Whole Book of Canticles, Never before Printed. By that late Pious and Worthy Divine* Mr John Cotton, *Pastor of Boston in* New England. Published by Anthony Tuckney, D.D., Master of Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge. London, 1655.

[2] 'Sir, I have had you all along in very high esteem, and have borne you reverence beyond what you do or can imagine.' See *Eight Letters* (*u. s.*), pp. 6-7.

[3] 'He has the rare good fortune of uniting in his praise such men as Baker, the non-juror, Walker, the chronicler of the sufferings of the clergy, and Calamy, the non-conformist historian.' Crossley (Jas.), *Diary and Correspondence of Dr Worthington*, I 22.

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a hard student. When Tuckney imagined that he had discerned in the other's sermons certain traces of the influence of pagan philosophers or of the schoolmen, Whichcote frankly confessed that 'he had been little acquainted with bookes,' for, to quote his own words, 'while fellow of Emmanuel Colledge, employment with pupils tooke my time from mee. I have not read manie bookes but I have studyed a fewe; meditation and invention,' he goes on to say, 'hath been rather my life, than reading; and trulie I have more read Calvine, and Perkins, and Beza than all the bookes you mention[1].' It was as a preacher, indeed, that he mainly acquired his reputation; and his Sunday afternoon sermons at Trinity Church, delivered through a succession of years, before audiences largely composed of both the seniors and the younger members of the university, were generally recognized as exercising no slight influence on academic thought. Worthington, on the other hand, already employed on the chief literary labour of his life,—the editing of the works of Joseph Mede,—and, as yet, best known by his translation of Thomas à Kempis[2],—preferred the seclusion of his study. Here he carried on an extensive correspondence, especially with Hartlib, while the duties of his mastership were discharged with fidelity rather than with zeal, and his tenure of the office of vice-chancellor was limited to a single year.

At Clare, Theophilus Dillingham, who succeeded Cudworth in 1654, had married the daughter of his predecessor, Dr Paske; and, in Mr Wardale's opinion, proved himself 'as admirable a Head of a College as his father-in-law[3].' During the first three years, he found an able coadjutor in John Tillotson, who appears, indeed, to have been a model college tutor,—conversing with his pupils almost exclusively in choice Ciceronian Latin which Milton himself might have commended; equally assiduous in attendance at prayers in college chapel or in conducting them in his own chambers;

[1] *Eight Letters* (*u. s.*), p. 54.

[2] This was published under the title of *The Christian's Pattern* (1654) and went through numerous editions.

[3] *Clare College*, p. 113.

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and not less so, in himself listening to sermons without. In 1657, however, he quitted 'the place he loved so well[1],' but still retaining his fellowship and along with it a loyal remembrance of Clare. It was owing, indeed, to Tillotson's good offices, that the society was able in 1659 to add two fellowships and four scholarships to its endowment, by the bequest of Joseph Diggons, a former fellow-commoner[2]; while, three years before, Barnabas Oley had given like proof of his undiminished interest in his college, by a bequest to the society of King's, having for its object the preservation of amicable relations between the two societies[3]. At Pembroke, William Moses, the youngest of all the Heads, although regarded with little favour either by Cromwell or his son, maintained his conscientious and assiduous rule unmolested, but inclining, apparently, to a moderate form of episcopalianism in matters of Church government. At Trinity Hall, Dr Bond, although ruling over what was now essentially a lay community, and averse probably from becoming entangled in sectarian controversies, found himself, on one occasion, owing to certain rights of private patronage appertaining to his mastership, under the necessity of making an assignment of pews in St Edward's Church to the parishioners[4]; and in the year 1658–9, he discharged the duties of the vice-chancellorship. At Queens' College, Thomas Horton continued to rule the society with a certain measure of success. Throughout his career a consistent Presbyterian, he is described by John Wallis, the mathematician, who wrote his *Life*, as one who was 'very well accomplished for the work of the ministry, and very conscientious in the discharge of it'; while his pulpit oratory, which offered a complete contrast to the florid style and elaborate imagery then fashionable among Anglican preachers, is excellently described by the same pen. 'He wanted not variety of learning

[1] *Letter to Dillingham*, 24 June 1659. Wardale, *Clare College*, p. 122.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 121.
[3] '...as a compensation for any detriment that Colledge susteined by parting with that part of Butt Close which Clarehall now holdeth of them by Lease and as a mean to perpetuate love and amitie betwen Kings Coll and Clarehall.' *Ibid.* p. 131.
[4] Malden, *Trinity Hall*, p. 180.

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AP. IV. to embellish and trim up a sermon if he had so pleased. But he contented himself with sound doctrine, Scripture-language, and such as might be understood by his Auditory (rather than admired) as best conducing to perswade men to the practice of those duties he did recommend.' 'For,' his soberminded biographer goes on to say, 'matters of Wit, though at the first hearing, they may please the ear and tickle the fancy; yet have not that awe upon the conscience, nor make those lasting impressions which sound doctrine plainly delivered, with clear evidence from the word of God, is known to do. And sermons so composed are like to be of more lasting use than others accommodated to what the present age calls Wit[1].' At St Catherine's, John Lightfoot's profound learning was also generally at the service of the Presbyterian body, with whom he stood in high favour. In 1658 he dedicated the first volume of his *Horae Hebraicae* to those whom he designated as 'Catharinenses mei.' Alike as vice-chancellor and Head, he gave evidence of a capacity for administration which made his absorption in study and frequent absence at his rectory of Much Munden all the more a matter for general concern[2]. At Christ's College, Cudworth, transferred thither from Clare in 1654, appears to have lived on amicable terms with the fellows, and, after receiving his augmentation as Master, abandoned the design he had previously formed of quitting the university. Although mostly in his study, he was an excellent bursar, and sedulous in urging the interests of fellows of the society with secretary Thurloe[3]; while the energy of Ralph Widdrington (the brother of the Speaker), as college tutor, attracted numerous pupils[4]. At Emmanuel, William Dillingham, who succeeded Tuckney in the mastership in 1653, although he especially distinguished himself by his tact and ability as vice-chancellor in the eventful year 1660, was considered, according to Shuckburgh, 'to be more interested in his private studies and literary employments

[1] *Life* prefixed to *One Hundred Select Sermons upon Several Texts*. London, 1679. fol.

[2] Browne (Rt. Rev. G. F.), *St Catharine's College*, pp. 112–114.

[3] Cudworth-Birch, I 11; Masson, V 77.

[4] Peile (Dr), *Christ's College*, pp. 172–181.

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than in the government of the college.' Discipline, accord-
ingly declined[1], and the numbers fell,—the entries, which in
1644 had reached to 81, falling in 1654 to 24[2]; while the
prescribed 'scholastic exercises' were frequently evaded. At
Sidney, Minshull, notwithstanding his shortcomings as an
administrator, found no difficulty in maintaining possession
of office throughout the Protectorate. Edmund Calamy, the
younger[3], had already migrated to Pembroke; but in 1658,
Thomas Rymer, the compiler of the *Foedera*, was admitted
as a pensioner. Amid so much of change and apprehension,
Dr Love, at Corpus, pursued the even tenor of his way;—
neither saying, nor writing, aught that could give intimation
of heterodox opinion or disloyal aim, but with his Latin
muse ever at the service of the university to swell the strains
of lamentation or felicitation as occasion might require.

On the whole, however, it must be allowed that th
majority of those who constituted the governing body duri
this brief but trying period, appear to have been actua
by a strong sense of duty; and even in those cases wh
love of study or the prospect of professional advance
prevailed over a sense of official responsibility, the
devotion of one or more of the fellows to the inter
their college generally provided a remedy. We ha
evidence that among the Heads themselves, however
they might deny the justice of Milton's sweeping
there were those who were fully aware that the
provisions for the education of the future mini

[1] The following entries in the *Journal*, recorded in Dillingham's handwriting, between the years 1655 and 1660, may serve as examples: 'Richards (Edm.) and Paulet (Ri.), for frequenting the bird-bolt (the ancient Inn, opposite the College) and there drinking and singing, and 'affronting the authority of the College by blotting out their punishment sett on by the Head Lecturer'; 'Green and Fitch, for sitting up drinking till three in the morning'; 'for robbing the Fellowes orchard'; 'Baskerfield, [probably Jo. Baskerville] neglecting of chappell ... 'stealing of a Bible.'

[2] *Transcript of Adm*

[3] The son of the e
and the father of
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inadequate and capable of improvement, and who also perceived that, amid the multiplication of books, the growth of new sects, and the advance in theological learning, it was especially desirable that the course of study should be both lengthened and widened, and the student himself be enabled to prolong his term of residence. As it was, the majority, after admission to the degree of B.A., quitted the university altogether. It became necessary, accordingly, to devise some scheme for their support if they were to remain. The university, however, was too poor to provide the funds, while the government was little likely to grant them: and it was left to the efforts of a single individual to find a way out of the difficulty.

Among Worthington's pupils when he was tutor at Emmanuel, had been Matthew Poole, afterwards the well-known compiler of the *Synopsis Criticorum*. There too, the latter had become known to Tuckney, and, in this manner, probably, it came about, that when, in the year 1649, Tuckney resigned his London rectory[1], Poole was elected to succeed him. The new incumbent, accordingly, entered upon his work under favourable auspices; his attainments and judgement were alike excellent; and he was also of a social, genial disposition which won him favour even among opponents. He was thus encouraged, eventually, himself to essay the task of bringing the needs of the universities before some of the wealthier citizens of London with whom, in the discharge of his rectorial duties, he frequently came in contact, and among whom were to be found fit representatives of those merchant princes, who, in the preceding century, had been the virtual founders of the chief schools of the capital. A letter from the pen of Richard Baxter gave him valuable support, as, in his usual admirable English and with less than his usual hesitancy, that eminent divine set forth the urgency of the case, and the dishonour it would be to the Protestant cause if the proposed scheme were permitted to become a failure[2].

[1] See *supra*, p. 529, n. 2.

[2] '*To the rich that love Christ, the Church, the Gospel, and themselves*': Feb. 26, 165¾. 'The necessities of the Church have of late called students so young into the ministry, that eminent proficients in languages, sciences, antiquities, &c. grow thin,

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Eventually, accordingly, and mainly through Poole's efforts, a fund sufficient to produce an income of £900 per annum was raised, and a detailed scheme, bearing the signatures (on behalf of Cambridge) of Tuckney, Worthington, Arrowsmith, Whichcote, Cudworth, and Dillingham, as sanctioning and recommending the same, was printed and published[1]. It is reasonable to suppose that those wealthy Presbyterians who responded thus liberally to Poole's appeal, did not fail to take account of the probability that the new project, if carried into effect, would serve greatly to aid their party in the retention of that ascendency which they had recently succeeded in regaining in both universities. But their liberality serves, none the less, to prove, as Mr Andrew Clark has pointed out[2], that their sentiments in relation to those bodies, at this time, differed widely from those entertained by Milton or by the fanatics of the Fifth Monarchy. It could, indeed, hardly admit of reasonable doubt, that, at a period when the annual matriculations at Oxford were generally under 400 and those at Cambridge some thirty to fifty less, the introduction into each university of a select body of forty students, chosen, in the first instance, as being 'of godly life, eminent parts, and ingenuous disposition,' sufficiently subsidized, during their undergraduate career, to enable them to take their first degree, and then, if still approved, to reside for four years longer[3],—their prescribed studies, as undergraduates, being Latin, Greek, Hebrew, 'and other oriental languages[4],' while 'their three last years' were to be 'prin-

and are in danger of being worn out, if there be not some extraordinary helps for chosen wits addicted to these studies. And what a dishonour, what a loss that would be to us, the Papists would quickly understand.' Mayor (Rev. J. E. B.), *Matthew Robinson* (1856), *Append.* p. 166.

[1] *A Model for the maintaining of Students of choice abilities in the University, and principally in order to the Ministry: with* EPISTLES *and Recommendations, and an Account of the Settlement and Practise of it in the Universities there*, etc. London, 1658. [In the revised edition, John Worthington and John Arrowsmith are omitted, while Horton, Seaman, Woodcock, Hill and Stillingfleet are added. In this edition, the date '1648,' is an error of the press.] See Mayor, *Ibid.* p. 158.

[2] Wood (Ant.), *Life and Times*, I 301, n. 2.

[3] Mayor, *Matthew Robinson*, pp. 173–5. The guaranteed annual stipends were: for undergraduates, £10; bachelors of arts, £20; masters of arts, £30.

[4] 'and in the several arts and sciences, so far forth as their geniuses will permit.' *Ibid.* p. 175.

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AP. IV. cipally employed in the study of divinity,'—might serve materially to raise the tone of thought and the standard of discipline throughout the university. In short, as Poole himself urged, in reply to possible objectors, the design of the authors of the scheme was, 'first, to select choice wits,' and next, 'to oblige them to a sufficient continuance,' as also 'to extraordinary diligence,'—in other words, not only to remedy an existing defect, but also to guard against an abuse which, in later times, has too frequently discredited the system of school exhibitions. Rarely, indeed, in the history of the university, do we find equal evidence of a desire, on the part of those who supervised its studies, to mould the character, as well as to inform the mind, of the student. It was not sufficient that he should passively accept and formally subscribe the doctrines sanctioned by the Assembly it was deemed essential that he should also lay them to heart as energizing and disciplinary truths, to become interwoven with his habits of thought and spiritual aspirations throughout his after life. And hence the importance attached to extempore prayer. What the disputation was, in relation to philosophy, that was the extempore prayer in relation to theology; it quickened the apprehension of accepted doctrine, as did the former that of scientific fact. As each student, in turn, in his tutor's chamber[1], and surrounded by his fellows, came forward to encounter what can rarely have failed to be a somewhat trying ordeal, he grew more and more conscious, with each successive effort, that his own conceptions of the truth were defective and vague to an extent of which he had himself before been unaware. Like efforts, on the part of others, abler than himself, would confirm him in his conclusion, while the suggestions and comments of a judicious tutor would often prove invaluable. And thus, eventually, with each renewed endeavour to express

[1] 'Prayers, in most tutors' chambers every night,' is one of the features noted by Anthony Wood as characteristic of this period. *Life and Times* (ed. A. Clark), I 300. At Emmanuel, non-attendance was considered a breach of discipline, and 'negligence at chappell and his Tutor's prayers' is a not infrequent entry in the list of offences marked for censure or more severe punishment.

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more adequately the needs of a common humanity as interpreted by the aspirations of the Christian's hope, the student would have received a special discipline, which, by virtue of the greater clearness of perception and strength of conviction it developed, would better enable him in after life to become the spiritual guide and helper of others. Such exercises, however, when suffered to degenerate into a matter of routine, were liable to assume a perfunctory character which divested them of all their value; and we find Richard Samways[1], in his treatise entitled *England's faithful Reprover*[2], inveighing strongly against the practice of, what he terms, 'unpremeditated praying.' Here the adjective almost begs the question; but it is probable enough that, what he describes as 'the mistakes, impertinencies, tautologies, inconsequencies' observable on such occasions, often repelled or discouraged those for whose edification these exercises were especially designed; so that, as the writer himself goes on to say, 'the better advised and wiser sort among you, to avoid such inconveniences as these, are thought to present us with composed formes of prayer many times, yet so as they would have them taken of their auditors for the issues of sudden meditation[3].'

To the genius of Puritanism, however, the formal Oath was no less obnoxious than the formal prayer. We have already seen that, within a few months of the appointment by Parliament of the Committee instructed to consider the whole question of Oaths, both academic and civic[4], a grace had passed the senate of the university[5] empowering a thoroughly representative syndicate to examine and revise the Proctors' Books.

At the same congregation, and evidently in direct con-

[1] To be distinguished from Peter Samways, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was deprived of his fellowship. See *D. N. B.* L 242.

[2] *England's faithfull Reprover and Monitour*. London, 1653. Halkett and Lang (I 751) and Wood, *Athenae* (II 430), agree in assigning this to Richard Samways, although no name appears on the title page. A manuscript note on the title of the copy in the library of St John's College, Cambridge (I'. 12. 9), says 'By John Almyton: a sequestred divine.'

[3] *Ibid.* p. 153. The whole chapter (pp. 148–162), entitled 'To the new Academick's,' is an excellent illustration of the subject.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 330–4.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 336.

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nexion with the action of Parliament, a second grace, immediately succeeding the above[1], gave directions that the same Syndics should proceed to examine 'all the oaths of the University,' and, after arranging them in due order, expunge those which they found to be clearly antiquated and obsolete[2]; while instructions were at the same time given that the oaths required at the various stages of the academic career should be printed, and the vice-chancellor was directed to see that on each occasion, whether at matriculation or on proceeding to a degree, the student should receive a copy of the oath to which he had sworn,—a small payment being exacted for the same[3]. In the next place, with a view to divesting the former oath (as already taken by many who were still living) of that peculiar sanctity imparted by solemn attestation, a grace, passed in the following July, declared that, in future, whoever might have disregarded or violated any statute or ordinance of the university, but had subsequently duly submitted to the correction, fine, or penalty prescribed for such default or offence, should be held, *ipso facto*, acquitted of all imputation of perjury together with all the consequences which might be thereby involved[4].

[1] Dyer, I 246; Cooper, *Annals*, III 406.

[2] 'Experientia tamen nos docet, tam in baccalaureorum atque Magistrorum quam in aliis fere omnibus Academiae nostrae juramentis, partim ex immutatione statutorum, partim ex longa nonnullorum rituum desuetudine factum esse, ut non solum rebus non necessariis sed non intellectis etiam planeque abolitis jurantium conscientiae onerentur. Pro cujus scandali amotione: Placeat vobis statuere, ut gravissimi idem viri, quibus non ita pridem commisistis negotium de libris procuratorum conferendis, digerendis, exscribendisque, eadem vestra authoritate et juramenta omnia Academiae examinent, et eorundem particulas illas segregent, expungantque quas antiquatas et abolitas esse certo reperient.' *Gratia* 22 Feb. 1647. Dyer, *Privileges of the University*, I 246. The 'viri gravissimi' are those named *supra*, p. 338, who had been appointed, by a preceding grace, to subject the Proctors' Books to a general revision.

[3] 'Procancellarius unicuique tradi curet typis Academiae expressam juramenti sui materiem, ea lege ut quilibet solvat ei in Matriculatione unum denarium tantum'; etc. Dyer, *Ibid.* I 247.

[4] 'Placeat vobis ut in majorem in posterum cautelam jurantium et *levamen* haec verba sint annexa juramentis Academiae matriculationis admissionis creationis:

Senatus Cantabrigiensis decrevit et declaravit eos omnes qui monitionibus correctionibus muletis et poenis statutorum legum decretorum ordinationum injunctionum et laudabilium consuetudinum hujus Academiae transgressoribus quovis modo incumbentibus humiliter se submiserint NEC ESSE NEC HABENDOS ESSE PERJURII REOS.' *Ibid.* I 250.

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In this manner, accordingly, it came to pass, that the ancient form of attestation, wherewith the student had hitherto been wont to ratify his oath of allegiance to the university, in days long anterior to the renunciation of the papal supremacy,—the same, indeed, that Luther had employed at the Diet of Worms, to emphasize his repudiation of the authority of General Councils[1],—now temporarily disappeared from our academic usage. And here Richard Samways appears as approving the innovation. 'For it was very frequent,' he says, 'with them [*i.e.* 'the Academicalls'] to attest upon oath the sufficiency or ability of any person to receive a graduall promotion in the University, how illiterate and otherwise unworthy soever he was of that favour. A *scio* was tendred and accepted in his behalf where a *credo* had been too much,—a *nescio* was due, or in truth a *nego* rather. And what a congregation-vote for the same purpose was, I need not to explain. Surely, such men had either a very low esteem of the religious tye of any oath, or scarce thought these of their corporation obligatory in point of conscience, but rather ceremonies of meer formality or custome. Although I have often heard it reported of a very learned and pious Bishop, now with the Lord, that in his confessions to God he usually craved pardon of Him *for his University oathes*, the which probably he had readily taken, but slackly performed, as well as the rest of his brethren[2].'

In the Church, however, although at the time when the

[1] '...leges, statuta, mores approbatos et privilegia Cantabrigiensis Academiae, quantum in me est observabo, pietatis et bonarum litterarum progressum et hujus academiae statum, honorem, et dignitatem tuebor quoad vivam, meoque suffragio atque consilio rogatus et non rogatus defendam. *Ita me Deus adjuvet et sancta Dei Evangelia.*' *Statuta Ant.* 50. *Documents*, I 336 and 444-5. The words in italics, it is hardly necessary to say, were the additional asseveration which, in mediaeval times, was supposed to impart special solemnity to any oath, as taken over the Gospels. It was not until the nineteenth century that it was superseded in the university by the formula *Ita affirmo et do fidem.* Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 78; Ainslie, *Historical Account*, etc. p. 5. No reference, it is to be noted, to this oath occurs in the Statutes of Elizabeth; for by the 5th of Elizabeth (c. i, sec. 14) the oath of Supremacy had already been drawn up in terms whereby, to quote the language of Thorndike, 'not only the unlimited power of the Pope, but all authority of a General Council might justly seem to be disclaimed.' Thorndike-Haddan, v 216.

[2] *England's faithfull Reprover*, pp. 137-8.

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above words were written, the authority of the bishop was no longer recognized, we have ample evidence that the oath itself was not altogether discontinued, while its validity was still admitted; and the candidate for holy orders,—pledged as he felt himself to be by an obligation which he refused to ignore at the mandate of either Covenanter or Independent,—continued, at least in certain dioceses, to record in the episcopal registry his loyalty to Church and King as inseparable from his conception of his future duties. And thus,—to quote the observation of Ranke, whose attention was arrested by this anomaly in the main features of the crisis,—'amid the storms which overthrew bishops and chapters, the lower ranks of the Church establishment succeeded in holding their ground[1].' At this juncture, indeed, the curate and the vicar would appear alike to have been indirectly protected by the diversion in their favour which necessarily resulted from the conflict which was being waged, more especially by Fairfax and the Council of Officers, in behalf of that more general liberty of conscience which Cromwell ultimately proclaimed[2]. Among other evidence of this unshaken spirit of loyalty in the Church, Dr Venn adduces[3], as especially noteworthy, the 'Subscription Book of the bishop of London, commencing August 9, 1631.' 'Here,' he observes, 'the threefold subscriptions required by the 36th canon—to the oath of the King's supremacy[4], the oath of Allegiance, and the Declaration of conformity to the Liturgy,—held their ground for the ensuing ten years; after that time they undergo more than one modification; but the following subscription, dated a week after the execution of the King, affords undeniable proof of the resolute loyalty of a certain section of inducted clergy to the service of their Church':

'Feb. 6, 1648-9. *Ego Gualterus Jones, Sacræ Theologiæ Bac., jam*

[1] *Hist. of England* (Engl. transl.), III 90.

[2] Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, I 192.

[3] See Appendix (F).

[4] It is to be noted that in the *Boke of Common Prayer imprinted at London by Robert Barker*, etc. (fol. 1634), in the 'Ordering of Deacons' the Oath of Supremacy and that of Allegiance are included in the *same formula*, while no declaration of conformity to the Liturgy is required.

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admittendus et institutus ad et in rectoriam de Sunninguell in Com. Berks, articulis religionis Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ juxta formam statuti libenter subscribo.'

While, however, the admitted candidate satisfied his own conscience, and possibly the requirements of his bishop, by such a declaration, it can hardly have been without a certain risk to both; and, again to quote Dr Venn, 'the fact remains, that a considerable number of the clergy, though complying with the new *régime*, must have been aware of the existence of such a subscription book, and must have satisfied their consciences by signing it before being instituted to a living by the Parliamentary Committee. As William Juxon succeeded Laud, in 1633, we may presume that this subscription book remained in his hands all the period in question, until his deprivation of his see in 1649.'

Among those members of Caius College whose names occur in the Norwich Registers as thus attesting the sincerity of their principles, and who survived the troublous times of the Commonwealth, not only to regain their liberties, but also to receive recognition of their loyalty and subsequently to discharge the duties attaching to posts of credit and preferment, were Edmund Mapletoft[1] and John Browne[2], the former, chaplain to lady Lovelace, the latter, to the earl of Derby,—Henry Peirson[3], afterwards a distinguished benefactor to the parishes of Witton and Plumstead, of which he was the incumbent,—Thomas Bradford[4], afterwards master of Yarmouth Grammar School,—and Edward Wharton[5] (the father of the distinguished antiquary), who in 1656 was elected to a fellowship. In the registers of the diocese of London, again, out of a list of twenty members of Christ's

[1] B.A. 165$\frac{7}{8}$; M.A. 1654. Ordained priest by bp. Joseph Hall, 30 June 1655. Venn, 1 366.

[2] B.A. 165$\frac{7}{8}$; M.A. 1655. Ordained priest by bp. Joseph Hall, 3 July 1654. *Ibid.* 1 361.

[3] Peirson (or Person), B.A. 165$\frac{3}{4}$; M.A. 1657. Not ordained till after the Restoration. '...faithfully laboured in the ministry for three and forty years in this and Witton parish, and new built the greatest part of the rectory houses, and done much good in his generation.' *Plumstead Parish Reg. Ibid.* 1 377.

[4] B.A. 164$\frac{7}{8}$; M.A. 1651. Rector of Winterton and Somerton 1656–62, by appointment of the Parliamentary Committee. Ordained priest by bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe, 11 Feb. 164$\frac{7}{8}$. *Ibid.* 1 348.

[5] B.A. 165$\frac{4}{5}$; M.A. 1659. Ordained priest by bishop Brownrig of Exeter in 1659. *Ibid.* 1 385.

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How far the Subscription and Ordination Books of the diocese of Ely might have served to confirm the foregoing evidence is unfortunately a matter for conjecture only, inasmuch as, from 1580 to 1662, they are almost entirely wanting[7]. It is certain, however, that the London Registers contain not a few names, both of deacons and priests, who belonged properly to other dioceses, and it is easy to understand that the metropolis would, by that time, have become a common centre to which refugees from such dioceses, and especially those in the northern province, would naturally betake themselves, whether to take counsel with respect to their future action or simply to evade persecution as denounced

[1] 'created M.A. 15 July 1653 as of All Souls, Oxford' (Foster, *Athenae Oxon.*). This was towards the conclusion of the period (somewhat less than five years) when no less than 43 fellows were intruded at this college. See Mr C. Grant Robertson's *All Souls College*, p. 125.

[2] Eaton was ejected from his living of Walton in Lancashire to make room for a returning ejected minister (Halley, *Nonconformity in Lancashire*, II 135). Dr Peile inclines to the conclusion that it was at Eaton's house in Deansgate, Manchester, that an ordination by ejected Nonconformist divines was first held, in 1667 (*Ibid.* II 249).

[3] Probably B.A. King's 163½; M.A. 1639. Intruded fellow of Christ's 1644. Disappears from the College Register in 1651, perhaps as a refuser of the Engagement.

[4] B.A. 1648; M.A. 1651. D.D. Oxford 1663.

[5] B.A. 164½.

[6] *The Diary of Henry Teonge.* London, 1825. 8vo. Teonge appears to have been the incumbent of Spernall in Warwickshire from 1670 to 1690. His chaplaincy on board the *Assistance*, which lasted from May 1675 to June 1679, was held consequently during that period. See *D. N. B.* LVI 76.

[7] See Gibbons (A.) *Ely Episcopal Records*, pp. 3-4. During the vacancy of the see from 1581 to 1600 the records are supplemented by those at Lambeth (*Ibid.* p. 434). I am indebted to his Lordship, Dr Chase, for the information that further research since the publication of the preceding volume, in 1891, has still failed to bring to light any portion of the missing documents.

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'malignants.' The foregoing evidence would seem, however, sufficient to justify the inference that, when we find two societies, differing materially (as did Caius College and Christ's College in those days), both in the scope of their respective codes and predominant studies, alike affording such unquestionable proof of staunch adherence to the principles of the loyalist party, there must have existed, throughout the university at large, a considerable minority which discerned in the policy of Presbyterian and of Independent almost equally, that which foreboded, to quote the language of Herbert Thorndike, 'the destruction of the ground of all trust which the Church might have had in them for conduct in Christianity[1].'

Until March 1654, however, the State had continued to ignore the whole ceremony of ordination. To quote the language of Gardiner, 'the State had nothing to do with the forms by which a man was set apart for the ministry, or whether he had submitted himself to any forms at all. All that it was concerned with was his right to the payment of a settled maintenance if he desired to place himself in a position in which such maintenance was secured to him, under certain conditions, by the law[2].' The institution of Triers, however, materially changed the conditions as regarded patronage. The right of the patron of a living to institute remained where it was; but a considerable check upon that right was introduced by the obligation imposed upon the minister presented to a benefice to appear before a special Commission and submit himself to enquiry respecting his 'holy and unblamable conversation' as well as his capacity. The Commission of Ejectors, appointed five months later, was invested with power to *eject*, not only those 'ministers and schoolmasters who should be proved "scandalous in their lives and conversation," but also those who should "be proved guilty of holding or maintaining such blasphemous and atheistical opinions as were punishable by" the Blasphemy

[1] *Letter concerning the present State of Religion* (first published towards the end of 1656), p. 11. See *Works*, v 5, 11.

[2] *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, II 320.

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teachers of Popish doctrines, or users of the Common Prayer Book, declared to be liable to ejection.

Act of 1650; while an ordinance of Parliament, passed in 1643, was re-enacted, whereby liability to ejection was to extend to such as should "hold, teach or maintain certain specified Popish opinions," namely "acceptance of the Pope's authority, of the doctrine of transubstantiation and that of purgatory, and of worship as due to the consecrated host or to crucifixes and images," and of "salvation merited by works[1]." And, finally, all those who should "have publicly and frequently read or used the Common Prayer Book since the first of January" [1654] were to be similarly dealt with. In the case of an ejected minister leaving his benefice without resistance, the commissioners were empowered to set aside for the benefit of his wife and children a fifth of his successor's income from the benefice vacated[2].'

Renewal in 1659 of the attack upon the Universities.

The time, however, was now at hand when the expulsions, privations, and long periods of exile which had been the lot of not a few of the most devoted adherents of the Church were to reach their termination. As the year 1659 advanced the troublous condition of the atmosphere, both religious and political, was indicated by a renewed attack upon the universities, and, according to Anthony Wood, 'continuous clamours were still heard against them' and 'the learning profest in them,' as 'the nurseries of wickedness, the nests of mutton tuggers, the dens of formal droanes[3].' Taught by experience, Oxford and Cambridge now drew closer together, and it was a happy omen for science and learning, when, in the month of August, in response to the petition of the fellows of Trinity, and by the appointment of Parliament, Dr Wilkins, the warden of Wadham, succeeded to the mastership[4]; while, in the following September, Seth Ward, perhaps the ablest scholar that Oxford ever adopted from the sister university, was elected President of the Trinity which

Dr Wilkins appointed to the Mastership of Trinity, 17 Aug. 1659.

Election of Seth Ward to the Presidency of Trinity [illegible] Sept. 1659.

[1] Gardiner, *Commonwealth*, etc. II 322.

[2] *Ibid.* II 323.

[3] *Life and Times* (ed. Clark), I 293; Wood-Gutch, II 680–1.

[4] His appointment was, however, contingent upon his taking the Engagement. See *Commons' Journals*, VII 761; Cooper, *Annals*, III 474, where the response of the House to the petition is printed.

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owed its foundation to Sir Thomas Pope. Here, according to his biographer, 'he used great diligence and care to put all things in order, and settle the troubled affairs of it, governing with great prudence and reputation[1].' At Cambridge Trinity, Dr Wilkins proved a not less able administrator; and when we recall that Wadham, where he had ruled for eleven years with the happiest results, had, from its foundation, been distinguished by the stringency with which it enforced attendance at lectures, and also by its weekly examinations[2], it is reasonable to suppose that the discipline of the society which he had quitted was not altogether dissociated from a new regulation drawn up at Trinity within four months after his installation, whereby a manifest laxity that prevailed in connexion with the B.A. examination was dealt with,—the Seniors enacting that any future attempt at evading the statutable requirements for that degree should subject the offender to a penalty involving the passing of a much more formidable ordeal[3].

Within less than a twelvemonth, however, both these eminent men, sharing the fate of their party, were displaced from office. They were, indeed, soon restored to favour, and rose subsequently to eminence, but their universities knew them no more, while Presbyterian and Independent, alike, were fain to retire into comparative obscurity before the representatives of a National Church. The distinctive characteristics of those great religious parties have been drawn for posterity by two contemporary writers, each well qualified for such a task by his wide knowledge of the facts and personal experience,—by Anthony Wood[4], in terms of supercilious contempt and sarcasm, and with an eye, mainly,

[1] Pope (Walter), *Life of Seth Ward* (1697), p. 48. We have to remember that Ward's biographer was half-brother to Dr Wilkins.

[2] Wells (J.), *Wadham College*, p. 25.

[3] On Jan. 13th 164⅞, it was decided by the Seniority 'that whoever sits not in the Chapel at the usual time to be examined for the bachelor's degree, shall before it is conferred repair to each of the Seniors to be examined by them in their chambers and to get a note under their hands that they have been so examined. Concluded likewise that no Bachelor's degree shall be conferred by any meeting in the Hall window.' I am indebted to Mr W. W. Rouse Ball for this extract.

[4] *Life and Times* (u. s.), i 296–301.

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to the more superficial features,—by Richard Baxter[1], with admirable good sense and discernment, combined with no little real Christian charity, but with an almost morbid faculty for discovering defects and raising difficulties, which seemed, to not a few, to render his own ideal Church more difficult of realization than before. Happily, at the two universities, there were other influences, destined soon to come into operation, of which, as yet, the sectaries took little account,—when deep thinkers enunciated laws and proclaimed truths before which the objector learned to be silent and fanaticism faltered. And from that clamour of the creeds and those visions of anarchy which have so long occupied our attention, it will be a relief to turn to mark the progress of a more benign philosophy and of a more philosophic faith.

The new movements in philosophy.

[1] '*Reliquiae Baxterianae: or Mr Richard Baxter's Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times.*' Ed. Sylvester. London, 1696. Fol., pp. 296–301. Baker, in his copy, now in St John's College Library (H . 3 . 21), referring to Calamy's *Abridgement* of the work, says: 'this Book was answered by Mr Benjn. Hoadly, a learned young Divine, [who] grounding his Arguments upon Concessions, drawn from Mr Calamy's book, gains a complete conquest over his Adversary. See, Dr Nichol's Defence &c. Introduction Pag: 128, 129.' [note on fly-leaf]. His reference is to *Translation* of William Nicholl's *Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, published in 1715. 8vo.

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CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION.

On the second of January 1660, Monck crossed the Tweed on his march for England. Resolute in his designs and inscrutable of purpose as Cromwell himself, men could only speculate whether he came to espouse the royal cause or to maintain the Rump in power; but the universities were reassured when, three weeks later, Parliament published a Declaration which presented, in one respect, a noteworthy point of contrast when compared with that of the preceding May. The word 'reform' had disappeared; and throughout the land it was made known that Oxford and Cambridge, together with the public schools, were not only to be confirmed in possession of their actual 'privileges and advantages,' but that it was designed to extend to them 'such further countenance as might encourage them in their studies and promote godliness, learning and good manners among them[1].'

On the 24th of February, Samuel Pepys, now twenty-seven years of age, accompanied by his friend Mr Pierce, set out from London on a visit to Cambridge. 'The day and the way,' he tells us, were alike 'very foul,' and they slept at Foulmire, not arriving at the 'Falcon' in Petty Cury (where his father and brother were awaiting them) until eight o'clock the next morning. His doings, from this point, will be best told in his own words:—

'After dressing myself, about ten o'clock, my father, brother, and I to Mr Widdrington, at Christ's College, who received us very civilly,

[1] Kennet, *Chronicle*, p. 32.

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AP. V. and caused my brother to be admitted[1], while my father, he, and I sat talking. After that done, we take leave. My father and brother went to visit some friends, Pepys's, scholars in Cambridge, while I went to Magdalen College, to Mr Hill[2], with whom I found Mr Zanchy, Burton[3], and Hollins, and was exceeding civilly received by them. I took leave on promise to sup with them, and to my Inn again, where I dined with some others that were there at an ordinary.' 'During the interval,' he goes on to say, 'my father went to look after his things at the carrier's and my brother's chamber: I and Mr Fairbrother[4], my cozen Angier, and Mr Zanchy[5],...to the Three Tuns[6], where we drank pretty hard and many healths to the King, &c. till it begun to be darkish. Then we broke up, and I and Mr Zanchy went to Magdalen College, where a very handsome supper at Mr Hill's chambers, I suppose upon a club among them, where I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr Zanchy told me that there was no such thing now-a-days among them at any time.' On the following day (a Sunday), the narrator goes on to say, 'my brother went to the College to Chapel.

[1] 'Iohannes a Iohanne Pepys Londini natus literas edoctus a D^no^ Crumbleholm Scholae Paulinae Moderatore annos natus 18 admissus est Sizator sub M^ro^ Widdrington.' 'Hic cum prius admissus est in Collegium Magalense Maii 26to ut ex literis testimonialibus constat ejusdem etiam anni apud nos habendus est.' *Christ's College Admissions*, Febr. 25to 1660. Of Widdrington himself, Pepys tells us, Mr Fuller, a fellow of Christ's, told him, that 'he did oppose all the fellows in the College, and that there was a great distance between him and the rest, *at which I was very sorry*, for that he told me he feared it would be little to my brother's advantage to be his pupil.' See Pepys-Bright, 1 51, 55. Widdrington was peculiarly obnoxious to Cudworth. See Peile, *Christ's College*, pp. 176–180.

[2] Joseph Hill had been tutor in Pepys' undergraduate time, and although he probably sympathized with the 'roundhead' principles which the latter, when a scholar, had professed (see *supra*, p. 377), he could hardly have forgotten an occasion on which the other had been 'solemnly admonished' by himself and Morland (Pepys' tutor) for being out at night, along with a companion, and 'getting scandalously overserved with drink.' But Pepys, at this time, had good news to tell, having already been encouraged to hope that he should be made secretary (as was eventually the case) to Edward Montagu, his own and Manchester's cousin, who, only two days before, had been reappointed General of the Fleet. See *D. N. B.* xxvi 402; Purnell, *Magdalene College*, pp. 121–6; Pepys-Bright, 1 50, 62, 64.

[3] Hezekiah Burton, fellow of Magdalene, where he was distinguished as a tutor. Mr Purnell says that Pepys enquired about him on behalf of Sir William Penn, the admiral, who wished to remove his son from Christ Church, Oxford, where the future founder of Pennsylvania was already falling under the influence of Dr John Owen. *Magdalene College*, pp. 23, 126; Pepys-Bright, 1 406.

[4] Afterwards Dr Fairbrother, fellow of King's College; one of those taken prisoners at the battle of Naseby. Pepys-Bright, 1 55.

[5] Clement Zanchy, fellow of Magdalene, 1654. 'At the college meetings he spelt his name "Zanchy" at first, but in 1656 changed it to "Sankey."' *Ibid.* 1 55, n. 5.

[6] On Peas Hill, near St Edward's Church. Part of it is still an eating-house with the same sign.

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My father and I went out in the morning and walked out in the fields behind King's College, and in King's College Chapel yard, where we met with Mr Fairbrother, who took us to St Botolph's Church, where we heard Mr Nicholas, of Queen's College, who I knew in my time to be Tripos with great applause, upon this text, "For thy commandments are broad." Thence my father and I to Mr Widdrington's chamber to dinner, where he used us very courteously again, and had two Fellow Commoners with him at table, and Mr Pepper, a Fellow of the College.' 'After taking leave,' he continues, 'I went to Magdalen College to get the certificate of the College for my brother's entry there, that he might save his year[1]. I met with Mr Burton in the court, who took me to Mr Pechell's chamber, where he was and Mr Zanchy. By and by, Mr Pechell and Sanchey and I went out, Pechell to church, Sanchey and I to the Rose Taverne[2], where we sat and drank till sermon done, and then Mr Pechell came to us, and we three sat drinking the King's and his whole family's health till it began to be dark[3].'

When Pepys returned to London, Monck had already been appointed head of the new Council and commander-in-chief of the land-forces throughout the three kingdoms; and on the 16th of March, Parliament was dissolved, but not before it had finally annulled the Engagement[4], which had continued still to be required from all who held office. The Declaration of Breda and the elections for a new Parliament soon followed. The university was fully on the alert, and not a little encouraged by the victory of the royalist candidates for the county,—Thomas Wendy and Isaac Thornton, who, according to Pepys, 'by declaring to stand for the Parliament and a King and the settlement of the Church, did carry it against all expectation against Sir Dudley North and Sir Thomas Willis,'—the latter having been one of the sitting members prior to the dissolution. Both North and Willis, however, succeeded in getting returned for the Town on the same day that the election for the University took

[1] See *supra*, p. 550, note 1. *Why* Pepys' brother migrated from Magdalene to Christ's is not clear. The elder brother perhaps thought that Widdrington was both more able and more likely to help a pupil on in the world, however unpopular he might be in the College where he succeeded in getting the majority of the pupils.

[2] This inn stood at the end of Rose Crescent facing Market Hill.

[3] Pepys-Bright, I 53–56.

[4] 'That the Engagement appointed to be taken by Members of Parliament and others...be discharged and taken off the file.' Mar. 13, 16$\frac{5}{6}$. Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* III 1583.

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place, which was on the third of April. Almost everywhere, however, to quote the language of Cobbett, 'the elections went in favour of the King's party...and the Presbyterians and the Royalists being united formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardour, called for the King's restoration[1].' The candidates for the university were the Lord General Monck, Thomas Crouch, M.A., a fellow of Trinity College, and Oliver St John,—formerly chancellor of the academic body; and at the close of the poll the numbers were, 341 for Monck, 211 Crouch, and 157 St John. On William Dillingham, as vice-chancellor, it devolved to communicate the result to 'The Lord General,' which he did in an undated letter, in the following terms: 'As it hath pleased God to make your Excellencie eminently instrumental for the raising up of three gasping and dying nations, into the faire hopes and prospect of peace and settlement, so hath He engraven your name in characters of gratitude upon the hearts of all to whom the welfare of this Church and State is deare and pretious. From this principle it is that our University of Cambridge hath, with great alacrity and unanimity, made choyse of your Excellency with whom to deposite the managing of their concernments in the succeeding Parliament, which if your Excellency shall please to admitt into a favourable acceptance, you will thereby put a further obligation of gratitude upon us all[2].' In his reply, Monck declared that 'noething could bee more wellcome' to him than such 'an ample testimony of the good affections of your famous University.' It had always, he avowed, 'been a great part of my desire and ambition to bee serviceable to those eminent foundations which are the glory of our Nation.' But, he went on to say, 'if my owne County should challenge my service, I am engaged, by a double obligation both of nature and promise not to refuse them[3].' As it proved, how-

[1] Cobbett, *Parliamentary Hist.* III 1586.

[2] This letter, of which the corrected draft was first printed in *Notes and Queries* (1st series), VII 427, bears no date, but may be assigned to about the 8th August, Monck's reply being dated the tenth of the same month.

[3] Printed by Mr Wardale in his *Clare College: Letters and Documents*, pp. 50–1. The letter is dated 'S. James's 10 April 1660.'

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ever, Devonshire *did* claim her loyal son's 'service'; and when, accordingly, on the 25th of April, the members of the Convention Parliament took their seats at Westminster, the university was represented by Thomas Crouch and William Montagu[1], while the Lord General sat for Devon.

The earliest indication of a consciousness on the part of the expelled Anglican party that the restoration of the Stuart monarchy would bring with it their own reinstatement in the university, is perhaps that contained in a letter, dated 'Ascension Eve,' written by Dr Edward Martin, the former president of Queens' College, from Paris. He was now in his eightieth year, and his life, since his incarceration in the Tower in 1642[2], had been divided between periods of imprisonment in England and residence in exile abroad[3]. On learning, from a correspondent, how the aspect of affairs had changed, he penned an exultant reply and at once set out on his return. 'I am heartily glad,' he wrote, 'to read all that you write of that Right Honourable and Noble Peere[4],...and that hee is in that capacity and disposition to be a serviceable instrument in the advancement of God's glory, his Prince's sceptre, his Countrie's liberty and freedome from the basest slavery, and to give the world a conspicuous argument and proof of his extraordinary and heroïque generosity.' Then,—with reference to the doubts raised with regard to the lawful authority of the Convention Parliament,—he goes on to say, 'What though they be no *Parliamentum natum*? when as if they were never so legitimate a Parliament in the shell, yet no Parliament can make a *King*: but a King (as you say) can make a Parliament. And a Parliament too (as other men) though they can be no sufficient

[1] Second son of Edward, first baron Montagu of Boughton, of Sidney College, and afterwards lord chief baron of the exchequer. For the numerous descendants of bishop Montagu who entered at Sidney, see Edwards (G. M.), *Sidney Sussex College*, pp. 57–60. According to Pepys, lord Sandwich (see *supra*, p. 550, n. 2) had heard 'that the University of Cambridge had a mind to choose *him* for their burgess, which he pleased himself with, to think that they do look upon him as a thriving man, and said so openly at table.' Pepys-Bright, I 89.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 288–9.

[3] To quote his own expression, 'nothing but prisons, ships, wanderings and solitude.' Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 507.

[4] Lord General Monck.

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cause of Soveraignty, yet they may be, as wee use to say (if I have not forgot) at Cambridge, *causa removens prohibens* of God's Anointed, and designed, by primogeniture, to take possession of his Throne and Chair of State[1].'

In the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* of the 21st of May, the celebrations which attended the proclamation of Charles II as King, throughout the realm, were more or less briefly described, but that at Cambridge was singled out for special notice as 'very remarkable both for the manner and continuance[2].' It lasted, that is to say, for two days; the proceedings that took place on the part of the university, which were on the first day, being as follows:

On Thursday the 10th of May, the Heads were all summoned to attend at the Schools at 1 o'clock, and came bringing with them 'their fellows and scholars in their formalities,' and next proceeded from thence, 'with loud music before them,' to the Cross on Market Hill[3]. The vice-chancellor and the doctors were in scarlet gowns; the regents, non-regents and bachelors, came with 'their hoods turned,' 'the scholars in capps.' Then the vice-chancellor and 'beadles' and 'as many doctors as could,' 'stood upon the severall seats of the Crosse, and the School Keeper standing near them made three O yeis. The vice-chancellor dictated to the beadle, who proclaimed the same with an audible voice. From the Crosse they went to the midst of the Market Hill, where they did the like, then the Musick brought them back to the Schooles again and there left them, and went up to the top of King's College Chapell where they played a great while. After the musick had done, King's bells and all the bells in Towne rang till 'twas

[1] *The false Brotherhood of the French and English Presbyterians. Together with his character of divers English travelers in the time of our late troubles.* Communicated by five pious and learned Letters in the time of his Exile. London, 1662, pp. 273-4.

[2] *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 21; Cooper, *Annals*, i 479, n. 1.

[3] 'This stood on a site nearly opposite to the present door of the Guildhall. It is believed to have been destroyed in the year 1764, when its place was taken by the Conduit supplied by water from Hobson's stream.' *Diary of Samuel Newton, Alderman of Cambridge* (1662-1717), ed. J. E. Foster, *Introd.* p. vi, *Cam. Ant. Soc. Publ.*, 8vo. series, vol. xxi, 1890.

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night, and then many bonfires were kindled and many garlands hung up in many places of the streets. The vice-chancellor sent to the mayor for him and his brethren to joine with the University in the Proclamation, but his answere was they could not do it till tomorrow and would doe it on horseback[1].' On Friday the 11th of May, accordingly, 'King Charles II was proclaymed King by the mayor,' and the ceremony was performed not only in the market place, but 'once on the Pease Hill, and against St Buttolph's Church, and beyond the Great Bridge, and against Jesus Lane and against Trinity Church.'...' At night many bonfires in Towne, four on the great Market Hill, great expressions and acclamations of joy from all sorts.' On the third day, Mr Fairbrother of King's College[2] invited the military officers to dinner and nobly treated them. The souldiers were drawn up to the top of the Chappel where they gave several volleys which, with the ringing of bells and variety of musick, gave a handsome entertainment to the spectators[3].'

No feature, however, was more significant than the general reappearance of the *square* cap, to the complete effacement of the round *pileus*, customary during the Puritan *régime*[4],—an incident which James Duport did not fail to note and make the subject of some satirical lines at the expense of the 'Roundheads,' whom he congratulated on their sudden conversion. 'They had succeeded,' he assured them, 'in performing a feat which not one man in many

[1] MSS. Baker, XXXIII 337.

[2] Fairbrother had been made prisoner at the battle of Naseby; he was subsequently elected vice-provost of King's College. Austen-Leigh, *King's College*, p. 125.

[3] *Diary of S. Newton* (*u. s.*), p. 1; *Parl. Intelligencer*, *Ibid.*; Cooper, *Annals*, III 478–9. According to another authority, 'the effiges of Oliver Cromwell, carved very like him,' 'was hanged on a gibbet on the market place, in the morninge.' Rugge's *Diary* (Addit. MSS. 10,116), f 337; Cooper, *Annals*, v 436.

[4] See *Index* to Vol. II, *s. v.* 'Cap.' The square cap, by whomsoever worn, had been held in aversion by the Reformers, who looked upon it as of 'Romish' origin and accordingly denounced it as an invention which contravened the natural shape of the head. It had, however, been enjoined by Burghley, in 1564, as incumbent on all graduates and scholars, while undergraduates were directed to wear a 'low round cap.' But since his time, the round cap had become obnoxious among the royalists, owing to the application of the term 'Roundheads' to those whose Puritan sympathies led them to clip away the 'lovelocks' fashionable among the Cavaliers.

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CHAP. V. thousands dare even pretend to have accomplished,—they had squared the circle! It was a grand discovery; for now, skull cap (as worn by seniors) and square cap alike, when lifted, *dis*-covered the round head! How many a head, since the King's return, had changed from a circle to a square[1]!'

Before another month had elapsed, the House of Lords had reinstated Manchester in the chancellorship, and in less than another week he received instructions to make the statutes of the university again operative; while the innovations contemplated by the recent Commission with regard to the colleges were quashed by an order, 'that the Chancellors of both the Universities shall take care that the several Colleges shall be governed according to their respective statutes[2].' An order for the restoration of the ejected Heads and fellows of colleges quickly followed, and the whole academic body now lost no time in sending a deputation to Whitehall to congratulate the King on his return to his native realm. Their chancellor had preceded them, having himself already been appointed to the office of Lord Chamberlain, but it was not until the third day following upon their arrival in London, that he was able personally to conduct them from the place of their assembling,—'Mr Mountague's house in Channell Row at nine of the clock,'—'by a private way through gardens and gentlemen's

[1] 'Quot capita inprimis Academica pileus ornat, | *Circulus* & doctos, *quadra* tegitque, viros. | Vix tamen innumeris caput ex tot millibus unum est Quod se *circulum* adhuc posse *quadrare* putat. *Circulus*, aut *quadra* demptа, caput tibi reddit apertum: | Nonne *quadratura* & *circuli* aperta tibi est?' Quot nunc post reditum Regis, Τροχοσοφίαν ante, | Sic *quadrare* solent *circulum* ubique suum!' *Musæ Subsecivæ*, p. 39. Additional point was probably imparted to Dupert's raillery, by the recent publication of the collected writings of the mathematician, Samuel Foster of Emmanuel and Gresham professor, whose brother, Walter, also a member of Emmanuel, had placed them in the hands of John Twysden to be edited. In his preface, Twysden takes occasion to refer to the brilliant success of John Pell, who, 'in a way not trodden by others, and in the compass of one page,' had been 'able to overthrow the endeavours and many years attempts of that famous Longomontanus touching the true measuring of a circle.' For Longomontanus, the Danish astronomer, see account in the *Biographie Universelle*; and for attempts at squaring the circle, at this period, Ball (W. W. R.), *Hist. of Mathematics*, chap. xv. Pell's refutation appeared (in English) at Amsterdam in 1646, and in Latin in 1647.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 479.

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houses,' to the royal presence. Dr Dillingham being unwell, Dr Love appeared as his deputy; he was followed by the other Heads, by the Public Orator, the Proctors, Taxers, and a throng of regents and non-regents, who gathered in the Long Gallery and there awaited their monarch, whom Dr Love, after 'a little stay did bring to them.' At Charles's entrance, they all kneeled down behind the vice-chancellor, who, himself on his knees, was preparing to deliver his speech, when 'the King rose from his chayre of state and bade him and all the rest stand up, which we did. Then the vice-chancellor began his speech[1], which being ended, he delivered upon his knees a Letter from the Senate to his Majestie, who was gratiously pleased both with the speech and the letter. He said to the vice-chancellor and Heads that he would maintain their charters, privileges, and immunities, and likewise doe his best endeavour to advance learning and learned men. Then all of us kneeled downe and the King reached out his hand to the vice-chancellor for to kisse and afterwards to every one of our university men[2].' Altogether, nothing could be more auspicious than the royal bearing and promises; and it being notorious that the revenues of the Crown were, as yet, very insufficiently recruited[3], the members of the deputation can hardly have felt much disappointment, when, after the ceremony was over, they found themselves compelled to have recourse to 'ordinarys' or to the hospitality of their London acquaintance, for whatever of entertainment and festivity marked the close of the day. In one respect, however, the royal liberality was soon after exhibited to an extent that greatly surpassed all expectation. A shower of mandate degrees began to descend in both universities; and at Cambridge alone, during the ensuing eight months, no less than one hundred and sixty creations,

[1] This he subsequently printed. According to the *Mercurius Rusticus* (p. 300), the speech was designed to shew 'the great loss which the University and learning had suffered by his Majesty's absence.' For the statements whereby he sought at Cambridge to justify his conduct during the Commonwealth, see Masters (Robt.), *Hist. of the College of Corpus Christi*, p. 152.

[2] Baker MSS. xxxiii 237.

[3] In the library of St John's College there is still preserved the original receipt, dated April 1st, in acknowledgement of the loan of £100 advanced by John Barwick to the King when the latter was still at Breda.

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chiefly of the doctorate, in the several faculties, altogether transcended the limits required for the recognition of the claims of those who might reasonably urge that, having been prevented from proceeding to their degrees in the ordinary course, they were entitled to this exercise of the restored royal prerogative[1]. As early as the 21st of June, accordingly, Bernard Hale[2], Peter Gunning, Isaac Barrow (of Peterhouse), John Barwick, John Aucher[3], and William Chamberlain[4], received the degree of doctor of divinity; Barwick being at the same time offered the bishopric of Carlisle, which he declined. He subsequently accepted, however, the deanery of Durham, where he had formerly been chaplain to bishop Morton, and went into residence before the close of the year; but in October 1661, he was transferred to the deanery of St Paul's,—'a post,' says Overton, 'of more anxiety and less emolument[5].' In the following August, Thomas Fuller paid his last visit to Cambridge to receive like recognition in an honorary D.D. His sympathies as a royalist had been amply attested by his language in the dedication of his *Mixt Contemplations* to lady Monck[6], and by his presence in the train

[1] Cooper, who was at the pains to collect the entries contained in Kennet, gives the following totals of the degrees thus conferred: D.D., 121; D.C.L., 12; Doctors of Physic, 12; B.D., 12; M.A., 2; B.C.L., 1. See *Annals*, III 481 and n. 3. '...his Majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a royal *mandamus*, without enquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical exercise,' says Neal, 'must be covered with silence, because it was for the service of the Church.' *Hist. of the Puritans* (ed. 1738), IV 268. He however omits to recognize the fact that there were considerable *arrears* which required to be made good.

[2] Afterwards master of Peterhouse: see *infra*, p. 565.

[3] Aucher was one of Laud's nominees to a Canterbury scholarship at C. C. College in 1634; he subsequently migrated to Peterhouse where he was elected to a fellowship (23 Apr. 1640) and commenced M.A. in 1641. His vehement assertion of the royal prerogative led to his ejection soon after. Along with his honorary D.D. he was now made a prebendary of Canterbury. Walker, who mistook the name for 'Archer' (*Sufferings*, etc. II 153), was unable to identify him. See Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi*, p. 219.

[4] Probably the physician and poet, whose *Pharonnida* Southey greatly admired; he was an ardent loyalist, and composer of *England's Jubilee, or a Poem on the happy Return of his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second*, 1660.

[5] See *D.N.B.* XX 318.

[6] 'It is notoriously known in our English Chronicles, that there was an ILL MAY DAY *anno Dom.* 1517... wherein much mischief was donne in London, the lives of many lost, and estates of more confounded. This last GOOD MAY DAY hath made plentifull amends for that evill one, and hath laid a foundation for the happinesse of an almost ruined Church and State; which as under God it was effected by the prudence and

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that accompanied lord Berkeley when the latter proceeded to the Hague, as one of the commissioners deputed to invite Charles to return to England. Between the merry monarch and the witty divine, there would seem, indeed, to have existed a certain sympathy; and two years later, when Fuller himself was no more, his son, John, was elected to a fellowship at Sidney by a like exercise of the royal prerogative, which met, however, with less ready acquiescence[1].

On Thanksgiving Day, John Spencer, fellow, and subsequently master, of Corpus Christi College, preached the sermon at Great St Mary's[2]. It cannot, certainly, be said that the author of the *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, here gives evidence of the powers which he subsequently displayed, as the originator of the study of comparative religion[3], while his parade of learning, in compliance with the fashion of the times, serves somewhat to repel the modern reader. But the main purpose of his discourse[4] does credit to the man; and the warning which it was designed to convey,—addressed as it was to an audience many of whom could recall the assassinations of Buckingham, Wallenstein, and Dorislaus,—can hardly have been entirely thrown away. As he looked back on the extinct Commonwealth, and the destruction wherewith it had so recently menaced not only the princes and nobles of the land, but all civil and ecclesiastical authority, it seemed to him comparable only to a Flood;

valour of your noble and most renowned *Husband*, so you are eminently known to have had a *finger*, yea an *hand*, yea an *Arme* happily instrumental therein.' 'Zion Coll. May 2. 1660.' *Dedication* 'to the truly honourable and most virtuous, the Lady Monck,' of *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*. By Thomas Fuller, B.D. London, 1660.

[1] 'Mr John Fuller was admitted fellow by vertue of the King's mandate. Mr Luke protested against his admission in behalfe of Sir Green and Sir Sacket. *Acta Collegii*: Jan. 21, 1663.' Edwards (G. M.), *Sidney Sussex College*, p. 138.

[2] *The Righteous Ruler. A Sermon preached at St Maries in Cambridge, June* 28. 1660. *Being appointed a day of publick Thanksgiving to God for the happy restauration of His Majesty to his Kingdomes*. By John Spencer, B.D., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge. Printed by John Field, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1660.

[3] See Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1891), Pref. p. vi. 'In its special subject,' wrote that distinguished scholar, 'Spencer's work still remains by far the most important book on the religious antiquities of the Hebrews,'—a verdict confirmed by the opinion of Professor J. G. Frazer.

[4] His text is taken from 1 Chronicles xxix 22, 23.

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CHAP. V. and after a flood, he says, in his Preface, there are 'three sorts of works' wherewith men are wont 'to entertain themselves,' those of piety, pleasure, or policy; and it is in order to 'inkindle in the breasts' of his audience a desire to take up with the first, and to inspire a wider circle with a sense of gratitude to God for restoring to his people 'the Moses' destined to lead them out of the wilderness, that he gives his sermon, in a considerably expanded form[1], to the general public. 'Then let no private hand,' he says, 'be lifted up to violate Majesty, so abetted by heaven. Christianity disowns all consecrated daggers. In heathen Writers, indeed, nothing of more familiar occurrence then Panegyricks in commendation of the assertors of publick liberty (as they stiled them) by the assassinating of a ruler, when the people once pleased to vote him a Tyrant...but Scripture shews a higher Charter then so, whereby Kings hold their Crowns[2].' 'Sure I am,' he goes on to say, 'if any part of the Nation have matter of joy, we in the University [have] more,—universities and learned men most flourishing under Kings, but especially under righteous Kings[3]'; and with regard to what might be looked for, in return, at the hands of their monarch, 'his first and great (I may now add, frequentest) request to the Houses,' he goes on to say, 'was, that the *Act of Indemnity* might be as speedily and comprehensively drawn up as might be. His Majesty contents himself with the submission of his adversaries[4].'

Throughout the country there was, undoubtedly, a very general disposition to favour the views thus plainly enforced from the university pulpit, while Charles himself, by his open-handed generosity, but still more, it must be admitted, by his reckless promises with regard to the future, soon began to rise rapidly in popular estimation. At the Hague, indeed, while still 'beyond the seas,' he had, accord-

[1] 'This Sermon is not presented to the eye with the same brevity it was to the ear; Truth in some places requiring greater assistance than those few minutes allotted for such services in the Pulpit, would allow.' *To the Reader.*

[2] *The Righteous Ruler*, p. 18. Compare with these observations Professor Firth's account of 'Royalist views of assassination,' in his *Last Years of the Protectorate*, 1 39.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 29.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 46.

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ing to Clarendon, devised a very different policy, and 'had formally resolved to reform those excesses which were known to be in the great offices, especially those of his household, whilst the places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant expenses there'; so that his apparent parsimony, on the occasion when he received the deputation from Cambridge, may very well have seemed not only excusable, but even commendable, as in keeping with such prudent designs. But as soon as the officers of the Household had been appointed,—'to take care of the expenses,' 'being themselves,' as the historian sarcastically observes, 'a great part of it,'—all was changed; and the 'King's House quickly appeared in its full lustre, the eating and drinking very grateful to all men, and the charge and expence of it much exceeding the precedents of the most luxurious times[1].' It was not long, accordingly, before the university was given to understand that the professions of unbounded loyalty made by Dr Love at Whitehall were about to be put to a very practical test. The colleges, indeed, were still but slowly recovering from their depressed financial condition consequent upon the Civil War; but the university was now, for the first time for nearly twenty years, again placed in nominal possession of sources of revenue of which it had been altogether deprived. In 1642, both Oxford and Cambridge, by their refusal of the Solemn League and Covenant and openly subsidizing the royal forces, had incurred a like process of sequestration to that put in force against the royalist estates. The result had been that the Commonwealth government, by a series of acts commencing in 1650, had sold all the fee-farm rents belonging to the Crown, these being largely bought by Corporations (the universities included), and renewed on lands which they respectively held; while, in consequence of this, certain 'ancient stipends, formerly payable to the university were also suspended.' But amid the enthusiasm that now prevailed, the Corporations were everywhere now conveying these fee-farm rents

[1] Clarendon's *Autobiography*, Pt. ii 24, 26 (ed. 1759).

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CHAP. V.

back to the Crown, as a free gift[1]. The universities might reasonably have assumed that, in accordance with the traditional exemption granted them in such matters, a like sacrifice would hardly be expected on their part. Not so, however, thought Dr Love, who seems to have discerned in the whole matter an excellent opportunity of completely reinstating both himself and his university in the royal favour, and restoring an arrangement which had formerly served as a tie between the university and the Crown. It was accordingly proposed to hand over, like the other Corporations, these fee-farm rents to the King, 'in order that his royal exchequer might be enabled to pay the above-mentioned stipends to the University as theretofore[2].'

Grace passed for this purpose: 15 July 1660.

A grace to this effect having been passed, 'Dr Love was empowered to make tender of the conveyance of the fee-farm

[1] 'This was the usual testimony of loyalty. Corporations got, naturally, no compensation for the rents they had bought, but it is not probable they lost much. I doubt if they usually paid more than ten years' purchase for the rents, and in most cases they enjoyed them for about that period.' *Letter from Professor C. H. Firth*, Christmas, 1909; to whom I am also indebted for some explanations which render this singular proceeding, on the part of an academic body, more intelligible. For like practice, he refers me to *Mercurius Publicus* (5-12 July 1660), which prints an Address from the Corporation of Lincoln surrendering a fee-farm rent of £81 per annum; and (July 24) another from Norwich, making a like surrender of rents amounting to £132. 18*s.* 3*d.* To Mr E. J. Gross, fellow of Caius College, I am indebted for the following illustration of the foregoing observations: 'From 1546, Caius College has received from the Crown £3 *per annum* as rent of Physwick's Hostel, taken by Henry VIII for Trinity College. In 1614, the former College became the owner by purchase of Shelford Mill, and thereby liable to an annual fee-farm rent of £6, the balance payable to the Exchequer thus becoming £3 annually. In 1650 an agreement was arrived at with the Commonwealth authorities, that both these payments should be definitely terminated by the College paying to the Government the sum of £27. But at the Restoration, this agreement was annulled and order was given that the former respective payments should be resumed. All, consequently, that the College realized, in return for the £27, was the annual balance of £3 accruing from the discontinuance of the former payments during the years 1650-60 instead of in perpetuity.'

[2] Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll.*, p. 152. 'I suppose the University bought fee-farm rents to an annual value sufficient to provide these "stipends." It hoped, apparently, that the Crown would resume the payments if it got back the old Crown revenues. It must have known that the sale of the fee-farm rents would be declared invalid and that it could not expect to keep them.' Prof. Firth, *u. s.* Similarly, 'the lands of noblemen and gentlemen, whose estates had been confiscated and sold by the successive Governments of the revolutionary period, reverted to their original owners, on the ground that *sales by an unlawful authority could give no valid title.*' See Prof. Firth's observations on the land question, in *Cambridge Modern History*, v 95.

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unto his sacred Majesty, expressing the tender care and loyal affection of the University, and that the Doctor by the advice of such counsel as in his judgement and prudence should be requisite, should be enabled, in the name of the University, to make such addresses and petitions to his sacred Majesty as should be thought fit, for the expression of the present loyalty of the University and the security of the said payments in the future[1].'

The royal appreciation of Dr Love's services was promptly manifested by his appointment, in the following September, to the deanery of Ely, where he was duly installed, but died a few weeks after. He passed away full of honours, and especially distinguished among the Heads, as the only one of their number who had succeeded in evading expulsion throughout the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate alike. The same tact and prudence, or perhaps dexterous pliability, had enabled him also to preserve his tenure of the Lady Margaret professorship of divinity, notwithstanding that an ordinance passed by the House of Lords in 1649 had designated Anthony Tuckney for the chair[2]; and at the time of his death, Dr Love still held alike his deanery, his professorship, and his mastership. His exceptional good fortune appears yet more remarkable if we accept the somewhat doubtful testimony of Lloyd[3], who asserts that the master of Corpus, in his capacity of professor, always maintained the attitude of a staunch defender of the

[1] In William Dillingham's account as vice-chancellor for the year ending Nov. 1660, the process is described as a resignation of the fee-farm rents and the procuring in return a grant for the renewal of the payment of the ancient stipends. See Baker MSS. XL 59; Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi*, p. 152; Masters-Lamb, *Ibid.* p. 181; Kennet, *Register and Chronicle*, p. 207; Cooper, *Annals*, III 481–2.

[2] As Cooper observes (*Ibid.* III 421, n. 3), Tuckney's name is absent in Baker's List of the Margaret Professors and in that given in the *Graduati*. There seems to have been in 1648–9 a project for dividing the theological lecture work between the three divinity professors, whereby the Lady Margaret professor's course was to 'be kept for young divines pro Tirocinio to make them sitt after for ther other lecture,' and the abandonment of such a scheme may have caused Tuckney's appointment to lapse. See *State Papers* (Dom.), *Charles I*, vol. DXX, no. 64.

[3] Lloyd (David), *Memoires*, etc. (1668), p. 463. Lloyd was an author who received his education at Merton College and Oriel, and afterwards became chaplain to Isaac Barrow, bishop of St Asaph. Wood denounces him as 'a false writer and meer scribbler.' See Wood-Bliss, IV 352, n.

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CHAP. V. doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The historian of his college, indeed, is fain to admit that he had himself been 'at a loss' to reconcile Dr Love's 'conduct with any such attachment to the established Church,' or with 'the loyalty due to his kind friend and patron[1],' 'till,' Masters goes on to say, 'a friend whom I consulted (much conversant in the history of those times) was pleased to intimate that, for aught he could learn to the contrary, it was his opinion Dr Love did preserve the same good conscience which a prudent and honest man (without party zeal and attachments) might do in those times of civil and ecclesiastical confusion; and that he steered as well and wisely through those storms as any pilot could, to save his Ship (his college and university) from an absolute wreck[2].'

It may, however, be questioned whether even a Dr Love could have succeeded in evading the ordeal which followed upon the assembling of the new Parliament,—a body described by Macaulay as 'during some years, more zealous for royalty than the King and more zealous for episcopacy than the Bishops[3]'; while the convening of the Savoy Conference, which held its first sitting a month later, brought with it a scarcely less trying searching of hearts. By the latter date, indeed, the university itself had become a transformed community, and, even before the death of the head of Corpus, the colleges had, for the most part, each received a new administrator. Cosin, restored to the deanery of Peterborough, had already been heard reading the Anglican service in the cathedral; and, a few weeks later, found himself again master of Peterhouse, where Matthew Wren, on his return to his see of Ely, had made it one of his first concerns, as Visitor of the society, to institute a strict enquiry into the circumstances of the former Master's expulsion. Lazarus Seaman, however, not caring to confront the forthcoming evidence, had taken an abrupt departure, leaving everything in confusion; and Manchester having declared that 'Dr John Cosin had been wrongfully ejected,' the latter

[1] *I.e.* King Charles I.
[2] Masters (*u. s.*), pp. 152–3.
[3] *History of England* (ed. 1849), I 175.

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was forthwith re-elected. Two months, however, had scarcely elapsed, when a valedictory letter, addressed to the president and fellows, apprised them of his promotion to the see of Durham[1], and on the second of the following December, Cosin was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, where the sermon on the occasion was preached by William Sancroft, whom he had already appointed his chaplain. At the same time and place, Brian Walton was consecrated to the bishopric of Chester; and when he set out from London for that city, 'his journey,' says Hunt, 'was like the triumphal march of a conquering monarch. His reception in the city was a great ovation. Saluted by the train-bands, amid the rejoicings of the multitude, he hastened to the cathedral to give thanks to God that at length peace and victory had come[2].'

The new head at Peterhouse was Bernard Hale, a former fellow whose election dated back as far as 1632; but who, having shortly after inherited a considerable fortune, had voluntarily resigned that position. He continued, however, to take a warm interest in all that concerned the college; and one of the earliest transactions that now devolved upon him was the grateful duty of signing the receipt for 1174 volumes which Cosin, prior to his departure for his bishopric, presented to the college library[3]. Hale, like the two newly created bishops, might fairly hope that his election was destined to usher in a period of comparative repose; 'the whole society,' wrote Joseph Beaumont, a month later, 'unanimously submit to the Church of England, and are in this particular very exemplary in their chapple[4].' Within less than three years, however, to the great grief of the society, the new Master was carried off by sudden illness. His memory survives as that of an almost princely benefactor. Lands valued, at the time, at upwards of £7000; the livings of Knapton in Norfolk and Glaston in Rutland; increased stipends for the Master and the organist, together with an

[1] Walker, *Peterhouse*, p. 128.
[2] *Hist. of Religious Thought in England*, I 306.
[3] Cosin, *Works*, II 14.
[4] Letter to Dr Warren (9 Dec. 1660), quoted in Walker, *Peterhouse*, pp. 118–9.

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endowment for the Grammar School at Hertford (which Hale's grandfather had founded), sufficing for the institution of seven scholarships,—all afford evidence of a thoughtful solicitude which had not suffered the accomplishment of its designs to remain contingent on the warning which was never vouchsafed.

At Clare College, Dr Paske, as we have already noted[1], gave place to his son-in-law, Theophilus Dillingham. At Pembroke, William Moses withdrew alike from the office to which he had been unanimously elected and from the society which had materially benefited by his watchful care. "A very quick and ready man,' says Calamy, 'and upon that account Mr Baxter was very desirous to have had him one of the Commissioners at the Savoy, but he could not prevail'.' During his tenure of office, he had not only rendered valuable service by securing for the society the benefactions of Sir Robert Hitcham, like himself a serjeant-at-law, but he had also rebuilt, to a great extent, the college. Even 'after his ejectment,' according to Calamy, 'he saved the "Hall" some hundreds of pounds in a law affair, for which they acknowledged themselves greatly obliged to him[2].' Although not in orders, Moses was known to incline to a moderate form of episcopacy, and his continuance in office might perhaps have been conceded, had not the claims of an expelled predecessor outweighed those of all other competitors. Dr Laney had not been seen in Cambridge since the day when he fled to join his King at Oxford; but, throughout his absence, his fidelity to the royal cause had been attested by the firmness with which he encountered, not only the privations of exile, but also, if Walker may be credited, other 'great calamity,' as a faithful adherent of the son[4]. As in the case of Cosin, his reward was now both marked and prompt; and before the year 1660 closed, he had been installed dean of Rochester, consecrated to the see

[1] *Supra*, p. 532.

[2] *Continuation*, p. 115. Moses turned his attention to the law, and became counsel to the East India Company; he died in 1688, leaving considerable benefactions to Pembroke College. *D.N.B.* xxxix 180.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Pt. ii 153.

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of Peterborough[1], and still held, *in commendam*, both his mastership at Pembroke and his canonry at Westminster. The circumstances under which Dr Batchcroft resumed the headship of Caius have already been noted. At Trinity Hall, Robert King, LL.D., whose former election had been quashed by the Commons[2], now found himself, by the irony of fate, again elected, to the displacement of the same Dr Bond, in whose favour he had before been compelled to retire.

At King's College, the exercise of the royal prerogative was attended with somewhat serious embarrassment. The statute relating to the election of the Provost made it obligatory on the fellows to choose a past or present member of their own body[3], and Dr Whichcote had been a migrant from Emmanuel, while his election had been approved, not by the Crown, but by the Westminster Assembly. Fully conscious of this defect of title, he wrote, in the first instance to Lauderdale,—who had probably been present in the Assembly at the time of Whichcote's election being sanctioned, and who was now Charles's secretary. That unscrupulous politician was accredited with exercising a greater influence over his sovereign than any other member of the Court, and he sent an encouraging reply. He had spoken, he wrote, to the King on the subject, 'your chancellor' (Manchester), he added, being present at the time; the latter and he had talked over the matter, 'and he and I were clearly of opinion, that there is no fear as to your concerns, so that you need not make any particular application.' 'I tooke an opportunity,' he also stated, 'to acquaint his majesty with those excellent endowments with which God hath blesst you and which render you so worthie of the place you enjoy (which the King heard very graciously)[4].'

[1] His consecration took place along with that of Cosin and of Brian Walton, on the 2nd Dec. According to Kennet, Laney was one of the few who had learned in his sufferings abroad the lesson of toleration towards others and was distinguished by the leniency with which he treated the dissenters in his diocese. *Register*, pp. 804, 813.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 294–5.

[3] '...unum de seipsis seu de illis qui aliquando fuerunt in ipso nostro Regali Collegio Socii.' *Documents*, II 505; Heywood and Wright, *Ancient Laws for King's College and Eton*, p. 43.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 288.

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In the mean time, however, Dr James Fleetwood, one of the royal chaplains, had urged his own claims, and with so much success that Charles was induced to send a mandate, enjoining the fellows of King's that, 'assembling yourselves in due manner, you procede forthwith to the election of the said provost, and to the same to name and elect him the said Dr Fleetwood[1].' But here, again, a statutable difficulty presented itself. The statute relating to the election of the Provost required that, within fifteen days of the occurrence of a vacancy, an announcement, or 'publication,' of the fact should be issued; and that, within ten days of such publication, the fellows, one and all, should assemble in the chapel choir, and elect a successor to the office[2]. But this formality had not been duly observed; and Charles, accordingly, found himself under the necessity of notifying to Fleetwood that his election must be looked upon as null and void. Whereupon Fleetwood forthwith drew up another petition, setting forth that, in pursuance of the mandate received, he had already 'been duly elected, had taken the oath and received the statutebook, seals, and keys of office'; while, annexed to his petition, was a document setting forth that Dr Whichcote was incapable by statute of the Provostship, having never been a fellow; and that, out of the seventy fellows and scholars on the foundation of King's, only thirty (twenty-two of whom were juniors) had signed his certificate, the others supporting Dr Fleetwood[3]. Whichcote, on the other hand, now 'urged that the appointment of the Provostship was in the King's hands, and that other non-Kingsmen had held the office before him; that he had accepted it unwillingly, and given up for it a valuable living[4].' One of the senior fellows, William Godman, although admitting that the late Provost was statutably incapable of the appointment, represented that 'his great learning, prudence, and civility' ('whereof,' he says, 'we of this College have had large experience') made him worthy of as great or greater preferment and dignity,'—

[1] *Ancient Laws*, etc. (*u.s.*), p. 293.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 42, 46.
[3] *State Papers* (*Dom.*), IX, no. 95.
[4] *Ibid.* IX, nos. 93, 94 (1) and (2); Austen-Leigh, *King's College*, p. 136.

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that 'he had been an encourager of learning and virtue, had never persecuted any of us upon difference of opinion and had deserved well of the whole society[1].' In the eyes of royalty, however, these were but negative virtues; while Dr Fleetwood could urge considerations of a positive kind which pleaded strongly in his favour. He had been educated at Eton, and had graduated from King's College; and although only a chaplain in the army, he appears to have exerted an influence among the soldiery which was highly valued. On the eve of that eventful fight at Edgehill which stayed the pursuit of Essex, he had acquitted himself in a manner which led Charles, a few weeks later, to give orders for his admission to the degree of doctor of divinity at Oxford[2]. To not a few, accordingly, it might well seem that such honour bestowed on Fleetwood by the father's command at the sister university, might fitly be followed by the preferment which it was now the son's proposal to confer upon him at Cambridge. With respect to Charles's personal feeling in the matter there could be no question. We must consequently interpret Whichcote's conduct as designed rather to vindicate the legality of his own position than inspired by any hope of maintaining himself in office. He had quitted his Lodge; and when, on the eleventh of July, Dr Fleetwood appeared to take possession, accompanied by the fellows, scholars, and servants of the college, and knocked at the Lodge door, he was refused admission by the servants whom his predecessor had left in charge. He lost no time in apprising Charles and petitioning his royal intervention, not forgetting to remind the King that Whichcote himself had turned out his predecessor, Dr Collins; while he, at the same time, intimated his intention of forthwith restoring King's College quire to its full statutable efficiency,—a prescribed duty in the original code with respect to which the outgoing Provost had been somewhat neglectful[3].

[1] Heywood and Wright (*u. s.*), pp. 292–3; Austen-Leigh, *King's College*, pp. 136–7.

[2] *D.N.B.* XIX 267.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, V 432. For the statutable requirements connected with the quire, see Heywood and Wright (*u. s.*), pp. 120–1. As during Dr Collins' rule, the financial condition of the society had become alarming.

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Whichcote ultimately surrenders up possession and leaves Cambridge to enter upon the duties of a London living.

There was, however, no necessity for further intervention from without. His protest made, Whichcote retired; and, in the following year, left Cambridge for London, having been elected to the cure of St Anne's in Blackfriars. To his biographer, Samuel Salter, writing at an interval of nearly a century, it seemed that he was neither 'disgraced nor frowned upon'; but 'only called up, from the comparative obscurity of a university life, to a higher and more conspicuous station,—from a place where he had already done much service, to one where there was still much to be done[1].' At King's, the society did their best to shew that their esteem for him was unimpaired, by presenting him to the sinecure living of Milton (some five miles north of Cambridge) afterwards noted as the residence of his successor, William Cole, the antiquary, and where we shall hear of Whichcote himself again[2]. Fleetwood's merits, on the other hand, were before long recognized by his presentation to two livings and eventually by his nomination to the see of Worcester.

He is presented by the College to the living of Milton.

Dr Martin reinstated at Queens' College: 2 Aug. 1660.

At Queens' College, Dr Martin, on crossing the Channel found himself reinstated as president by the same hand that had ejected him[3]; but, in marked contrast to the head of Pembroke, he evinced a lively sense of the wrongs that he had suffered in the past, and something like a spirit of retaliation was only too manifest throughout the nineteen months of his restored rule[4]. For the present, however, all vindictive measures were stayed by the express order of the Chancellor. Thomas Edwards, who had been elected to

Thomas Edwards, elected in 1642, now for the first time admitted Fellow.

the Provost himself being accused of 'intollerable negligence' (*Ibid.* p. 285), it is easy to understand that Whichcote may have aimed at retrenchment in the direction in which he deemed the normal expenditure least essential.

[1] Preface to the *Eight Letters* (8 Mar. 1753), p. xxvi.

[2] Whichcote appears to have first been instituted to the rectory of Milton (13 Nov. 1660) by Wren, as bishop of Ely, on the presentation of the provost and fellows of King's. The latter body, however, finding their right to present of doubtful validity, induced him to resign, and he was again presented in the following year. See Heywood and Wright, p. 291.

[3] 'He was replaced...by a warrant from the same earl of Mancheste who had ejected him, and who, after having alleged the Doctor's scandalous acts as the ground of that proceeding now set forth that "he was informed that he was wrongfully put out of his mastership."' Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 571.

[4] 'Evidently Dr Martin had neither learned anything from his troubles nor forgotten anything during his exile.' *Ibid.* p. 582.

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fellowship on the very day of the President's arrest in 1642, was now formally admitted; Michael Freer, who had been ejected in 1644, was reinstated; and the twelve survivors from the number of those who had been elected during the rule of Palmer and of Horton, were now re-sworn and re-elected. Dr Martin, as he turned from the strange faces around him to examine the records of the College Register,—and especially those of the days immediately preceding the installation of Herbert Palmer,—and as he gazed on the havoc wrought by Dowsing in the college chapel, was deeply moved. He at once determined that a full statement of the destruction perpetrated should be drawn up and laid before the new Parliament. The Petition which he designed to present still exists, wherein he points out what he terms 'the vastation and calamity' to which the 'Register book' bears witness,—'the like whereof,' he declares, 'no other College in England by God's great mercy and goodness ever suffered[1].' That the petition was never presented, is to be accounted for by the fact that the remedial legislation which it invoked was forestalled by the action of Parliament, in the *Act for Confirmation of Leases and Grants from Colledges and Hospitals*[2], which passed through both Houses before the close of the year 1660. After security had thus been afforded that the rights and endowments of the society would be fully protected, Dr Martin was able to devote himself more calmly to details of administration; and, brief as was his subsequent tenure of office, he lived to see the presses of the despoiled college library to some extent replenished, the cedar wainscoting of the chapel restored, and a new organ erected; while finally, in February 1662, his own services and deserts received recognition in his preferment to the deanery of Ely. Before, however, he could be installed, his physical powers shewed signs of giving way, and the ceremony had to be carried out by proxy, but only to be followed, three days later, by his death. As his few surviving friends laid him to rest in the college chapel, they might feel some

[1] Searle, *Ibid.* pp. 582–3; Gray (J. H.), *Queens' College*, pp. 196–8.
[2] See Cooper, *Annals*, III 486–9.

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CHAP. V. satisfaction in the thought that, although no monument or memorial marked the site of his interment, his wanderings and sufferings were at an end, and that his days had closed in the place where he would be[1].

Dr Worthington at Jesus College.

At the same time that Dr Martin was resuming office at Queens', the head of Jesus College was becoming aware that his tenure both of his living at Fen Ditton and of his mastership was in jeopardy; and the entries in his *Diary*[2] bring before us the successive stages of his misgivings and perplexity. Unambitious as regarded office, unselfish with respect to wealth, few dignitaries of the English Church could appeal in their defence to a more inoffensive and exemplary career. But Worthington's was not a contentious nature, and although only in his forty-third year, he found in the discharge of his duties as a parish priest and in his editorial labours on the works of Joseph Mede (before long to be given to the learned world), the occupations that best harmonized both with his inclinations and his genius. As already noted[3], he filled the office of vice-chancellor for only one year; he had been a pluralist, but his tenure of his second living (that of Horton in Buckinghamshire) had been equally brief; he had been promoted to the headship of Jesus College without any ambition to fill the post, and was now looking forward with perfect equanimity to being called upon to surrender it. But he loved his parish; and, out of his modest income, had defrayed the charges of repairing the chancel of the church and restoring his dilapidated parsonage, and had given much in charity; while his little flock evinced their gratitude by prompt payment of tithes, in kind, and, at this time, by manifest anxiety at the prospect of his departure[4]. It was in July 1660, when he himself was still in doubt what would be done with respect to Fen Ditton,—the presentation to which had lapsed to the Crown some

His rectory of Fen Ditton.

[1] Searle (*u. s.*), pp. 576–580.

[2] *Diary and Correspondence of Dr John Worthington. (From the Baker MSS. in the British Museum and the Cambridge University Library, etc.)* Ed. James Crossley, Esq. 2 vols. Chetham Society, 1847–86.

[3] *Supra*, p. 532.

[4] 'I have been for some years possessed of the said rectory, and have diligently attended the duty of the place. All the people desire my stay. They are free from faction.' *Diary* (*u. s.*), I 200.

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eight years before,—that he was startled to learn that one 'Dr Hales' was enjoining the parishioners not to pay him the tithes which were then becoming due, the Doctor having himself been presented to the living. It seemed to Worthington a hard case, for he knew that the new incumbent was a wealthy man,—according to report, 'possessed of a great temporal estate, of about £1000 a year,'—while 'Ditton,' he wrote, 'is my main livelihood, and if this should be taken from me, I have no whither to go....I did not think that any one would so suddenly have disturbed the harvest after it was begun[1].' A few days later, a letter arrived from Dr Sterne, enclosing an order from the earl of Manchester for the restoration of the former to the headship of Jesus College. Sterne subscribes himself 'Your loving friend,' and desires to know 'what time you will please to make way for my return to the college.' Within less than a fortnight, on August 17th, we find the entry in Worthington's *Diary*, 'I delivered to Dr Stern the statutes, the register, both Lease Books, and the key of the treasury'; and a month later he had removed his furniture from the Lodge to Fen Ditton[2]. Writing to Hartlib, to whom he appears to have confided his experiences and sentiments with remarkable frankness, he says, 'One main thing which did more endear an academicall life to me was that by reason of my being there I might be in a better capacity of entertaining my friends abroad with some accounts of the ingenuous performances there, and I confess it had been to me a great pleasure to observe several persons there eminent for different perfections and accordingly to animate them to such things as were most agreeable to their genius. But I hope there are others like minded who will fill up what has been deficient in me, and now it will not be grievous to me to retire to a rurall employment[3].'

Among the incidents of his final departure from the Lodge, there was a musical performance which he gave in honour of his successor and his wife. It was, however,

[1] *Ibid.* I 200–2.
[2] *Ibid.* I 216.
[3] *Ibid.* I 203–4; 205.

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Dr Sterne being presented to the bishopric of Carlisle, Dr Wren procures the appointment of John Pearson as his successor in the mastership: Dec. 1660.

already a current report that Dr Sterne had been designate for the bishopric of Carlisle; and Worthington's friends wer not without hope that he might be invited to resume offic at Jesus College. But in the letter above quoted, he ha himself adverted to the fact that, 'by the statutes of ou College not the fellows but the Bishop of Ely does put in an constitute the Master of the College[1]'; and Matthew Wre had already determined that the appointment should b given to the author of the *Exposition of the Creed*. O December the 4th, accordingly, Dr Worthington's *Diar* recorded 'This day Dr Pearson was admitted Master of Jesu College[2].'

Pearson's previous career:

his remarkable attainments at Eton.

None, probably, of the changes in the Headships excite a more lively interest than that to which the above entr refers. John Pearson had been educated at Eton in th days when Sir Henry Wotton was provost and John Hales fellow. His stay there had been prolonged until he ha reached his nineteenth year, and his ardour and attainment as a student, especially of the Greek and Latin Fathers, wer already alike remarkable, when in 1631 he entered at Queens College. His father, Robert Pearson, archdeacon of Suffolk had been educated at Queens'; but in the following yea John migrated to King's, where he was elected a scholar and, two years later, to a fellowship. On the death of hi father, he succeeded to a small patrimony which served t alleviate the privations he was destined to encounter in afte life; while Davenant collated him to a prebend in Salisbur cathedral; and in 1640, he was presented (probably b Henry Coke) to the rectory of Thorington in Suffolk. H continued, however, to be resident at Cambridge at intervals and in 1643, on the eve of the Westminster Assembly, h delivered a memorable sermon at St Mary's on *The Excellenc of Forms of Prayer*[3]. In opposition to that Puritan aver

his election to a scholarship at King's College: 1632.

His sermon in defence of Forms of Prayer, &c. June 1643.

[1] *Diary* (*u. s.*), I 217.

[2] *Ibid.* I 231.

[3] *The Excellency of Forms of Prayer, especially of the Lord's Prayer.* A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, at St Mary's, in A.D. 1644. By John Pearson, M.A., Fellow of King's College, afterwards Lord Bishop of Chester. Neve before printed. London: for Geo Sawbridge, at the Three Golde Flower-de-Luces in Little Britain 1711. See *The Minor Theological Works of John Pearson, D.D.* No

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sion from prescribed forms of devotion, which has already come so prominently before us, he demonstrated that New Testament precedent and primitive use alike authorized the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer; while he also adduced good reason for believing that other public forms of prayer might be traced back as far as the time of Constantine the Great. It would be as reasonable to maintain that all Creeds, or professions of Faith, should be extempore, as that all prayers should be so. His whole argument, cast in the scholastic mould, urged without passion, unadorned with rhetoric, and appealing exclusively to those early Fathers from whose *dicta* the Anglican Church itself recognized no appeal, produced a marked effect; and although it appears doubtful whether the sermon was printed during his lifetime, it was probably remembered to his death.

Subsequently to the delivery of this discourse, Pearson, having been deprived of his living, served for a time as chaplain in Goring's force; and then, when the royal cause seemed hopeless, withdrew to London, where he was to be heard of as rendering valuable service in obtaining subscriptions to Walton's *Polyglot*, and as filling more than one chaplaincy to some noble family. In 1654, he was approached by some of the residents in Eastcheap who attended the services at St Clement's Church, with a request that he would give them a weekly sermon, or 'lecture,' as it was often designated. There would seem to have been no regular service on such occasions, and consequently the question of the use of the Liturgy did not arise; nor does the invitation appear to have been coupled with any offer of pecuniary recompense[1]. Pearson, however, acceded to the

first collected, with a Memoir of the Author, etc. By Edward Churton, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: at the University Press. 1844. Vol. II 97-111. Churton, in a foot-note (p. 97), adduces good reason for concluding that this discourse was delivered in the first half of the year 1643.

[1] According to William Jenkyn (*Funeral Sermon for Lazarus Seaman*, 1675), London (*i.e.* the City) at this period lay under the reproach of remunerating its preachers somewhat inadequately, and he adjures his hearers (pp. 37-8) to 'Make that proverb cease, *London loves a cheap Gospel*.' It appears, however, that St Clement's was rebuilt by the parishioners, shortly before the Restoration. *Preface* to Pearson's *Minor Theological Works* (*n.s.*), I xlv.

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CHAP. V. request, and gave the lectures regularly down to the Restoration,—one of the series of these discourses being that which he afterwards published as his *Exposition of the Creed*. The fact that he continued to give his lectures for several years, would seem to be a sufficient ground for assuming that they were successful, although he resorted to none of those artifices of pulpit oratory which were deemed necessary in order to attract an audience in those days. Pearson knew his hearers, and he sought neither 'to dazzle them with tropes,' such as charmed the listeners at Golden Grove, nor did he seek to overawe them with a parade of unknown tongues such as the rustics at Childrey had looked for from Pococke[1]. But taking the admitted doctrine of the Church as the basis of his discourses, he brought his academic culture to bear, and that very successfully, upon the task of making clear, or at least clearer than before, the chief tenets of the Christian faith. The shrewd, hard-headed merchants and traders of Eastcheap, as they stole in from the noisy thoroughfare and the crowded mart, recognized the service which he sought to render them and honoured it accordingly. They listened, and found themselves enlightened, comforted, and reassured; while he, in return, dedicated to them, his 'dear parishioners,' the quarto of 1659 (the form in which the first edition of his lectures appeared), appending, as *marginalia*, references to, or quotations from, the authorities on which he mainly relied,—with respect to which a competent critic observes, that 'they are almost always the best for their purpose and almost always fairly interpreted.' It was thus that, although not himself a great preacher, Pearson was able to render a great service to the religious world: and, to quote the same criticism, 'probably few writers have had a larger influence on those who have filled the pulpits of the Church of England for the last two centuries[2].'

His *Exposition of the Creed*: 1659.

Character of his expositions well suited to a City audience.

He dedicates his published volume to his parishioners.

Value of his *marginalia*.

At St John's College, Dr Tuckney maintained his reputation as a conscientious and courageous divine. He had,

[1] See *supra*, pp. 388–9.

[2] Cheetham (S.), Lecture on *John Pearson*, in *Masters in English Theology* (1877), pp. 232, 239.

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indeed, by contributing to the *Sostra*, given his assent to the congratulations which welcomed Charles on his return; but when the use of the Prayer Book was resumed in chapel, it was noted that his seat was unoccupied; and even when appointed a member of the Savoy Conference, convened for the express purpose of liturgical revision[1], he persistently evaded the summons to attend[2]. At length, while the Conference was still sitting, the mandate came for his ejection both from his mastership and his professorship. Royalty professed to discern in the fact of his being 'well stricken in years' (he was only sixty-two), and in certain alleged 'infirmities of body,' reasons for apprehending that he might prove 'not so well able to bear the burden of those two places,' a conclusion somewhat at variance with the nomination of the president of Queens', now in his eightieth year, to the deanery of Ely. Manchester did his best to break the blow, by at the same time assuring Tuckney, in a letter accompanying the official intimation, that the measure was not the result 'of any dislike of your person or distrust of your ability'; 'I shall my self,' he added, 'upon all occasions improve my interest for your advantage[3].' Eventually, Tuckney signed the resignation of his professorship[4], and shortly after withdrew to London. There, for the ensuing four years, he lived a retired life, occasionally preaching to private congregations. In 1665, however, the outbreak of

[1] '...to take into your serious and grave consideration, the several directions, rules, and forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult about the same,' etc. See Baxter's *Life and Times*, i 303–4.

[2] '...alledging his backwardness to speak, though he had been the Doctor of the Chair in Cambridge.' Baxter, *Ibid.* p. 307. Salter however observes, 'everyone will see whence this "backwardness to speak" arose,' and attributes Tuckney's silence to a Demosthenean ἀργυράγχη, consequent upon his sense of the imperfect compensation he had received on surrendering up both his professorship and his mastership (*Life of Tuckney* in Preface to the *Eight Letters*, pp. x–xi).

[3] The income of the rectory of Somersham, amounting to £100 *per annum*, which was attached to the Regius professorship but had not been paid to Tuckney during the time he filled the chair, was now granted him for life, the future rector being required to give 'assurance in law' for the payment of the same (Calamy, *Ejected Ministers* (1713), ii 78–80; Cooper, *Annals*, iii 484, n.). This was the sole compensation he received.

[4] His resignation, dated June 12, 1661, is given by Baker, MSS. xxxv 265.

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CHAP. V. the plague drove him into the provinces, and he found shelter with friends near Nottingham; but an endeavour to carry on his ministrations brought him under the notice of the authorities. He was consequently, says Calamy, 'troubled and confin'd, but it was in the house of Francis Pierrepoint, esquire, where he was treated very civilly and within a few months discharg'd[1].' On quitting London, he had left his library stored away at Scriveners' Hall, and it was burnt in the Great Fire. Its loss made him less anxious to return, and it was not until 1669 that, after sojourning in different places in the country, he again saw the capital, where he died, in February 1670, and was interred in the church of St Andrew Undershaft[2].

The services rendered by Peter Gunning, as editor of the *Certain Disquisitions*[3], were probably his chief recommendation in the eyes of Charles, when singling him out, as he had done in the case of Fleetwood, for more substantial rewards than his father had been able to confer at Oxford. Already, indeed, Gunning was a Head,—having been elected to the mastership of Corpus, on the death of Dr Love, whom he had also succeeded in the Lady Margaret professorship, besides being instituted to two rectories. He was, says the historian of Corpus, 'looked upon as the properest person for settling the university in right principles again, after the many corruptions that had crept in amongst them[4]....For he was reckoned one of the most learned and best beloved sons of the Church of England; and as such was chosen proctor both for the chapter of the Church of Canterbury, and for the clergy of the diocese of Peterborough, in the Convocation held in 1661, was one of the Committee upon the review of the Liturgy, and principally concerned in the Conference at the Savoy[5].' Such was the divine who now succeeded

[1] Calamy, *u. s.* pp. 80-1.

[2] *Ibid.* ii 81.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 287-9.

[4] So also Baker,—'this society [St John's] having been miserably tainted and infected with factious and pernicious principles, it was necessary to bring in such a man as would effectually rout out the old leaven and restore it to its former lustre.' Baker-Mayor, p. 233.

[5] Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, pp. 150-7; Masters-Lamb, pp. 186-7.

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Tuckney both in the mastership of St John's and in the chair of the Regius professorship of divinity.

At Magdalene, Dr Rainbowe, who had been ejected on his refusal to take the Engagement[1], was now reinstated in the mastership, and shortly after received special marks of royal favour. After being appointed chaplain to the King, he was promoted, in 1661, to the deanery of Peterborough, where it was, accordingly, obligatory on him to reside during the greater part of the year. On his election, however, in 1662, to the office of vice-chancellor, he returned for a time to his college lodge to discharge his new official duties. But within another two years, he resigned both headship and deanery on being nominated to the bishopric of Carlisle. His second period of office having been thus brief and interrupted, the master of Magdalene, notwithstanding his generous and sympathetic disposition and unquestionable ability, had been able to do but little for his college; although, according to Mr Purnell, it was through his good offices that it obtained the right to nominate to the office of proctor once in nine, instead of forty-four years[2].

At Trinity, Dr Wilkins, whose brief tenure of the mastership has already come under our notice[3], found himself called upon to deal with tendencies that were partly reactionary and partly progressive,—that is to say, with the returning tide of Royalist enthusiasm, and also with the growing spirit of philosophical enquiry. With both, however, he was, to a certain extent, in sympathy; for notwithstanding that he was Cromwell's brother-in-law, he had been noted throughout the Protectorate for his endeavours to shield the sufferers in the royal cause, thereby gaining numerous friends now at Court; while he was yet more widely known and esteemed

[1] See *supra*, p. 384.

[2] *The Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Edw. Rainbow, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Carlisle.* London, 1688 [By Jonathan Bankes]. p. 56. 'And not only so, but because some who were put up to preach in the University Church, got for a small sum of money others to do it for them, who performed it so meanly that it turned often to the dishonour thereof...he procured a mulct of 40s. to be imposed on every such offender; and to give a good example therein to the Masters of Arts, the Heads of the Colleges (by his instigation) yielded to preach there in their turns.' *Ibid* pp. 56-7.

[3] *Supra*, p. 546.

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by that rapidly multiplying body of scientific thinkers, who were shortly to find a rallying centre and means of fuller interchange of ideas, by the founding of the ROYAL SOCIETY, with himself as at once its secretary and its guiding spirit. But his appointment to the mastership of Trinity, granted by Parliament in response to the petition of the fellows, now reverted to the Crown; and on their again petitioning that he might be permitted to retain that office, as one who, they urged, was 'heartily honored and loved of all,' Charles found himself precluded from extending to Dr Wilkins the same clemency that he had vouchsafed to Dr Love. Dr Henry Ferne,—whom we last saw taking refuge in Oxford in 1643, from the arrest which threatened to follow upon the publication of his *Resolving of Conscience* at Cambridge[1],—had been, during the seventeen years that had since elapsed, still further adding to his claims upon the gratitude of the Royalist party. At Oxford he had published a second edition of his daring manifesto, to be followed by other pamphlets, put forth as rejoinders to his assailants, among them a notable *Reply* to those who maintained the lawfulness of subjects taking up arms against their sovereign in 'the pretended defence of Religion and Liberty.' He had been a frequent preacher from the pulpit of St Aldgate's, and generally with a direct application of his discourse to the crisis then in progress. Charles himself was at a loss as to how he might sufficiently reward the efforts of a champion at once so able and so fearless,—efforts which, as in the case of Gunning, seemed very inadequately recognized by the bestowal of the degree of D.D. on the part of the university. One day, among the numerous rumours which found their way into the beleaguered city, came the report that Dr Comber, master of Trinity, was dead; and Charles, without waiting for confirmation of the intelligence, forthwith assured Dr Ferne that he should be the next ruler of that society wherein his courageous devotion to the Crown had involved the loss of his fellowship. The report, however,

[1] *Supra*, pp. 260–1.

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was soon known to be false; and then it was, that, in order to console his faithful follower, the King handed him a patent for the mastership of Trinity College 'when it should prove void.' From that time, Ferne's devotion to his sovereign was even yet more marked. He attended him at Carisbrooke, and is said to have been the preacher of the last sermon to which the King listened prior to his removal to London for his trial. After the fall of the monarchy, he retired into Yorkshire, where he became still more widely known as a pamphleteer, especially distinguishing himself by the prominent share which he took in the attack evoked by the publication of Harrington's *Oceana* and the theory of republican government therein set forth. It was now, when Comber was actually dead, and Dr Wilkins's retirement from the mastership of Trinity was believed to be inevitable, that Ferne came forward to claim the fulfilment of the promise signed by Charles's father, and that his claim was forthwith recognized by the son. His tenure of the post which he had so long coveted was, however, almost as brief as that of his predecessor's, extending over only eighteen months; but during that time he was twice elected vice-chancellor; and while, in connexion with the college, he set a praiseworthy example of moderation, by obtaining the confirmation of those elections to fellowships which had taken place during the Commonwealth, in connexion with the university, he showed a no less laudable discretion, by allowing only divines who assented to the doctrine of the Church of England, to preach at Great St Mary's[1]. His acceptance of a long-promised piece of preferment[2], the deanery of Ely, was followed, within a twelvemonth, by his resignation of the same, to be succeeded by Dr Martin, and himself to be consecrated to the see of Chester, of which his tenure was yet more brief. He appears, indeed, never to have visited his episcopate, his death having taken place, exactly five weeks

[1] Rouse Ball (W. W.), *Trinity College*, p. 101; *D.N.B.* XVIII 373 [Art. by Miss Bradley, now Mrs Murray Smith].

[2] This had been, like the mastership of Trinity, promised him long before; according to Kennett (*Register*, p. 644) in a warrant signed by Charles at Brussels in 1659.

later, in the house of his brother-in-law, Clement Nevill, in St Paul's Churchyard. Scrupulous, to the last degree, in the administration of every official duty which assumed the nature of a trust, he bequeathed to Trinity College the sum of £10, 'by way of restitution,' as he expressed it,—being troubled, apparently, with respect to some trifling inaccuracies in accounts of which he had the keeping when a fellow,—'and fearing that I did not discharge those petty stewardships (which I sometime bore there) so faithfully as I should[1].' Although a fervid controversialist, Ferne is described by contemporary writers as a man of conciliatory and equable temper. He had, consequently, few personal enemies, while his gentle blood and loyal service marked him out for special honours at his death. From the precincts of that ancient temple (itself so soon to be destroyed) beneath whose shadow he passed away, they bore him across the river to the historic Abbey; royal heralds attended at his obsequies; and a Latin inscription on the stone which marked the place of his interment in St Edmund's Chapel, testified to the fidelity with which he had soothed the latter days of his martyred monarch[2]. No Master of Trinity was ever more honoured in his death.

The state of Emmanuel College, as we last saw it[3],—declining both in numbers and reputation, under William Dillingham,—was regarded with somewhat mingled feelings by William Sancroft, when, on his return from Rome, in 1662, he was called upon to assume the administration. His life, since his ejection in 1651, had been spent partly at Fressingham, his native place, and partly abroad; but of his genuine loyalty throughout there could be no question. On his arrival in England, he had forthwith been appointed one of the royal chaplains and a prebendary of Durham, and he was also one of those who were created D.D. by royal mandate. Personally, he appears to have been somewhat surprised at being chosen to the mastership of his old college; but, of all the Cambridge foundations, Emmanuel was held by

[1] Kennett, *Register*, p. 644.
[2] Mrs Murray Smith, *Roll Call of Westminster Abbey*[2], p. 184.
[3] *Supra*, p. 535.

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Manchester and others now in authority to stand most in need of reform, and Sancroft to be the best qualified to carry such reform into effect. The future archbishop of Canterbury, characterized by Macaulay as 'an honest and pious though narrow-minded man[1],' does not, at this juncture at least, approve himself, to any perceptible extent, superior to the historian's estimate. At the outset, he decided that the first thing to be done by the society which he had been called upon to rule, was to 'divest itself of that former singularity which rendered us heretofore so unhappily remarkable[2].' Such is the intimation of his general point of view with which he commences a lengthy letter (still preserved in the treasury at Emmanuel) addressed to his former tutor, Ezekiel Wright, who, along with two other of the senior fellows, had offered, it will be remembered, a somewhat stolid resistance to the statute *de mora sociorum* during the tenure of the mastership by Sancroft's uncle[3]. Wright was at this time residing at his rectory of Thurcaston in Leicestershire, but he and his old pupil kept up a correspondence and were in full sympathy with respect to the reforms which they desired to see carried out at Emmanuel. After making the above general declaration, the newly-installed master goes on to particularize and comment on the features which have chiefly arrested his attention since his return, and which appear to have materially qualified the pleasure he might be supposed to feel on resuming residence amid the once familiar surroundings. Everything seemed changed. He knew no one; the college itself appeared 'quite another thing'; although he admits that 'in some regards the change is such that I cannot but thank God for it; there being neither faction amongst us, nor disaffection to the government of Church and State, but a general outward conformity to what is established by law, and, I hope, true principles of duty and obedience deep laid within[4].' But coming fresh, as he did, from visits to some of the most

[1] *Hist. of England* (1849), I 431.
[2] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 109.
[3] See *supra*, pp. 213–215.
[4] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel College*, p. 109.

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gorgeous shrines of Italy, the contemplation of portions of the fabric around him gave him absolute pain,—the tottering chapel, as Evelyn had described it, six years before, 'meanly erected,' and, like those of the Reformed churches abroad, running 'north and south with rude wooden flooring and not a surplice visible[1]'; the library, on the other hand,—in defiance of the time-honoured canon handed down from Vitruvius,—standing east and west, so that the early morning light was virtually lost, the room itself being also so small, that Holdsworth had stipulated that another should be built before the books he had bequeathed were sent[2]. 'I have it in designe,' writes Sancroft, 'to make both a new library and chapel too.' The falling off in numbers gave him less concern than the low standard of attainments reached by the scholars. He had just been presiding at an election for fellowships, and was concerned to find that he had no other alternative, consistently with due regard to acquirements, than to admit candidates who had received their education elsewhere, 'so that half the society are foreigners,' and it had consequently been necessary to obtain the royal dispensation for disregarding certain statutable conditions with respect to age and 'country[3].' 'It would grieve you,' he adds, 'to hear one of the public examens; the Hebrew and Greek learning being out of fashion everywhere[4], and especially in the other colleges, where we are forced to seek our candidates for fellowships; and the

[1] Evelyn-Bray, II 96; so also Dr Palmer, seven years later: 'notavi sacellum vetustate pene confectum: tabulati tremorem, parietum rimas, tumores, et crustas ferro constrictas: mirum est tot annos stetisse, quod brevi collapsurum fuisse crediderim.' *Letter*, 11 *Oct.* 1669, *preserved in* 'Bonnet.' See Willis and Clark, II 709-2.

[2] Shuckburgh, *Emmanuel*, p. 112.

[3] Shuckburgh, *Ibid.* pp. 110–111. Sancroft appears to be here referring either to migrants from other colleges (whether in Cambridge or Oxford) and possibly to those who had been educated in schools not connected with Emmanuel. 'Foreigner,' as implying a different *nationality*, is used by Poole when alluding to 'a great desire in many foreign persons to learn the English tongue, that so they may understand our English divines,' etc. Such persons, however, were quite outside the scheme of the *Model*; 'but,' he says, 'if it shall please any to contribute any sum or sums to this end and with this desire, it shall be faithfully employed to that purpose.' *Life of Matthew Robinson*, pp. 179-180.

[4] *Cf. supra*, p. 537, where the neglect into which these languages had fallen appears as one of the defects which it was Poole's design, in his *Model*, to make good.

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rational learning they pretend to being neither the old philosophy nor steadily any one of the new[1].'...'I find not that old genius and spirit of learning generally in the college that made it once so deservedly famous; nor shall I hope to retrieve it any way sooner, than by your directions who lived here in the most flourishing times of it[2].'

His advice thus invoked, the rector of Thurcaston did not fail to seize the opportunity of expressing a hope, that nothing would be done towards bringing the statute, *de mora sociorum* (which had deprived him of his fellowship)[3], again into operation,—a suggestion with which Sancroft expresses his full concurrence. He had himself, he says, been considering the matter, prior to the receipt of Wright's letter. 'The King's suspension of that statute,' he goes on to relate, 'is, for ought I can learn, lost during these last times; you will easily guess how. But I have recovered the first draught of it under my Lord of Ely's own hand (whom the King appointed to pen it), and a copy of which I found among my uncle Dr Sancroft's papers, and have preserved it ever since. If I cannot inquire out the original, I will, if I live, get it to pass the seal once more[4].' But just as Charles felt little disposed to do aught that seemed to contravene his father's design, so Sancroft felt an equal disinclination to reverse the policy of his uncle; and the statute *de mora sociorum*,—a measure which, if carried into effect, would probably have averted some of the gravest abuses (whether at Emmanuel or elsewhere) with regard to college administration at both universities during the next two centuries,—was thus consigned to oblivion.

It is, however, sufficiently clear, from what Sancroft says elsewhere in his letter, that the main difficulty with which the authorities at Emmanuel had to contend at this time was the inadequacy of their resources for holding out inducements to poor but promising students. He expressly asserts

[1] By 'steadily' Sancroft is perhaps glancing at the opposition to the Cartesian philosophy which was now springing up and causing not a few even of those who had been its most enthusiastic defenders to falter in their allegiance.

[2] Shuckburgh, *Ibid.* p. 111.

[3] See *supra*, pp. 213–214; also references in Index to Vol. II 677 under *Statutes*.

[4] Shuckburgh, *u.s.* p. 112.

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that, as regards the fellowships, 'the statutable allowance' is 'so miserably scant that if the crowd [*i.e.* numbers] fail us, they afford not a competent subsistence'; while the scholarships 'are so many, and so few to fill them, that there is never any competition[1].' Here again, the plan set forth in Poole's *Model*, whereby deserving students were to be guaranteed an adequate maintenance throughout a seven years' course of study, would have afforded precisely that assistance of which Emmanuel, in consequence partly of political changes, now stood especially in need[2].

The above letter, it is to be noted, has no small value as a confidential *resumé* of the grounds on which, in the year 1663, so many of those who were intimately acquainted with the former history of the university and honestly desired to promote what they held to be its interests, hailed the reaction which was now unmistakeably setting in with unqualified approval. They had seen, for years past, as it seemed to them, the bark of Faith rushing perilously on,—its pilot lost and only strange lights gleaming from among the rocks or on the distant shore. There had been nothing for it, but to cast anchor and await the dawn; and then, if possible, regain the harbour,—that is to say (to drop the metaphor), to bring back the old studies, the obsolete text-books, the frivolous disputations in the schools, and the Latin discourses in the pulpit. 'Not so after the Restauration[3],' is the expression wherewith Anthony Wood more than once sums up his description of what was most characteristic in the ordinances and discipline of the Presbyterian or Independent *régime* at Oxford; and it is applicable almost equally to Cambridge. And to Sancroft, as he recalled those quiet days when he himself was college lecturer on Greek and Hebrew, and able to take counsel with his esteemed tutor and other seniors, it seemed that the very best thing, not only for Emmanuel but for the university at large, would be to restore, as far as possible, the conditions that then prevailed.

[1] Shuckburgh (*u. s.*), pp. 110, 111.

[2] See also Wood (Ant.), *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, I 301, n. 2.

[3] See *Life and Times* (*u. s.*), I 297, 301, etc.

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The failure of the Savoy Conference in 1661, and the passing of the Act of Uniformity in the following year, imparted additional strength to the policy of retrogression, and nowhere was its operation more sensibly felt than at the universities. Clarendon, when entering upon office as chancellor at Oxford, had dwelt with special emphasis on the necessity of restoring the ancient discipline. In the following year he visited Cambridge, to hear Pearson's inaugural lecture as Lady Margaret professor; when the lecturer, in his prefatory oration, saluted him as 'Lord Chancellor of this realm and most distinguished son of the other university[1]'; while, in the lecture[2], he proceeded to define the plan and method of his treatment as that of the Schoolmen, and of Thomas Aquinas more especially, in preference to the Master of the Sentences.

How much further this reactionary movement might have extended, if it had not been held in check by counter influences, may be to some extent conjectured if we turn to note the change that supervened at the chief centres of education in France, after Cartesianism had been denounced and the scholastic philosophy again expounded from the chairs of the Sorbonne and by Jesuit teachers throughout the provinces; while the Academy at Saumur was formally closed and its professors expelled[3]. That an equally sweeping reaction did not take place in the English universities

[1] 'Tuque Dom. Cancellarie hujus regni, et alterius Academiæ ornatissime Fili.' *Oratio I* (*Inauguralis*), Pearson-Churton, I 399.

[2] *Lectio I.* 'Lectionum Ratio et Methodus, quare Scholastica' [see *Ibid.* I 1, and n. (a)]. 'Cum cathedram in scholis theologicis occupaverim, in proclivi est colligere, et quod theologiam profitear, et quod scholasticam (*Ibid.*).... Verbo dicam, methodum illam quæ in Summa Aquinatis continetur, ut celebriorem, ut meliorem sequimur.' *Ibid.* I 9.

[3] See the interesting account given by Prost of the 'Dissolution de l'Académie,' in the final chapter of his *La Philosophie à l'Académie Protestante de Saumur* (1907). The 'Programme des Cours de l'Académie' for 1680, which he prints in the Appendix (pp. 153–5), is an interesting illustration of the higher Catholic education in France in the latter part of the 17th century, a few years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,—a measure which struck a like blow to the industrial welfare of France, that the suppression of the *Académie* at Saumur had dealt to the higher education of the country: 'c'était, par tradition, l'établissement favori de la noblesse protestante, comme La Flèche était celui de la noblesse catholique. De plus, l'activité intellectuelle entretenait un commerce de librairie important.' *Ibid.* p. 136.

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may certainly be partly attributed to the influence of the newly founded Royal Society at Oxford, and at Cambridge to that of a new group of thinkers (the so-called Platonists), who, working partly in harmony with, and partly in divergence from, Cartesianism, now began to exert an influence which, for a time, threw that of all other teachers of philosophy into the shade.

'I know not how it cometh to pass, but too many Christians have too much of heathen talk; and so also, in a reciprocation, some heathen have very much of that which seemeth correspondent unto sacred Scripture.' p. 25.

'The Teacher of the Gentiles instructeth us Christians not to disembrace goodnesse in any, nor truth in any. Plato's rule is good,—Οὐ τίς, ἀλλὰ τί. Let us not so much consider who saith, as what is said; who doeth, as what is done. Let not the authority of the teacher tempt thee to erre; as Vincentius Lirinensis saith,—the errors of the Fathers were temptations to the Church.' p. 21.

'God expressed Himself to them [the Gentiles] in the vast and ample volume of the world.' p. 39. 'Nature's light is a subcelestiall starre in the orb of the microcosme; God's voice, man's usher in the school of the world. As truths supernaturall are not contradicted by reason, so neither surely is that contradicted by Scripture which is dictated by right reason.' p. 14.

The above sentiments form part of a series of discourses, or 'Commonplaces,' as they were termed, delivered in Trinity College chapel, at the time when Dr Comber was Master (1631–45), by John Sherman, a fellow of the society and also bachelor of divinity. Sherman had been educated at Charterhouse and the volume itself is dedicated to the Governors of that School, at that time already becoming widely famed, alike for the humane spirit which dictated its foundation and the enlightened views which found expression in its teaching. The author expressly states that he had been prevented from giving to his pages the amount of revision that he would have liked to bestow upon them, the Commonplaces out of which they were composed having been,

[1] *A Greek in the Temple: some Commonplaces delivered in Trinity College Chapell in Cambridge, upon Acts xvii. part of the 28 verse.* By John Sherman, Bachelour in Divinity and Fellow of the same College. Daniel, Cambridge, 1641.

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he explains, almost the first he had 'ever made[1],' but the sentiment and the phraseology alike suggest that he must have been well acquainted with Whichcote; his references to Aristotle, as accepting the theory of the immortality of the Soul (p. 75), and his belief in the indebtedness of 'Pythagoras, Trismegist and Plato' 'to Scripture' (p. 30), afford almost equally strong presumption of an intimacy with the author of the *Psychozoia Platonica*; while the title suffices to indicate that his appeal is from the traditions of the Latin Church to that pagan philosophy from which he, and those with whom he was in sympathy, derived much of their inspiration. As, however, Sherman was slightly the senior in academic standing, it is at least open to question whether his printed discourses may not have contributed, to a far greater degree than is on record, to aid the movement the origin of which has generally been attributed to Whichcote's unprinted discourses alone. The chief incidents in the official career of the latter, during his tenure of the provostship of King's College, have already come under our notice[2]; his remarkable influence as a teacher and a philosopher requires to be dealt with somewhat more fully. According to his biographer, his discourses as lecturer at Trinity Church were mainly designed to counteract the 'fanatic enthusiasm and senseless canting[3]' then in vogue; and we learn from Tillotson that his tenure of the lectureship extended over twenty years,—from the time that is to say when the troubled state of the Reformed Churches, was beginning, both at home and abroad, to excite increased attention, down to the days of the Barebones parliament.

[1] 'They are next unto the first Common-places which I ever made. Since, much time, and years have run, wherein I might have added much, varied somewhat, polished all,' etc. Duport, who contributes some complimentary verses, declares that the author of the entire Discourse, which extends to some eighty quarto pages, 'Sacrum gentili de stercore colligit aurum,' Dum vertit Graeci jugera multa Soli.' *Ibid.* See also in Duport's *Musae Subsecivae* (ed. 1676), p. 359, 'Ad Ioannem Shermannum, A. M. Coll. Trin. Socium, *de eruditissimo suo Tractatu, in illud* Paulinum, Act. xvii 28, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.' Here Duport introduces the name of Aratus, the reputed author of Paul's quotation,—'Quando igitur verus fuerit de numine testis, *Cum Sole et Luna semper Aratus erit.*'

[2] See *supra*, pp. 296–8.

[3] Salter, Preface to the *Eight Letters*, p. xxii.

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Whatever, consequently, the lecturer might say during that eventful period, would naturally be listened to with more than ordinary attention, especially when (as was the case with Whichcote) he combined considerable social influence with an amount of personal popularity and a reputation for sound judgement and discernment unrivalled in the university. Seniors and juniors alike thronged to the afternoon lectures at Trinity Church, with a regularity equal to that which had marked their attendance in the days when Preston's reputation was at its height; and with a critical vigilance which was probably unprecedented,—the very fame of the preacher only serving to quicken the attention of those whose standing and position in the university justified, to a certain extent, their assumption of a right to exercise a kind of censorship. As, however, Whichcote published nothing during his lifetime, and his discourses were delivered from hastily written and very imperfect notes, it was difficult for critics to do more than comment on the tone and general tenour of his preaching[1]; while his amiability of temper, which led him to refer in terms of commendation and forbearance even to those from whom he differed widely, disarmed most of his opponents. Of Arrowsmith, for example, whose fervid controversial spirit has already come under our notice, we find him speaking in language of the highest respect[2]. His comparative wealth, again, would enable him to face the contingency of deprivation of office with more equanimity than most; while among his friends and former pupils he could count on the effective support of Worthington, Culverwel, and John Smith (the Platonists), of John Wallis, the mathematician, and Samuel Cradock. It is to the last-named, at this time a fellow of Emmanuel, that we really owe the commencement of that

[1] Salter, Preface to the *Aphorisms* (ed. 1753), pp. x, xiv.

[2] '... a later acquaintance indeed, but my friend of choice; a companion of my special delight, whom in my former years I have acquainted with all my heart. I have told him all my thoughts; and I have scarcely either spoken or thought better of a man; in respect of the sweetness of his spirit, and amiableness of his conversation.' *Eight Letters of Dr Antony Tuckney and Dr Benjamin Whichcote, etc. Written in September and October*, 1651, p. 7 [see also note 2 on following page].

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notable correspondence between Tuckney and Whichcote in which the germ of the new movement is distinctly to be traced. Cradock, in his intercourse with other members of the university, appears to have become aware that certain seniors (Tuckney among the number) were giving expression to opinions unfavourable to some of Whichcote's utterances[1], and he ventured, accordingly, himself, in turn, to suggest that these would-be critics were not dealing altogether 'ingenuously' with the eminent divine whom they were thus singling out for censure[2]. As Whichcote, at this time, was not only provost of King's but also vice-chancellor, there were few, probably, who felt themselves at once willing and entitled to lead the attack; but eventually, Tuckney, who still held the mastership of Emmanuel and had formerly been Whichcote's college tutor, determined that he would write on the subject to his quondam pupil,—being induced to take up his pen, according to his own account, by 'that ancient and still continued love and respect I bear you,' although he, at the same time, admits that he has 'seldom heard him preach, without also hearing something that hath very much grieved me.' Certain ambiguous expressions, such as 'divinest reason,' 'of more than mathematical demonstration,' had alone sufficed to disquiet him; but it was one particular discourse, delivered on 'Sunday, 7th September, 1651,' that decided him to write to the preacher,

[1] '...I understood that Mr Cradock was pleased not long since to say (he knows, to whom) that some of us deal disingenuously with you: as speaking against some of your tenents, without dealing with you in private,' etc. Tuckney to Whichcote, *Ibid.* p. 1. Cradock was elder brother of Zachary Cradock, provost of Eton; and probably related to Matthew Cradock, whose widow Whichcote afterwards married. See *D. N. B.* XII 436–8.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 1. A careful abstract, with copious quotations, of this controversy has been given by Tulloch in his *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century* (ed. 1872, vol. II 59–81). The *Eight Letters* were written between the months of August and December, 1651, during which time Whichcote was himself vice-chancellor; but they were not given to the public until more than a century afterwards, when Samuel Salter, master of the Charterhouse and a friend of Bentley, printed them, along with the *Aphorisms*, from a transcript made under the superintendence of his grandfather, archdeacon Jeffery of Norwich, whose daughter Salter's father had married. As literature, the *Letters* were consequently unknown to the university during the seventeenth century. See Preface to second edition of the *Aphorisms*, London, 1753.

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which he did on the ensuing day[1]. Whichcote, as Tuckney understood, had then and there ventured to affirm, 'that *all* those things wherein good men differ, may not be determined from Scripture,' inasmuch as Scripture itself 'in some places seems to be for the one part and in some other places for the other.' 'This,' says his critic, 'I take to be unsafe and unsound'; while he holds it as yet 'more dangerous' to advise, as Whichcote had done, that Christians,—in seeking a common ground of agreement,—should be willing to restrict the expression of orthodox belief, solely to 'Scripture words and expressions,' and 'not press other forms of words, which are from fallible men.' 'Christ by his blood,' says the writer, 'never intended to purchase such a peace, in which the most Orthodox, with Papists, Arians, Socinians, and all the worst of haeretiques, must be all put into a bag together[2].' To this, Whichcote's rejoinder (had he thereupon expressed his whole mind) would doubtless have been, that, as he himself lays it down in his *Aphorisms*, 'Determinations beyond Scripture, have indeed enlarged faith, but lessened charity and multiplied divisions[3].' For the present, however, he contented himself with simply affirming, 'that an ingenuous-spirited Christian,—after application to God, and diligent use of means to finde out truth,—might fairely propose, without offense taken, what upon search he findes cause to believe, and whereon he will venture his own soule[4].' Tuckney replies, that it is of material difference whether this be done 'onely in private, or alsoe in publique[5].' Whereupon

[1] *Eight Letters*, pp. 2–5. '...altho' your Speech and Answers the last Commencement were, in the judgement of abler men than myself, against my Commencement Position the former year, and your first yesterday advice directly against my Commencement Sermon; and what you delivered yesterday about Reconciliation, flatly against what I have preached for you in Trinity pulpit'; etc. *Ibid.* pp. 4–5.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 2–3.

[3] *Compendiae*, p. 71. The sting of this Aphorism consisted in its application, as expressed in another: 'The world will never be released from the superstitions of the Roman Church, till men confine themselves, in matters of Religion, to free Reason and plain Scripture.' *Aphorisms* (1753), Cent. xi 1086.

[4] *Eight Letters*, *u. s.* p. 13.

[5] 'The truth,' he says, 'may be so fundamentall, and so established, both by God, in his worde and by Christian magistrates, in their constitutions and lawes, that the contrarie will verie hardly be so fairlie proposed, as not to fall foule and with offense both on the weake, to their staggering, and the strong, to their greefe.' *Ibid.* p. 29.

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Whichcote (in a lengthy second letter occupying twenty-four pages) reasserted his position in the following pregnant terms: '*Truth is truth*, whosoever hath spoken it, or howsoever it hath been abused: but if this libertie may not bee allowed to the university, wherfore do wee study? Wee have nothing to do, but to gett good memories, and to learn by heart[1].' It was an utterance which may fairly be described as the key-note of nearly all that was said or written by the Platonist party, from the provost of King's himself down to Rust and Glanvil; but, in writing thus plainly, Whichcote, in the opinion of Tuckney, had only aggravated his offence, and, besides his sermons at St Mary's and at Trinity Church, there was also his Commencement Oration, delivered only a few weeks before in his capacity as vice-chancellor. Tuckney himself, as vice-chancellor in the year 1650, had also delivered *his* Commencement Oration, and he now thought to discern in his former pupil's discourse a distinct rejoinder to his own highly wrought Calvinistic conceptions[2]. Nor was this mere imagination on his part, he adds, but the opinion of men abler than himself; and his concern was greater than he could express, to hear, on the one hand, the human reason, 'the *recta ratio*,' extolled as indispensable to a genuinely ennobling and vivifying conception of the Truth, while Scripture, on the other hand, like some ancient oracle of Paganism, was represented as embodying utterances which were not merely difficult of interpretation but sometimes contradictory of each other!

Their final letters, each occupying less than two pages, while retracting nothing that either writer had before advanced, alike give expression to sentiments of mutual esteem. Tuckney, however, pleads that his 'spare time is short and

[1] *Eight Letters*, p. 57. So also in his sermon, 'I say, if so be a man doth not admit what he receives, with satisfaction to the reason of his mind, he doth not receive it as an intelligent agent, but he receives it as a vessel receives water; he is *continens* rather than *recipiens*.' The *Work of Reason*, Campagnac, p. 53.

[2] 'But I pray, Sir, look over the notes of one of your late sermons in St Marie's (I do not remember the text): and towards the latter end of it, if I do not much forgett, you did, with some confidence, assert the last resolution in *rationem rei*, as the like was asserted in the dispute at the Commencement.' *Third Letter* (8th Oct. 1651), p. 68.

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little' and defers his reply for the present, but expresses a hope that it will not be long before he is able to 'putt down in writing some kind of reply to what in your papers' [meaning Whichcote's previous letters] 'I am not satisfied in, that, although I willingly forbear your trouble, yett at least, when I am dead, some, that shall light on my papers, may see that it was not because I had nothing to say, that I now say nothing[1].' Whichcote, on the other hand,—whose equable nature was probably just at this time roused to unwonted indignation, as he marked the unsparing severity with which the Engagement was now being pressed home throughout the university,—had already, in his previous letter, spoken out his mind, and, unable to refrain from sarcasm, had denounced the 'croud of menne,'—the graceless bigots among whom they both lived,—as those 'who indeede professe some zeal for that happie point, of "Justification by Faith," yet are sensiblie degenerated into the devilish nature of malice, spight, furie, envie, revenge[2].' He was, however, already weary of the strife; and in his brief fourth letter,—written in the after-part of the day on which he had laid down his office of vice-chancellor,—he contents himself with simply deprecating Tuckney's implied reproaches, while he concludes by saying, 'Sir, wherein I fall short of your expectation, *I fail for truth's sake*, whereto alone I acknowledge myself addicted[3].'

While these letters may be regarded as decisive evidence of the incompatibility of the Platonists' point of view with that of the Presbyterians, it is to be remembered that they were seen by few, and remained altogether unknown to the

[1] *Eight Letters*, p. 131.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 126. The facts relating to the enforcement of the Engagement shew that the sweeping changes thereby involved at King's College were of quite recent occurrence at the time when Whichcote thus wrote (see *supra*, pp. 378-380), and the sudden removal of the majority of the younger fellows, in whose welfare he took a deep interest, may naturally have impelled him to use language which is certainly rare in what survives of his writings. It was in a calmer mood that he wrote, 'a man hath his religion to little purpose, if he doth not mend his nature and refine his spirit by it.' *Aphorisms*, Cent. III no. 247.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 134. 'Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,' Whichcote had deserted his former tutor to take service under the banner of 'Truth.'

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majority of those members of the university who were in residence at the Restoration; but from the very commencement of that great reaction the Provost and his disciples were seen to be unmistakably at issue with the Anglican party. A late distinguished scholar, in an able criticism of Whichcote, has noted it as a marked defect in his teaching, that he had but 'an imperfect conception of the corporate character of the Church, and of the divine life of the Christian society.' Whichcote, he adds, 'had little or no sense of the historic growth of the Church'; and he pronounces 'his teaching on the Sacraments' 'vague and infrequent[1].' The word 'Church' is, unquestionably, of rare occurrence in either the *Sermons* or the *Aphorisms*, but the views of their author on the subject of a State Church are sufficiently indicated in some of his most weighty *dicta*, of which the following may serve as examples: 'There is but *One* Church [one Religion] in all ages. It is *thought*, the World does not grow old; it is *certain*, the Church does not[2].' 'The world will never be released from the superstitions of the *Roman* Church, till men confine themselves, in matters of Religion, to free Reason and plain Scripture[3].' 'The sense of the Church is not a *rule*, but a thing *ruled*. The Church is bound unto Reason and Scripture, and governed by them, as much as any particular person[4].' 'Religion is *not* a system of Doctrines, an observance of Modes, a heat of Affections, a form of Words, a spirit of Censoriousness[5].' 'If this be not admitted,—"that difference of opinion, in some matters about Religion, should not make difference in Affection,"—we shall *all* be the worse for our Religion[6].' 'Nothing spoils human Nature more than false Zeal. The *Good nature* of an Heathen is more God-like than the furious *Zeal* of a Christian[7].' 'We must not put Truth into the place of a Means, but into the place of an End[8].'

That Whichcote's 'defects' are to any extent attri-

[1] Westcott, in *Masters in English Theology* (1877), p. 170.
[2] *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, Cent. XII no. 1107.
[3] *Ibid.* Cent. XI no. 1096.
[4] *Ibid.* Cent. X no. 921.
[5] *Ibid.* Cent. XII no. 1127.
[6] *Ibid.* Cent. X no. 984.
[7] *Ibid.* Cent. II no. 114.
[8] *Ibid.* Cent. VIII no. 795.

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butable, as Westcott suggests, to his familiarity with the 'abstractions of Plotinus,' may be questioned. And in fact, notwithstanding the statement of bishop Burnet[1], there appears to be little to shew that his knowledge of either Plato or Plotinus, at the time when he was tutor of Emmanuel, was sufficiently profound to render it probable that he would himself be inclined to urge upon others the study of those authors; while we have to bear in mind his own disclaimer of ever having been a hard student[2]; and although he had said enough, both in his letters and in the pulpit, to indicate the high value he attached to evidence derived from a præ-Christian past, his claims to rank as the founder of a school or the leader of a party in the university would hardly have survived, any more than those of his predecessor Collins,—of whom he often reminds us both in the character of his genius and his personal influence,—had not his efforts been seconded, his learning surpassed, and the range of his intellectual survey greatly transcended by Henry More.

If Whichcote succeeded in evading the obligation to sign the Covenant, More (as has been already noted)[3] was less fortunate; but his aversion from the spiritual bondage which that test involved was equally intense. The second son of a gentleman of fair estate at Grantham, the whole genius of the lad ran counter alike to parental admonitions and to the bias which his early education was designed to impart[4]. He tells us, however, that his father, rigid Calvinist though he

[1] 'He set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers: chiefly Plato, Tully and Plotin.' *Hist. of my own Time*, I 186-7; (ed. Airy) I 331.

[2] See *supra*, p. 532. Tuckney, in his second letter, had besought Whichcote not to 'runne-out in school-notions,' and had referred to an impression entertained by 'some,' 'that your great authors, you steere your course by, are Dr Field, Dr Jackson, Dr Hammond,—all three very learned men, the middle sufficiently obscure, and both hee and the last too corrupt.' *Eight Letters*, p. 38. This proved to be mere conjecture on Tuckney's part, and had no foundation in fact.

[3] *Supra*, p. 303, n. 1; that he had signed the Engagement appears to be beyond doubt; see Peile, *Christ's College*, p. 171; Carey, *Memorials of the Civil War*, II 244.

[4] 'being bred up, to the almost 14th year of my age, under Parents and a Master that were great Calvinists, but withal very pious and good ones.' *The Dr's Little Narrative of himself*, in *Life* by Ward, p. 5.

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was, would often in winter evenings r al‹ rd Spenser's *Faerie Queene* to his elder brother and himself, while in his conversations with them, he frequently 'commended philosophy and learning,' little deeming, we may feel assured, how poetry and commendation alike were destined to fire the imagination and decide the subsequent career of one of his auditors[1]. At the age of fourteen, Henry was sent to Eton, 'for the perfecting of the Greek and Latin tongue,' and there, according to his biographer, his master would 'at times be in admiration at his exercises,' an expression which can only be interpreted as implying, in relation to the Eton of the seventeenth century, a special facility in Latin verse composition[2], varied occasionally by translation from Latin authors, which may account for that mastery of the language of which More's writings subsequently gave evidence. According to his own narrative, however, he was, even at this early age, 'of an anxious and thoughtful genius,'—often murmuring to himself, as he strolled in the playground, the plaintive lines of Claudian[3], and at times depressed as he pondered over the dark doctrine of predestination[4]. From Eton he went up to Cambridge, where, in his seventeenth year, he was admitted a pensioner of Christ's College. This was in December 1631, and as it was not until the following July that Milton, having proceeded M.A., finally 'went down,' the newcomer can hardly have failed, during the brief period of their joint residence, to have heard a good deal about him, as one of the most notable students of the society, and distinguished as the writer of some exceptionally clever occasional verses. There is, however, no evidence that the two became acquainted.

[1] The brother was an elder brother named Alexander, who afterwards married and became a spendthrift, dying before his father. *Documents preserved in Consistory Court, Lincoln.*

[2] Latin verse composition was at this time receiving new stimulus from the writings of Charles Hoole (of Lincoln College, Oxford) and also from his ability as a teacher in London. See Foster Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, 479–480; *D. N. B.* xxvii 299.

[3] *Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem | Curarent Superi terras, an nullus inesset | Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu.* Claudian, *in Rufinum*, i 1–3.

[4] *Life* by Ward, p. 22; see also *Ibid.* pp. 4–6; *Divine Dialogues* (1668), i 478–9.

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P. V. Otherwise, it seems difficult to suppose that, with so much in common,—their skill in Latin, their love of philosophy and admiration of Plato, and their poetic feeling—'the lady' of Christ's would not have recognized in the young freshman, who was afterwards to be known as its 'Angel,' a genius kindred to his own. In college, More had for his tutor 'a person,' whom he describes as not only 'learned and pious,' but also, to his great relief, 'not at all a Calvinist,' and who evinced, moreover, an intelligent interest in his pupil's progress. The pupil, he soon discovered, required rather to be restrained than urged on; for More, at this time, was possessed by an almost consuming passion for knowledge, and especially, to quote his own words, a knowledge of 'that which was natural,' and, above all others, that which was held 'to dive into the deepest causes of things,' pronounced by Aristotle 'the first or highest philosophy or wisdom[1].' The tutor,—somewhat concerned, it would seem, at seeing a young man of fortune thus carried away by a passion so rare at that early age,—could not forbear from expressing his surprise, but was unable to elicit any more definite explanation than was contained in the reply, 'That I may *know*,'—'for even at that time,' continues More, 'the knowledge of natural and divine things seemed to me the highest pleasure and felicity imaginable[2].' His father, on the other hand, could only regard this unaccountable devotion to study as almost an absurdity; and even deemed it expedient to point out to him that the acquisition of so much knowledge would certainly prove prejudicial to that legitimate and reputable acquirement of wealth so desirable for the country gentleman, while the mere possession of such exceptional attainments might even seem an impertinence to those who would, otherwise, be most likely to be helpful to him in his advancement in life[3]. These remonstrances, however, proved of little

[1] *Præfatio Generalissima* to *Opera Omnia* (ed. 1679), i vi.

[2] *Life* by Ward, pp. 9-10.

[3] 'Your early encomiums of learning and philosophy did so fire my credulous youth with the desire of the knowledge of things, that your *after-advertisements, how contemptible learning would prove without riches, and what a piece of unmannerlinesse and incivility it would be held to seem wiser then them that are more wealthy and powerfull*, could never yet restrain my mind from her

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avail; and a few years later, Henry More published at the University Press his *Philosophicall Poems*[1], with an *Epistle* dedicatory, addressed to his 'dear Father,' wherein he directly attributes the appearance of the volume to the paternal influence. But as it was in these poems that the author first gave definite intimation of his erratic opinions, while a quotation from Lucretius on the title-page plainly indicated his consciousness of their novelty, it can hardly be doubted that the father's first impressions, as he glanced through the volume, must have been those of surprise and deep concern. Who, however, it might be asked, was responsible? The poems themselves were composed in that very same familiar Spenserian stanza, which, as it fell on the ears of the listening lads on those well-remembered wintry evenings, beside the crackling log-fire on the hearth at Grantham, had so often moved them to wonder and enthusiasm, while the entire volume was manifestly the result of laying to heart, only too faithfully, those paternal precepts enforcing the advantages of learning. Alexander More himself could hardly deny the truth of these reminiscences, which his son adroitly recalls in the *Epistle* above referred to; nor can it be doubted that he was touched by the filial tribute at the same time paid to his own virtues as a leading inhabitant of Grantham,—'your faithfulness, uprightnesse, sedulity for the publick welfare of the place, your generous openness and veracity[2].' As for himself, the author goes on to aver that,

first pursuit.' *Epistle to his Father*, prefixed to *Philosophicall Poems*. More here refers, perhaps sarcastically, to a theory of education, frequently to be met with long after the time at which he wrote, according to which the young were to be taught only what was appropriate to their actual condition and prospects in life.

[1] *Philosophicall Poems, by Henry More: Master of Arts and Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge.* 'Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante Trita solo, juvat integros accedere fontes. Lucr.' Cambridge, printed by Roger Daniel Printer to the University, 1647.

[2] The Documents preserved at Lincoln (above referred to), which were incorporated with the father's will and admitted to probate, shew that the father-in-law of Alexander More junior, had impeached the honesty of the father, in relation to a certain estate property, and Alexander More senior consequently deemed it necessary to appeal to his last will (which was proved at Grantham 23rd April 1619) a formal vindication of his own character. This fact serves to explain why, in 1647, Henry availed himself of the publication of his *Poems* as an opportunity for bearing testimony to his father's good name.

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'let this bookish disease make me as much poor as it will, it shall never make me the lesse just. Nor will you, I hope, esteem me the lesse dutyfull, that *without your cognescence* I become thus thankfull[1],'—an admission, apparently, that the volume had gone through the press without the father having any knowledge of his son's intentions. It must have been, accordingly, with very mingled feelings that Alexander More opened and perused the volume forwarded to him from Cambridge, in which, while the author, in his *Dedication*, frankly confesses himself 'not much solicitous, how every particle of these *Poems* may please you,' he, in the opening stanzas, like some ancient champion, on the eve of battle, defiantly proclaims, that

> '...if what's consonant to Plato's school
> (Which well agrees with learned Pythagore,
> Egyptian Trismegist, and th' antique roll
> Of Chaldee wisdome, all which time hath tore
> But Plato and deep Plotin do restore)
> Which is my scope, I sing out lustily:
> If any twitten me for such strange lore,
> And me, all blamelesse, brand with infamy,
> God purge that man from fault of foul malignity[2].'

If, however, as Ward would lead us to suppose, the father's rigid Calvinism was by this time to some extent relaxing, we may well believe that, although the fate of Galileo was still a warning to the scientific world, the assertion that the Ptolemaic theory was, none the less, destined ultimately to give place to the Copernican, would probably commend itself to his approval; and he would read, not without admiration, the vigorous lines in which the author, after apostrophizing those

> 'Blest souls first authours of Astronomie!
> Who clomb the heavens with your high reaching mind,
> Scaled the high battlements of the lofty skie,
> To whom compar'd this earth a point you find[3],'

subsequently proceeds to compare their assailants to those

[1] *Epistle* (*u. s.*).
[2] *Philosophicall Poems*, p. 155.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 2.

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fabled 'ancient Giants,' who, piling Pelion upon Ossa, themselves, in turn, strove, 'with raging wind,' 'to clamber up to heaven.'

'But all in vain, they want the inward skill.
What comes from heaven only can there ascend.
Not rage nor tempest that this bulk doth fill
Can profit aught; but gently to attend
The soul's still working, patiently to bend
Our mind to sifting reason, and clear light
That strangely figur'd in our soul doth wend
Shifting its forms, still playing in our sight,
Till something it present that we shall take for right[1].'

Nor would Alexander More have been disposed to gainsay the truth of the following rebuke to the persecutors of Galileo:—

'O you stiff-standers for ag'd Ptolemee,
I heartily praise your humble reverence
If willingly given to Antiquitie;
But when of him* in whom's your confidence,
Or your own reason and experience
In those same arts, you find those things are true
That utterly oppugne our outward sense,
Then are you forc'd to sense to bid adieu,
Not what your sense gainsayes to holden straight untrue[2].'

Calvinism itself had had its martyrs, and even Alexander More could not deny that the suffrages of his party were, by this time, mainly on the side of Galileo.

It is evident, however, that his son was, at this juncture, passing through an experience such as is not unfrequently to be observed in the developement of genius, when the youthful imagination, under the influence of an ardent desire to penetrate the mysteries that encompass human existence, seeks to fathom the abyss of Finality, and to analyse those spectral conceptions, the Infinitudes and the

[1] *Philosophicall Poems*, pp. 155–6. Lines singularly descriptive, it may be presumed, of his own mental processes; see Preface (p. 1) to his *Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660); also Ward, *Life*, pp. 151–5.

[2] *Ibid.* So Whichcote,—'Where Reason speaks, it is the voice of our Guide; a natural voice, we cannot but hear....They therefore are greatly mistaken, who in Religion oppose points of Reason and matters of Faith; as if Nature went one way, and the Author of Nature went another.' *Aphorisms*, Cent. IX nos. 877, 878.

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P. V. Immensities,—whether of Space, Time, or Being. But such conceptions, whether in connexion with the natural or with the supernatural world, with which they are equally interwoven, must ever defy the powers of the finite being to comprehend or grasp them; and the mere effort to do so has been described, by a wise thinker, as giving rise to a kind of disease, to which pensive youth in its progress towards maturity is especially liable[1]. It was, however, in connexion with the external world and the problems which Nature herself places before her children, that Henry More, although now past thirty, found his genius most deeply stirred, and stood mentally harassed, overawed, and, at times, even appalled. The design of this remarkable *Song of the Soul*, had, accordingly, for its object, not merely to set forth, once more, the riddle of the Universe, but even to propound at least a partial solution of some of its mysteries. Nor is this endeavour to be contemptuously dismissed as mere rhapsody and pure imagination. In marked contrast to more than one of the tall folios in which the author afterwards preferred to enshrine his disquisitions, this small octavo of 436 pages certainly does not, at first sight, suggest the amount of intellectual effort really involved in its production; while, although the author himself afterwards affected to speak slightingly of his toil[2], the admiration it evoked among his contemporaries is unquestionable.

The *Song* is in five Books; each being prefaced by an 'Address to the Reader,' wherein the author discusses, in plainer prose, that phase of his subject with which the Book itself is especially concerned, and thus successively treats, though very briefly, of those several problems which suggest themselves in connexion with the theory of the Soul's independent existence,—its Life, Immortality, Sleep, Unity[3],

[1] 'Our young people are diseased with the theological problems of original sin, origin of evil, predestination and the like.' Emerson, *Essay on Spiritual Laws*, *Essays* (1886), p. 107.

[2] 'For I must confesse such was the present haste and heat that I was then hurried in (dispatching them [the *Poems*] in fewer moneths then some cold-pated Gentlemen have conceited me to have spent years about them)' etc. *To the Reader, Upon this second Edition*, sig. B.

[3] The 'Unity' as maintained by

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and (in opposition to the theory of the fabled Lethe) its Memory after Death,—the last-named tenet being thus concisely summed up at the commencement of its discussion:—

> 'The life that here most strongly kindled was
> (Sith she awakes in death) must needs betray
> The soul to what nearest affinity has
> With her own self; and likenesses do sway
> The mind to think of what ever did play
> In her own self with a like shape or form;
> And contraries do help the memory:
> So if the soul be left in case forlorn,
> Remembrance of past joy makes her more deeply mourn[1].'

We have no evidence that More had any acquaintance with Italian literature, from which, indeed, his Calvinistic training was entirely averse, but the similarity of the idea embodied in the above stanza to that more concisely expressed in Dante's familiar verse[2], is worthy of note: while the lines may also serve to suggest that Milton, although unacquainted with the author during the brief period of their common residence at Christ's, may have been among the readers of the *Song of the Soul*, when, some twenty years later, he described it as the employment of certain doomed spirits in purgatory, to be for ever engaged in

> '.....high reasonings
> Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fixed fate, freewill, foreknowledge absolute,
> And find no end, in wandering mazes lost[3].'

Happily, however, the conditions under which Henry More pursued his studious career and propounded his philosophical

Plotinus in his discussion of the question, ἆρα γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸ μιᾶς, ἢ μία αἱ πᾶσαι; see *Enneads* IV ix; Dübner, p. 296. 'This,' says More, in his discussion of the latter alternative, 'is that which both Plotinus and I endeavour to destroy, which is of great moment: for, if one onely soul act in every body, whatever we are now, surely, this body laid in the dust, we shall be nothing.' *To the Reader*, prefixed to the *Antipsychopannychia*, in *Poems*, u.s.

[1] *Poems*, p. 292. 'And by the same reason, Platonists, Aristoteleans, Stoicks, Epicureans, and whatever sects and humors are on the Earth, may in likelihood be met with there [*i.e.* in the other world] so far as that estate will permit; though they cannot doubt of all things we doubt of here.' *Immortality of the Soul*, III c. 9, *Philosophical Writings* (1662), p. 180.

[2] *Inferno*, V 121–3.

[3] *Paradise Lost*, II 558–561.

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theories differed materially from those that surrounded and ultimately silenced Galileo. Nor was he, again, the struggling, impecunious scholar, with whom it was almost an imperative necessity that he should commend himself to the good opinion of those who were likely to aid him,—his position, in this respect, presenting an equally marked contrast to that of the ill-fated John Hall of St John's, whom he had himself sought to befriend in his struggling career[1]. Already in possession of a competence, and soon afterwards of a fortune, he was not only the exemplary student, whose special studies were those with which certain of the authorities of his college were most in sympathy, but also the genial, accomplished, and well-connected fellow, whose charms of manner and of person, combined with a conscientious discharge of the duties entrusted to him, seem to have won the loving favour of all. His pupils,—among whom, his biographer tells us, were 'several persons of great quality,'—much admired 'the excellent lectures he would deliver to them of Piety and Instruction, from the chapter that was read on nights in his chamber[2]'; his seniors recognized the value of the example he set, by his regular attendance at chapel and at 'the publick ordinances' of the Church[3]; while the persistent refusals with which he put aside all offers of preferment disarmed the criticism of those who might otherwise have been his rivals in the unceasing pursuit of pelf or place in the wider world without[4]. In that retired and solitary life into which he ultimately subsided, More exhibited an amount both of good sense and fervid enthusiasm not often found in conjunction. He fully understood 'the benefit of exercise and the fresh air,' and paid particular attention to his diet, with regard to which his views were certainly peculiar[5]; while he was well aware that human nature, after more than ordinary effort, demands

[1] See *supra*, p. 350.
[2] Ward (Ri.), *Life*, pp. 191–192.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 104–5.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 58–61.
[5] See a singular chapter, 'The power of Meats to change the Imagination,' in his *Discourse of Imagination*, sect. viii. *Philosophical Writings*, p. 6; also his explanation of 'What is meant by Temperance,' in his *Discourse of Enthusiasm*, *Ibid.* p. 37.

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a period of repose. On the other hand, his habits cannot justly be termed ascetic in the monastic sense of the word, as involving self-mortification. He drank the college small beer with relish, and occasionally wine; and, inasmuch as a fish diet did not suit his constitution, he often, during Lent, dined in his own chamber[1]. In such matters, indeed, he appears to have imitated Plotinus, whom he took for his exemplar in many other respects; and Plotinus, as Zeller has pointed out[2], set no value on the ascetic life *per se*, but only according as it served to liberate the mind from the temptations of the flesh; while so far was that philosopher from inculcating contempt for the beautiful in Nature, that, like Plato, he discerned in it 'the shimmering of the Divine ideas[3].' In that 'holy Art of Life,' which, as his biographer tells us, he planned out for himself, More's attitude towards the charms and loveliness of the external world was, accordingly, altogether different from that of Calvinistic divines, and constitutes almost as noteworthy a point of divergence from their teaching in connexion with the life that is, as did his rejection of the theory of predestination, with regard to the world to come. Although, therefore, Ward sums up his impression of the manner in which the recluse of Christ's College passed his time, as 'one continuous course of retirement and contemplation,' More himself could describe his days as spent in subservience to one dominating aim, that of

> 'Resolving for to teach all willing men
> Life's mystery, and quite to chase away
> Mind-mudding mist sprung from low fulsome fen[4].'

But this same mystery of Life, like that of Godliness, fully revealed itself, as he held, only to the devout spirit thus isolated from the ordinary avocations of men; and, by degrees, those around him began, to a certain extent, to understand and accept his theory of his own employment[5].

[1] Ward, pp. 94–5.

[2] *Phil. d. Griechen*, III iii 522.

[3] Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὸ καλὸν σῶμα γίγνεται λόγου ἀπὸ θεῶν ἐλθόντος κοινωνίᾳ. *Enneads* I bk. vi; Dübner, p. 31; Müller, p. 46.

[4] *Philosophicall Poems*, p. 102.

[5] 'He was sensible that he should be, as it were, *alone*; perceiving the bent and genius of the world another way, and that it was not likely to come over, on the sudden, to such

He became known as the 'Angel of Christ's'; and, as the story is told, Alexander More (it is the last we hear of him), on one day mounting the staircase to his son's college rooms and finding him with his books about him, could not repress his emotion. 'Better thus,' the visitor doubtless thought, as he recalled how this son, amid all his wayward fancies, had lived to throw his aegis over a father's good name[1] and to achieve a reputation for himself—'better thus' than, like his elder brother, to pass away prematurely from life, bankrupt alike in fortune and in character! 'Better thus,'—and with his former chidings exchanged for blessings, Alexander More returned home to Grantham[2].

The monotony of such an existence, passed within the precincts of a college, was to some extent relieved by occasional visits to Ragley, the seat of the Conways in Warwickshire (which also served to reinvigorate an overtaxed brain), or was varied by correspondence with other philosophers, and especially with Descartes. It is, however, the opinion of Dr Peile, that Cartesianism was first introduced into Cambridge by one of the senior fellows of Christ's,—John Allsopp, rector of Fordham, who had made the acquaintance of Descartes when abroad in the earlier years of the century[3]. If such were the case, the fact may partly account for the extreme cordiality and unqualified eulogy which characterize More's first letter to the great Frenchman[4],—a composition in which the overweening confidence of the writer in his own ability to pronounce judgement on the merits of the new philosophy, tends somewhat to lower our estimate both of his discretion and his modesty, and

a new and surprising scene of things.' Ward, p. 72.

[1] See *supra*, p. 599, n. 2.

[2] Ward, p. 60.

[3] Crossley, without citing any authority, makes a like claim for John Smith of Queens'.

[4] 'Liberediam quod sentio: omnes quotquot exstiterunt, aut etiamnum exstant, arcanorum naturae antistites, si ad magnificum tuam indolem comparentur, Pumilos plane videri ac Pygmaeos.' *Henrici Mori Epistolae quatuor ad Renatum Descartes.* Londini, 1662, p. 61. [In *Philosophical Writings* (1662).] More signs himself 'Singularis tuae sapientiae cultor devotissimus,' p. 66. Descartes, in his reply, writes,—'Laudes quas in me congeris, Vir humanissime, non tam ullius mei meriti, *utpote quod eas aequare nullum potest*, quam tuae erga me benevolentiae testes sunt.' 5th Feb. 1649. See Adam and Tannery, *Correspondence*, v 237, 267–279.

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was probably afterwards regretted by himself. Descartes, indeed, although he could scarcely fail to be gratified by the praises showered upon him by his correspondent, evidently saw that the significance of his own philosophic terminology was imperfectly discerned by his would-be critic; and Tulloch, while fully admitting that the Cartesian theory of 'spirit' is defective, is not less candid in pronouncing many of the arguments afterwards advanced by More in disproof of the same, to be 'absurd and irrelevant[1].' Down to the year 1662, however (when Descartes had been dead twelve years), More continued to speak of the new philosophy as affording unrivalled guidance to the student of the laws of Nature; and he even put forth the advice,—as 'the most sober and faithful' that could 'be offered to the Christian world at large,'—'that the reading of Descartes in all publick schools or universities, should be systematically encouraged,' 'in order,' he adds, 'that the students of philosophy may be thoroughly exercised in the just extent of the mechanical laws of matter—how farre they will reach, and where they fall short,—which will be the best assistance to religion that Reason and the knowledge of Nature can afford[2].' Such is the language employed by More in the preface to his treatise on *The Immortality of the Soul*, first published in 1659 and again in 1662, and dedicated to one of his favourite pupils at Christ's College, Edward, viscount Conway; and it is in this *Dedication* that he takes occasion to refer to an incident in their common experience when they were travelling together abroad. In the course of their tour they had

[1] See *Rational Theology*, II 383–385.

[2] See *The Immortality of the Soul, so farre as it is demonstrable from the Knowledge of Nature and the Light of Reason*. Preface, p. 13. By Henry More, D.D. London, 1662. So again, in the same year, he writes, 'for mine own part....I should look upon Descartes as a man more truly inspired in the Knowledge of Nature than any that have professed themselves so this sixteen hundred years, and being even ravished with admiration of his transcendent Mechanical inventions;...Nor is it any more argument that Descartes was not inspired, because he did not say he was, than that others are inspired, because they say they are.' *Conjectura Cabbalistica. Or, a Conjectural Essay of interpreting the Mind of Moses in the three first Chapters of Genesis, according to a Threefold Cabbala* etc. *Appendix*, p. 104. By Henry More, D.D. London, 1662. Both treatises are in his *Philosophical Writings*, ed. 1662.

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spent some time in Paris, where they had visited the gardens of the Luxembourg; and there seating themselves, we may suppose, under the shadow of the graceful façade wherewith the genius of Debrosse had recently adorned that historic site, the tutor had read aloud to his pupil Descartes' newly published treatise on *The Passions of the Soul*[1]. It had been written in French expressly for Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, and niece of Charles I, and was designed by the author to place the whole theory of man's emotional nature on a more scientific basis than that afforded either by the philosophy of Plato or that of Seneca. After this reminiscence, More proceeds also to 'call to minde that pleasant retirement I enjoyed at Ragley during my abode with you there; my civil treatment from that perfect and unexceptionable pattern of a truly noble and Christian matron, the Right Honourable your mother; the solemness of the place, those shady walks and woods, wherein often having lost sight of the world and the world of me, I found out, in that hidden solitude, the choicest theories in the following Discourse[2].' It is evident, indeed, that More felt himself perfectly at home at Ragley; and as his father's death had left him in affluent circumstances[3], there was none of that sense of indebtedness, on the one hand, or of apprehension of demands upon a patron's liberality, on the other, which, in those days, would sometimes diminish the sense of freedom in the relations between a scholar and his entertainer. 'It is

[1] *Traité des Passions de l'Ame.* Amsterdam, 1649.

[2] *The Epistle Dedicatory* (prefixed to Preface, *u.s.*), p. 2.

[3] Alexander More's will, made in 1648 and proved 23rd day of April 1649, makes provision for his 'three loveing sonnes, Gabriell More, William More and Henry More,' bequeathing to the last-named 'and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten All those my lands pastures closes tenements and hereditaments by me purchased of Edward Skipwith Esquire lyinge and beinge within the ffield territories and precincts of ffleete in the partes of Holland in the said count of Lincoln'... together with 'the Patronage Right ffree disposition and advowson of the Parsonage Rectorie and Church of Ingoldesby...in the foresaid count of Lincoln.' *Consistory Court Lincoln* 1649 fol. 236. As Henry More also continued to hold his fellowship at Christ's, he was in a position that enabled him to decline various offers of preferment, among which were the mastership of Christ's (said to have been offered to him when Cudworth was elected), the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, and the deanery of St Patrick's.

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the best result of riches,' More himself once observed to her ladyship, 'that finding ourselves already well provided for, we may be fully masters of our own time[1].'

But notwithstanding that his time was entirely at his own disposal, it is undeniable that a certain precipitancy in pronouncing judgement was one of his most serious defects, and one which offers a marked contrast to the habitual deliberation of Cudworth, which was itself, in turn, perhaps carried to excess.

It so happened that More, in his *Mystery of Godliness*, when dealing with the interpretation of Daniel's prophecies, had found himself unable to arrive at a decision on one important point,—namely *the day* in the last week of Christ's earthly career on which His Passion took place. Personally, he inclined to place it in the middle of the week; but under a sense of the difficulties involved in arriving at a conclusion, he had gone so far as to declare, that 'whoever out of his industry and skill in history and chronology shall demonstrate to the world, that the Passion of our Saviour fell out some two or three years [*? days*] before the ending or else after the beginning of the last week, his invention will be more to Christian religion than either the *Venae Lacteae* or the circulation of bloud to physick and philosophy[2].' There is no positive evidence that, when thus placing so high a value on such a service, More himself was aware that it would devolve upon him in the *Preface* to his treatise to acknowledge that the requisite proof had already been supplied by the learning of the head of his own college; but it seems clear that it was during the interval between the printing of the foregoing lines and the writing of the Preface, that Cudworth delivered in the Public Schools his *Discourse concerning Daniel's Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks*[3]; and that

[1] See Dedication of his *Antidote to Atheism* 'to The Right Honorable the Lady Anne, Viscountess Conway and Kilulta,' A 3 r.

[2] *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660), Bk. VII c. iv. p. 296.

[3] There is nothing that enables us to fix the exact delivery of this *Discourse*, but Birch prints a letter from Cudworth to Secretary Thurloe written 'Jan. 20, 1658' (that is in the beginning of 1659), in which he refers to the subject as one on which he is engaged, and describes it as one 'never yet sufficiently cleared and improved' and his own exposition as 'extricating many difficulties

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numerous. Since the appearance of his *Philosophicall Poems* in 1647, he had put forth, in 1652, his *Antidote against Atheism*, to be followed, the next year, by his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, and in 1656, by his *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*. His prose dissertation on the *Immortality of the Soul*, with a Preface in which he sought to explain, more fully, his philosophic standpoint, had appeared in 1659, and a second edition in 1662; his *Grand Mystery of Godliness*, aimed at Enthusiasm and Infidelity alike, came forth in 1660, and in 1662 he published a Collection of his more important writings, including his correspondence with Descartes. In 1664, his *Mystery of Iniquity* had again aroused the public interest in past history, by its denunciations of the claims of Popery, while it also revived forebodings as regarded the future, by discussions on the fulfilments of Prophecy under the reign of Antichrist. Well might such a succession of discursive tractates, all skilfully conceived *ad captandum* in relation to the passing mood of a religious public, both 'rule the booksellers,' and also afford a fair presumption that their author, whatever the subject to which he might next address himself, would not fail to command a hearing and be regarded as an oracle.

Cudworth, on the other hand,—who, it should be borne in mind, was three years More's junior,—had published nothing since his *Discourse* before the House of Commons[1]; and prior to that time had been known as an author only by two brief treatises,—the first a *Discourse on the Lord's Supper* (long afterwards pronounced by Warburton to be 'a masterpiece of its kind'), wherein he endeavoured to substitute for the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, a purely Platonic conception of the rite, as 'not in itself sacrificial, but deriving all its special meaning and virtue from the great Sacrifice which it commemorates'; the second, entitled *The Union of Christ and the Church, in a Shadow*, in which he aimed, in opposition alike to Romanist and Protestant, at vindicating for the institution of matrimony a certain 'mystical notion,'

[1] See *infra*, p. 659 and n. 1.

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involving, in the natural union of man and wife, an adumbration,—in harmony with another well-known Platonic conception,—of the relation between those archetypal forms of being or existence which belong to the spiritual world and those ectypal forms of the material world, which are the image or copy of the former[1]. 'He expounds,' says Tulloch, 'this thought under several heads, and heaps around it a multiplicity of quotations from diverse mystical authorities, amongst others from the "masters of the *Cabala*, a kind of secret and mystical divinity," as he defines it, "remaining in part yet among the Jews[2]."'

Worthington, at this time removed to London and still occupied with his labours on Mede, would seem to have thought it would be well if Cudworth did publish something, and writing to a friend, in the November of 1664, says that he had 'earnestly pressed him to despatch his studies upon Daniel's Weeks,' which Worthington himself holds to be 'the most considerable place in the Testament for the interest of Christianity[3].' Writing, however, three weeks later, to More, then at Ragley, he says, 'Your book of the *Soul's Immortality* had its birth or growth at Ragley, and so may your *Ethics* too, which may conduce to a happy immortality. ...I wish Dr Cudworth *may despatch his in time*; but if he should delay, it will not have been amiss that you let your meditations run to the end of their course[4],'—meaning, apparently, that More himself might then profit by what he found in the pages of the Master's treatment of the same subject. The dispassionate view taken by the writer, of the comparison which a twofold treatment of such a subject, appearing at nearly the same time, would necessarily invite, was however by no means shared by Cudworth himself, from whom, about a month later, Worthington received a stern letter of remonstrance, pointing out that, although he himself

[1] Indicated by St Paul as μυστήριον μέγα. *Ephesians*, v 23, 29–32.

[2] Tulloch, II 200-1.

[3] Worthington, *Correspondence*, II 140-1. His correspondent is George Evans, a fellow of Jesus College and afterwards a canon of Windsor. Evans was licensed preacher at St Benet Fink in London, and Worthington appears to have officiated for him there to the time of the Great Fire. See *Ibid.* II 136, n. 2.

[4] *Ibid.* II 153-4.

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had commenced his treatise a year ago, '*a friend* (whom you know)...about three months since, unexpectedly told me on a sudden he had begun a discourse on the same argument'; and the Master then proceeds to state his grievance against their common confidant as follows:

'I was struck into an amaze, and could hardly believe what he said, but, after some pause, told him that he knew I was engaged a good while in the argument and had taken a great deal of pains in it, and it would be not only superfluous but very absurd for two friends at the same time to write upon the same argument; and therefore, though I wondered very much at this, yet, if he were resolved to go on and take the argument from me, I would desist, and not seem guilty to the world of the vanity of *emulation*. Hereupon he was mute.' At a subsequent interview, More had sought to offer something between an apology and an explanation, by representing, Cudworth goes on to say, 'that he could not tell whether I would despatch and finish it or no, because I had been so long about it; that Mr Fulwood[1] and Mr Jenks[2] had solicited him to do this, and that you [*i.e.* Worthington] were very glad that he would undertake it; but now he understood I was resolved to go through with it, he was very glad of it, and that he would desist and throw his into a corner.' Subsequently, however, the Master learned that More was, notwithstanding, still going on with his treatise, 'though truly,' he continues, 'I have so strong a persuasion of the morality, ingenuity, and friendship of that person, that I cannot yet think that he can do such a thing. I have been far from envy, rejoicing in his performances as if they were my own. *He hath credit and fame as*

[1] Francis Fulwood, one of Charles's nominees for the degree of D.D. in 1661: he was author of *The Pillars of Rome broken* (1679).

[2] Henry Jenks, B.A. King's College, Aberdeen, 1616. Admitted at Emmanuel, 1616; incorporated at Oxford, 1669. Senior fellow of Caius College 1653 to 1697, and Greek and Hebrew lecturer in the College, as well as dean and chaplain for several years. He died in College and was buried at St Michael's 1 Sept. 1697. He was author of a volume entitled *The Christian Tutor* (1683), which gives a descriptive account of certain works which a tutor would consider especially to be recommended to a young student of that time (Venn, *Biog. Hist. of Gonville and Caius College*, I 387).

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much as he can desire. That he, my intimate friend, should entertain such a design as this, to depress and detract from my single small performance what he can, and assume to himself the credit of this ethical business, is so strange to me that I do not believe it. And if he should violate friendship in this kind, it would more afflict me than all that Dr Widdrington ever did, and make me sick of Christ's College, and of all things in this life....*There were some other slight pretences mentioned, that his would be in Latin, mine in English, his shorter, mine longer, which signify nothing*[1].'

Further correspondence ensued; in which More appears as intimating to Worthington his ultimate conclusion to await the publication of the Master's treatise,—'I do not intend,' he writes, 'to publish my book (if at all) till he has published his'; while, in defence of what he had before proposed to do, he alleges the persuasions of his personal friends and especially those of Morden, the Cambridge bookseller; as for 'emulation,' there was nothing of the kind, the Master and he were simply alike seeking 'to profligate and destroy' a common enemy, namely 'vice and falsehood,' —he himself 'stabbing with a dagger (my *Enchiridion*),' the other 'slashing with a broadsword'; and with regard to his personal intentions, he avers 'I never meant more simply and sincerely in anything than I did in this; nor do I think that any man can undertake a business with greater plainness and integrity of spirit[2].' In the sequel, however, what actually took place corresponded exactly with what he had, according to Cudworth's own statement, originally suggested, and in May 1667, the *Enchiridion* appeared. It was printed in London, but published at Cambridge by Morden[3]; and being in Latin, directly appealed to a much wider public abroad than Cudworth's promised treatise, which was in process of composition in English; while, at the suggestion

[1] Worthington, *Correspondence*, II 158-161.

[2] *Ibid.* II 163-7.

[3] *Enchiridion Ethicum, praecipua* MORALIS PHILOSOPHIAE *Rudimenta complectens, illustrata ut plurimum Veterum Monumentis, et ad Probitatem vitae perpetuo accommodata.* Per Henricum Morum Cantabrigiensem. Londini; Excudebat J. Flesher, venale autem habetur apud Guilielmum Morden Bibliopolam Cantabrigiensem [second edition] 1669.

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of his friends, More's treatment was essentially popular, and the book itself only a 'portable, little' octavo volume, setting forth, 'for the instruction of beginners, and in lucid and connected fashion the elements of Ethics, so as to render the methods of the recognized teachers on the subject, more easily intelligible[1].' 'For such,' he says, 'it had been represented to him was the spirit of the time, that the learner expects to have everything explained to him, it being held that the human intellect is bound to recognize no authority save that of right Reason[2].' Believing, therefore, that such a manual was urgently required to meet the needs of the age, and that it was the duty of every individual to postpone his private interests to the public good, More represents himself as setting aside his own 'delightful studies' in order to render a pressing 'service to the State[3].'

During the two years which had elapsed before the *Enchiridion Ethicum* appeared, we may fairly assume that the grievance of which Cudworth complained and the correspondence to which it gave rise, had alike been, in some measure, forgotten; while Worthington, by the publication of his first edition of Mede, now emerges into celebrity. Among those to whom copies of the two portly folios were sent, were William Dillingham (at this time living in comparative obscurity with his brother at Oundle)[4] and Widdrington of Christ's; and the former could not forbear, in making his acknowledgements, from giving expression to the hope that the public acceptance of the work might in some measure reward the editor for his 'Herculean labours'; while

[1] 'Se vero *Systema Ethicum* desiderare; nec tamen justum Volumen, sed Enchiridium potius, librum parvum, portatilem, et Tyronibus eruditionis non inidoneum.' *Ad Lectorem*, A 3. More's notion of a 'justum Volumen' was, a *folio*.

[2] 'Hoc enim esse praesentis seculi Ingenium, ut Causas rerum omnium reposcant, mentemque humanam a l nihil obligari contendant praeterquam Rectam Rationem. Hujusmodi Opus tam affabre confectum magnopere oblectaturum probos, *Divinoque illos animo sensus, quibus forte desunt, feliciter ingeneraturum.*' *Ibid.*

[3] 'Amoeniora illa porro studia quod attinet, deponi ea posse ad tempus, et postmodum resumi: nec privatae cujusvis voluptati utilitatem publicam posthaberi.' *Ibid.*

[4] Crossley observes that Dillingham 'seems to have been much employed in superintending the printing of the more elaborate works of the London and Cambridge presses.' Worthington (*u.s.*), II 169, note.

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the latter appears to have held himself bound to make acknowledgement not only on his own behalf, but also that of the College, and of the University[1]. The outbreak of the Plague, however, soon diverted the thoughts of the editor and of not a few of his friends to a calamity unprecedented in their experience; while in London the mere instincts of self-preservation impelled the great majority of its citizens to hurried flight. But Worthington, although he sent his family to Hackney, refused to desert his post; and with that rare spirit of self-abnegation which is perhaps the finest trait in his character, continued his ministrations at St Benet Fink, amid grass-grown streets and an appalling silence, broken only by the passing of the coaches bearing the infected to the pest-house. If, indeed, he ever contemplated a retreat to Cambridge, he would probably have found his entry barred, for in the course of August the approach of the pestilence had made it necessary to forbid, by an order in Council, the holding of Sturbridge Fair[2]; and soon after, all public meetings, whether of the University or in the Town, were prohibited by the Corporation[3]. Worthington himself could venture to correspond with More only through an intermediary, and the latter in his reply, dated from Ragley, says, 'you did well to abstain from writing yourself, by reason of the persons where I am [meaning lord and lady Conway], whose fear or danger I would not by any means occasion[4].' In October a grace passed the Senate for the discontinuance both of sermons at St Mary's and of exercises in the Schools; while a letter from the rector of St Benet Fink, Dr Evans, informed his deputy that the plague at Cambridge was increasing, especially 'in Bridge Street and from thence

[1] '... in this simple paper I must beg leave to thank you very heartily for altogether, acknowledging both your extraordinary kindness to me and to our College and to the whole University, in the exceeding pains you have taken to let the world peruse so fair and legible a draught of our incomparable Mr Mede from his own pen.' 15 March 166¼. Worthington (*u.s.*), II 169.

[2] 'Saturday [1 Sept.] was then posted up in Cambr. the King's Proclamacion, that Sturbridge fayre should not this yeare be kept because of the great Plague at London *thereby prohibiting all Londoners from coming to the same.*' *Alderman Newton's Diary*. Ed. J. E. Foster for Camb. Ant. Soc., *Communications*, XXIII 15.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, III 517.

[4] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 178.

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towards Sidney College,' and the whole place 'almost disuniversitied,' so that, he adds, 'either there will be no winter term, or nothing to do in it[1].' At this juncture, the conduct of the authorities, civic as well as academic, under the guidance of Francis Wilford, the vice-chancellor, appears to have been both prudent and energetic. Wilford, who in 1661 had succeeded Dr Gunning by royal mandate in the mastership of Corpus Christi, had before been a fellow and tutor of Trinity; and, although not distinguished as a divine, was a man of great energy and much practical good sense. In concert with certain of the other Heads, measures were adopted somewhat resembling those of defenders of a beleaguered fortress,—residents in the colleges, whose presence would be useless and merely enhance the difficulty of keeping out the foe, being sent away, and only a select few permitted to remain to administer affairs. Such were the conditions under which we find the heroism displayed by Worthington, in the capital, reproduced in Cambridge. At Corpus, Thomas Tenison (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), a fellow of the society and vicar of St Andrew's Church, inspired by the example of his Head, continued to reside in college and perform the duties of his cure[2]. At Clare, Theophilus Dillingham continued to reside in his lodge, but after according permission to a few other residents to remain in college, resolutely forbade any addition to their number. Even Samuel Blythe (afterwards also Head of the society), notwithstanding that he was, at this time, both fellow and tutor, received permission to reside only on condition that it was not construed into a precedent by others[3]; and, in the letter according this favour, a postscript added by Robert Lowe, one of the senior fellows, ran as follows; 'the Master desires me to tell you that he hath great suit from divers to

[1] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 179.

[2] Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*, p. 161. Tenison's services were afterwards recognized by his parishioners by the presentation of a piece of plate. *D. N. B.* LVI 57.

[3] 'As for your owne returne wee shall not bee against it, although wee suspect it may give encouragement to other fellowes to doe the like which is not permitted in any College of the Towne.' Wardale (J. R.), *Clare College, Letters and Documents*, p. 68. The colleges west of Trumpington Street did not, apparently, in 1665 consider themselves as 'of the Town.'

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AP. V. return, but he would not suffer one to come in and is resolved they shall not have that plea that any others are got in. He saith we have more schollars already in the Coll: then all Trinity and St John's, and that he could wish these out[1].' Among those at Trinity, Isaac Newton, already B.A., retired to Boothby in Lincolnshire, to mark the apple falling from the tree and to compute the area of the hyperbola. The chief exception to this prudent policy was Jesus College, where, under the lax rule of Edmund Boldero,—another of the royal nominees, who had been appointed on the recommendation of the Visitor, Matthew Wren,—a system of *laissez-faire* appears to have prevailed; and, according to Mr Gray, 'all the fellows,' as early as August 7th, 'had leave of absence until the cessation of the epidemic, but three of them voluntarily remained at their posts[2].' Such preventives as the medical science of those days suggested appear to have been generally adopted; and at Corpus, its historian tells us, 'a preservative powder was bought and administered in wine, whilst charcoal, pitch, and brimstone were kept constantly burning in the gate-house[3].' With a view to diminishing the panic, a fortnightly or weekly bulletin of the actual mortality in the fourteen parishes of the Town was issued, in which the deaths resulting from the Plague, and those attributable to normal causes, were placed in separate columns, and the document itself attested by the signatures of the vice-chancellor and the mayor. In each issue, the following announcement appeared over the list: *All the Colledges* (*God be praised*) *are and have continued without any Infection of the Plague*[4]. As this

[1] Wardale, *Documents*, p. 71.

[2] *Jesus College*, p. 130. 'Under Boldero's sway, there can be no doubt that the College started on the downward plane of indolent dilettantism.' *Ibid.* 127. Dr Pope (in his *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 47) speaking of Dr Kettell, president of Trinity College, Oxford, says: 'At my first coming to the university, there were innumerable bulls and blunders father'd upon him, *as afterwards upon Dr Boldero of Cambridge*.' Boldero was, in fact, much more the retired officer than the contemplative divine, and had seen strenuous service as a follower of the great Montrose. See Sherman, *Hist. Coll. Jesu*, pp. 42-3; also *supra*, p. 263.

[3] Masters (*u.s.*), p. 161.

[4] In the muniment room of Clare College there is a packet of these Reports, probably preserved by Dillingham himself; that for the fortnight ending 16 Nov. 1665, gives the deaths by the plague as 15, of which 8 were in St Clement's parish.

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assurance was, in no case, absent from the bulletins, while in March 1666, it was further shewn that there had been no death in the Town from the epidemic for six weeks, the students were invited by the authorities to return. But in the following July, the plague returned also; and on the third of August, the holding of Sturbridge Fair was again interdicted; while no students appear to have been matriculated throughout the year 1666, and in the ensuing February it was found necessary to obtain the royal sanction for enacting that such questionists as might be deterred by the presence of the epidemic (*per grassantem in oppido contagionem*) from coming, as usual, to Cambridge on Ash Wednesday, to receive their bachelors' degree, should not thereby forfeit their seniority[1]. The immunity from the malady, resulting apparently from the precautions observed in the preceding year, would appear, however, to have emboldened the heads of colleges to permit residence on the part of some at least of those already on the boards; and when, in September, on the outbreak of the Great Fire in London, certain 'riotous persons' threatened to make Cambridge 'a second London,' Dr Wilford, according to Masters, 'issued orders for five or six scholars to keep watch in their respective colleges[2].' In the Town, on the other hand, the epidemic became so serious, that, prior to the Fire, the impoverished university had already appointed an agent in London, one Thomas Warren, an apothecary, 'to receive what the charity of well-disposed persons shall invite them to give for the relief of the Poor of the place much visited with sickness.' Warren himself, however, was, soon after, burnt out from his residence 'at the Golden Anchor and Hart in Basing Lane,' and became indebted to Sir Thomas Bonfoye for temporary shelter in his mansion in Leadenhall Street. A like experience befel the heroic Worthington, who, after seeing his church of St Benet Fink burnt down along with his adjoining house, and losing much of his property, was rescued from absolute destitution by the intervention of Henry More, who not only

[1] Baker MSS. XLII 37.

[2] Masters (*u.s.*), p. 162.

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saved him from despair by presenting him to the living of Ingoldsby[1], but also aided him in the recovery of his health and spirits by procuring him an invitation to Ragley, where, as he shortly afterwards wrote to his wife, then at Alcester, he was 'kindly and nobly entertained' by the Conways. This was late in November 1666, and on the following Christmas Day the new incumbent preached at Ingoldsby[2].

The year's retrospect, that Christmas Day, must have been for him a sombre one, notwithstanding that his own fortunes had brightened towards its close, for two of his friends had been involved in like calamity,—Whichcote's church of St Anne's in Blackfriars having been burnt down; while Dr Wilkins, as his half-brother, Dr Pope, narrates, 'lost not only his books...but the unsatiable and devouring flames consum'd and reduc'd to ashes all his household-stuff, his house, and his parsonage also. Add to this,' continues the biographer, 'he was out of favour both at Whitehall and Lambeth,—for his marriage[3].' It was at this juncture that Seth Ward's generous nature found expression in a sympathy which proved as effective as it was active: he succeeded in obtaining for Wilkins the incumbency of St Lawrence Jewry, which he had himself just vacated on being nominated to the bishopric of Exeter, nor did he rest until he saw his friend enthroned as bishop of Chester; while to Worthington he wrote in terms well calculated to raise the spirits of that gentle scholar, who, at Ingoldsby, soon found himself secretly longing to be 'nearer his ancient friends and books[4].' His friends surmised as much, and did their best to cheer him. Ward complimented him on 'the pains that you are always taking for the advancement of the common stock of learning[5].' 'I bless God,' he says, in a

[1] See *supra*, p. 608, n. 3.

[2] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 222–3.

[3] Pope (Dr Walter), *Life of Seth Ward*, p. 53.

[4] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 232.

[5] Worthington, when on a brief visit to Cheshire, had been invited to examine 'two trunks full' of Hartlib's papers, just purchased by lord Brereton, and had found among them unpublished letters of Grotius and of Descartes; he had also heard of an autograph copy of Crashaw's *Poems*, which he was proposing to collate with the two published editions, with a view to bringing out a third. See *Ibid.* II 224, 226, 230.

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later letter, 'that your affairs are as they are, though far short of your deserts and wishes. I do not find that Dr Wilkins likes his benefice near Oundle so well as you do yours at Grantham[1]. I wish and hope that you will both be accommodated more to the public benefit than you yet are, and I assure you that if I had opportunity I should think myself obliged to do my best endeavour to that purpose[2].' In a like spirit wrote Henry More, who had intimated, at the time when he offered Worthington the living, that if the latter accepted it, he should himself come to reside at Grantham, 'my native town,'—'all the time,' he added, however, 'of lawful discontinuance from Christ's College,'—and Grantham was only five miles distant from Ingoldsby[3]. At first, indeed, Worthington seems to have been sanguine that he should be able to make himself happy amid his new surroundings: 'living was cheap' there, he wrote, the people were 'of good disposition,' the glebe extended to sixty acres, and there was 'a fair large orchard[4].' 'If there be not as good advantages for converse as you may desire,' suggested Whichcote, 'it may be in part supplied by journeys abroad, excursions, and temporary absence[5].' And Worthington himself was only too conscious that those ideals of saintly life and communings with kindred spirits which had brightened his earlier years were vanishing from realization,—'too many being at a further distance from such a spirit and life, through the various temptations of the world[6].' Then, in 1667, his wife died; and in a piteous letter to Whichcote he described her virtues and his own sense of his irreparable loss[7],—his presentation to the prebend of Asgarby, soon after, affording him small consolation[8]. From this time, indeed,

[1] In 1666 Wilkins was made vicar of Polebrook in Northamptonshire, *D. N. B.* LXI 265.

[2] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 227.

[3] *Ibid.* II 221.

[4] 'Letter to Dr Ingelo, 10 June, 1667.' *Ibid.* II 232.

[5] *Ibid.* II 228-9.

[6] *Ibid.* II 233.

[7] 'God cut her off in the flower of her age, being twenty-seven years old and twelve days. Young she was, but *maturu coelo*.' *Ibid.* II 234-6. It is to his 'honoured uncle, Dr Whichcote, at Dr Cudworth's, in Christ's College, Cambridge,' that Worthington communicates the pathetic story of his bereavement.

[8] The prebend had become void during the vacancy of the see of Lincoln, and the presentation consequently had become vested in the Crown. It is Sheldon, now arch-

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CHAP. V. he appears to have suffered much from depression, and his loneliness and indifferent health now form the burden of his letters to his friends. More, in his replies, descants with more than his customary eloquence on his favourite theme of the virtues of self-mortification, as largely conducive to 'health both of soule and body,' and on the benefits to be derived from taking exercise. Whereupon Worthington explains that the only exercise he can take, in winter, 'is walking and stirring in the parlour'; for, he adds, 'I am shut up, no stirring abroad, except I could walk in pattens, nor riding, except I would ride as if I were treading mortar.' More had also advised him to give up study for a time, to which he rejoins, 'if I should totally abstain from books, I should find this hermitage more tedious, and the short days would be as long as in June. I have nobody comes at me. The neighbors say, they are not fit company, and they are abroad with their cattell[1].' In the same letter, however, we find him venturing to point out to More that the latter's recent endeavour to reconsider his position as an unqualified admirer of Descartes, has not been altogether successful; and that the high commendation he had, at first, bestowed on the Frenchman's philosophy, had caused many to become 'enravisht with it, and to derive from thence notions of ill consequence to religion.' 'And seeing,' he goes on to say, 'they will never return to the old Philosophy, in fashion when we were young scholars, there will be no way left to take them off from idolizing the French philosophy, and hurting themselves and others by some principles there, but by putting into their hands another Body of Natural Philosophy, which is like to be the most effectual antidote. *And to do this will be more easy to you than any, because you have so fully consider'd it*[2].'

Thirteen months later, More appears to have come to the conclusion that he should not only be more usefully but more agreeably employed at Cambridge than at Grantham,

bishop of Canterbury, who writes to inform Worthington. See Worthington (*u.s.*), II 250–1.

[1] See *Ibid.* II 254, 279–329.

[2] *Ibid.* II 254.

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and suddenly announced his intention of no longer residing at his native town. This, to Worthington, in his depressed state of mind, seemed a final blow: 'it was your being there,' he wrote, 'that would have made it a Cambridge to me'; and he then proceeds to express his regret that he had 'not stayed in London after the Fire,'—'where,' he says, 'my three years preaching was of more consequence than my at least ten years preaching in other places[1].' He now roused himself, with all the energy still left him, to accomplish, if possible, his own removal from Ingoldsby, where, as he wrote to Lauderdale, his lot had been one 'of sorrow and sickness[2]'; nor could it reasonably be gainsaid that a somewhat scattered and purely rustic community was hardly an ideal sphere of labour for a solitary and elderly scholar in feeble health and intent on prosecuting his studies. Representations were also made on his behalf to Sheldon. There was much, indeed, in Worthington's career and claims that must have appealed with special force to the archbishop. During the Commonwealth, while the master of Jesus had explored the archives of learning at Cambridge, Sheldon had preserved the antiquities of his university from destruction at Oxford; they had alike seen much of parish work in the capital, where the latter, in his younger days had been vicar of Hackney, and, as archbishop, had held to his palace at Lambeth throughout the plague, with no less resolution than Worthington had shewn at St Benet Fink's; and there, accordingly, the church having been rebuilt, it was now decided that its former lecturer should be reinstated as rector. There was, however, still much to be done before the services could be resumed; and in the mean time, the primate was able to procure for him the post of lecturer at his own old church in Hackney. But soon after his removal from Ingoldsby to Hackney, Worthington was carried off by an attack of pleurisy, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. It was in the chancel of the parish church of Hackney, accordingly, that he was interred; and a large gathering of divines, who repaired from all parts of London to be present

[1] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 305. [2] *Ibid.* II 306.

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at his funeral, attested the widespread respect and esteem with which he had been generally regarded, a feeling to which Tillotson, the preacher on the occasion, gave eloquent and forcible expression,—declaring, as he wound up his impassioned eulogium, that the departed scholar, by his edition of Mede, had reared for himself 'a monument likely to stand as long as learning and religion should continue in the world[1].' Such an appreciation of the services rendered by Worthington to the interpretation of Scripture, however exaggerated it may now appear, was sanctioned, long afterwards, by the high authority of one yet better able to assess their value; and among the numerous designs projected by scholarship in the latter half of the seventeenth century, there is probably none the non-performance of which Cambridge has more reason to regret, than the Life and labours of John Worthington delineated by the pen of Thomas Baker[2].

The former master of Jesus College would appear to have kept up his correspondence with friends at Cambridge to the last, his interest in all that went on there evidently remaining unabated; and it is thus that we find him writing to Dr Evans, only a few weeks before his death, to retail to his patron what he had himself just heard in connexion with the King's first visit to the university,—among other noteworthy facts being the significant circumstance, that 'Many that went down in hopes to get degrees of Drs in divinity, were disappointed, *the University desiring that it might be otherwise*[3].'

For the last five years, indeed, the royal demands on the loyalty of the colleges had been such as to bring about an ominous reaction of feeling, and obsequiousness verging upon servility was now beginning to be exchanged for remonstrance and resistance. Mandates for fellowships, which it cost the Crown nothing to grant, had been sent to the different colleges, with reckless disregard of the injustice

[1] See *Life* by Author in *D. N. B.* LIII 40-2.

[2] Preface to Worthington's *Miscellanies* (1704).

[3] Worthington (*u.s.*), II 362.

to more deserving candidates which would result from compliance,—the force of the argument that those who, through their devotion to the royal cause, had suffered both pecuniary loss and deprivation of academic distinction, were entitled to compensation, being, at first, readily admitted, and their claims recognized as extending even to their relatives. At Trinity Hall, Sir Anthony Aucher had obtained a mandamus for the election of his son to a fellowship, as a reward for his own deservings and great sufferings, and the compliance of the society was prompt and cordial[1]. At Trinity, Nathaniel Willis had been permitted to retain his fellowship in conjunction with his rectory, notwithstanding that the annual value of the latter exceeded the statutable limit[2]; while Pearson's succession to the mastership, although he was a married man, had met with general acquiescence[3]. St John's College proved less complaisant, and Charles who had already recommended Dr Paman for the office of Public Orator, withdrew his recommendation[4]. Two months later, however, it having been represented to his Majesty by Sheldon, that compliance with the royal letters and dispensations for fellowships had been attended with ill effects, by 'causing deserving persons to leave the college and to seek interest at court rather than proficiency in learning,' he formally revoked all such letters and dispensations, 'as yet unexecuted,' and promised to grant no more without a college certificate 'of the fitness of the person.' Order was at the same time given that this letter should be entered upon the college Register, 'as a mark of his Majesty's favour[5].' The royal promise appears to have been observed; but in the other colleges a like interference steadily increased, and especially at Christ's and Emmanuel. At the former, one

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, v (*Additions &c.*), p. 437.

[2] *Ibid.* v 438.

[3] In this instance, the royal letter expresses no doubt of the assent of the Fellows, inasmuch as the recommendation 'aims only at the benefit of the College.' *Ibid.* p. 439.

[4] The royal letter, in this instance, is addressed to the vice-chancellor (Dr Rainbowe), to whom Charles represents himself as unwilling to prejudice other 'pretenders,' of whom there are several, and particularly one to whom, being 'related to his service,' he wishes well, but leaves the electors free to choose whom they will. *Ibid.*

[5] Baker-Mayor, I 543; see also Cooper, *Annals* (u. s.), v 441-2.

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of the scholars, Henry Ullock, had been recommended for the next vacant fellowship, 'on account of the loyalty and sufferings of his near relations during the late disaffections[1].' At the latter, a dispensation was received for the election of one Hancock, 'local statutes notwithstanding[2].' Sometimes, in response to importunities from different quarters, the royal mandate enjoined the election of two persons to the same fellowship, and at Christ's College, Henry Hallewell[3], a member of the society and eligible by statute, was elected in 1662, in preference to Thomas Smoult of St John's, both having been thus recommended. Smoult preferred his claims again, in the following year, but with no better success[4]. In July 1664, Trinity was under the necessity of petitioning against the presentation of Mr Barton to the rectory of Orwell, although the living had already been 'bestowed according to statute upon Dr Chamberlaine'; while Barton, 'by reason of frequent distempers of mind,' was notoriously unfit for such preferment. In this instance, the joint petition of Dr Pearson and the Senior Fellows appears to have decided the matter[5]. At Corpus, however, in the following year, it was reported that the society, instead of electing a student of Jesus College, recommended by the Crown (12th Oct. 1665), had 'not only, on receipt of letters, pre-elected a fellow, but, on his decease, elected another to a vacant fellowship; whereupon the Master and the two senior fellows present at said election,' were required to repair to London, 'to answer for their contempt of His Majesty's letter[6].' At Christ's College, the Master's equable temper was subjected to a severe test. In 1665, a former

[1] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Charles the Second*, LIX no. 65. Henry Ullock (B.A. 1661) is described by Peile as 'a man of ability' whose non-election was 'probably due to another more pressing "recommendation."' He was afterwards dean of Rochester. *Christ's College*, p. 203.

[2] *State Papers* (*u. s.*), LXV no. 45.

[3] Afterwards the editor of the *Works* of George Rust (see *infra*, p. 649, n. 1).

[4] *State Papers* (*u. s.*), XLIII no. 78; LVIII no. 17.

[5] Pearson-Churton, I lxvii, lxviii. In the following year, a petition against all 'pre-elections' was sent up from Trinity. *State Papers* (*u. s.*), CXLII no. 36.

[6] *Ibid.* Dr Wilford, the Head, having been promoted to the Deanery of Ely by royal mandate in 1662, the Crown probably looked, in this case, for prompt compliance. *State Papers* (*u. s.*), LIII no. 77; Masters, *Corpus Christi College*, p. 160.

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student named James Cookson, succeeded in obtaining the royal nomination for the manciple's place. This can only be explained by supposing that he was in exceptionally indigent circumstances; and, according to Cudworth, such an instance of the Crown stooping to interfere in the appointment to a menial office was 'a thing unknown before.' Some eighteen months later, the society received a mandate for the election of a son of lord Fanshawe to the next vacant fellowship; but on the occurrence of the vacancy, within three months afterwards, instead of yielding compliance with the royal behest, Cudworth and the fellows elected James Leigh, the son of a retired schoolmaster. The facts were forthwith reported to lady Fanshawe by Widdrington, together with a suggestion that the King should write to the Visitors of the college, and lord Arlington (the secretary of State) to Dr Wilford, the vice-chancellor, before whom the case was shortly to be heard. Lady Fanshawe's unscrupulous adviser, as we have already seen[1], was regarded with especial dislike by Cudworth, and had been expelled from the college in 1661 for 'high misdemeanours,' including fraudulent practices as regarded both the revenues of the society and his pupils' accounts. Of the vindictive feelings by which he was now actuated there can be no question; but his interest with the Privy Council was sufficient to enable him to bring about his restoration to his fellowship, and he had recently been appointed Lady Margaret preacher. Eventually, therefore, Cudworth found himself under the necessity of making a formal apology to Arlington; but through the intervention of Joseph Williamson, at this time the royal librarian, he succeeded in making representations which served to relieve his conscience, however barren they might prove of satisfactory results: their 'little College,' he pleaded, had already 'received and obeyed ten royal letters,' but it was imperative that their 'oaths should be regarded,' the 'statutes preserved,' and 'some regard had to the will of the noble foundress.' When mandates were 'so plentifully granted, they could not possibly all be obeyed[2].'

Courageous resistance of the authorities of Christ's College: (?) [illegible].

Widdrington avails himself of the opportunity to retaliate upon the authorities.

Cudworth apologises to Arlington but with a protest against further mandates.

[1] See *supra*, p. 616. [2] *State Papers* (*d. s.*), ccix no. 127.

In the mean time, More in his seclusion was carrying on his studies, taking, apparently, no part in disputes which threatened to imperil his amicable relations either with those at Court or with the leaders of the Church. Nor did he allow himself to be persuaded by Worthington into attempting the compilation of a manual of Natural Philosophy, although the appearance of his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* in 1668, designed as an endeavour to build up a science of spiritualism, in opposition to the Cartesian doctrines, may have been partly the result of his friend's representations in the letter above quoted*. Worthington did not claim to be himself a teacher on such subjects, but his opinion with regard to the performances of others was held in high respect, and the pains he expended on the papers left by John Smith, along with his admirable portraiture of their author and the eloquent tribute paid to the memory of the latter by Simon Patrick, make up a volume[1] of exceptional interest in relation to the entire history of the Platonist movement.

In order clearly to understand the career and the bent of the intellectual activity alike of Nathanael Culverwel and of John Smith, it is to be noted that they were both natives of Northamptonshire who entered at Emmanuel College during the time that Whichcote was tutor,—the former in 1633 (when he was probably about sixteen), the latter in 1636, when already eighteen years of age. Culverwel's father, Ezekiel, was father-in-law to Laurence Chaderton, the former master of the college[2]; and the son was perhaps more distinctly Puritan in his sympathies than any other of the Platonists. The father, a personal friend of Sibbes, had been suspended for nonconformity in 1585, and afterwards

[1] SELECT DISCOURSES. *By* JOHN SMITH, *late Fellow of Queens' College in Cambridge.* As also a SERMON preached by SIMON PATRICK *(then Fellow of the same College) at the* AUTHOR'S FUNERAL: *with a brief Account of his* LIFE *and* DEATH. London, 1660. The author of the *Account* (which extends to 31 quarto pages) is Worthington himself, who, with his usual modesty, suppresses his name on the title but appends it to his 'To the Reader.'

[2] See *Of the Light of Nature.* A Discourse by Nathanael Culverwel, M.A. Edited by John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh and London, 1857. Preface, p. xi.

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became widely known as the author of a *Treatise on Faith* (1623) which went through seven editions; while the son, judging by the evidence afforded in his discourse entitled *Mount Ebal*, was a Covenanter whose sympathies were altogether with the Puritan party throughout the Civil War, and especially with Cromwell in his contest with the 'Popish Rebels' in Ireland[1]. In 1642, he was elected to a fellowship at Emmanuel; but Smith, as a native of the same county, was fain to migrate to Queens' in order to obtain like preferment, although not before he had become well known both to Whichcote and to Worthington, of whom the former, discerning his genius, not only gave him valuable advice but also pecuniary aid[2],—while the latter, who was the same age as himself but had entered four years earlier, lived to be his life-long friend and, as above noted, the editor of his *Discourses*. In the Preface to these, Worthington bears testimony to the fine qualities of which Smith had already given evidence before he quitted their society,—'his early piety' and 'excellent improvements in the choicest parts of learning.' 'I thought,' he adds, after referring to Whichcote's kindness to his friend, that 'to such an one, I owed no less care and diligence[3].' Smith's election to his fellowship at Queens' took place in 1644, and the fact that he continued to hold the same to his death, in August 1652, is sufficient evidence that, like Culverwel, he had taken the Covenant. According to Worthington, he 'studied himself into a consumption[4],' and the extraordinary range of reading

[1] *D. N. B.* XIII 288; Culverwel, *Mount Ebal* (1669), p. 94: 'How many are there that have not shed a tear for Ireland!...How do you know, but that if you had sent up more prayers to Heaven, God might have freed the distressed Christians by this time?' *Ibid.* He is here referring to the events of 1641.

[2] '...to whom for his directions and encouragements of him in his studies, his seasonable provision for his support and maintenance when he was a young scholar, as also upon other obliging considerations, our Author did ever express a great and singular regard.' Worthington, 'To the Reader,' p. vi.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. vi–vii.

[4] 'I have sometimes told you of Mr Smith of Qu: Coll:, a person of such eminency in Religion and in all ingenuous learning. I question whether we shall long enjoy him in this world. He hath for some two years been troubled with a cough, and I fear hath studied himself into a consumption....He is now at London consulting with Doctors, to see if there be hope.' 'Yours J. W. April: 6: 1652.' Letter 'To Mr S. H.' Copied by Thomas Baker

V. of which his writings give evidence would certainly lend support to the statement;—still more so, when we consider that he had to discharge the duties of dean and to lecture in Hebrew in his college, and also on mathematics 'in the Schools[1].' The testimony of Simon Patrick, afterwards himself head of Queens', is to the same effect. Patrick was a poor student who had been admitted into the college soon after Smith's election to his fellowship, and he would appear, from the first, to have conceived for the brilliant young fellow that admiration to which he was afterwards to give such notable expression when it devolved on him to preach his funeral sermon. In that remarkable discourse, the departed scholar was held up to the admiration of the audience gathered together in the college chapel, as one whose learning and intellectual power were alike abnormal,—'he had such a huge, wide capacity of soul,' the preacher affirmed, 'such a sharp and piercing understanding, such a deep-reaching mind, that he set himself about nothing but he soon grasped it and made himself a full possessour of it; if we consider his great industry and indefatigable pains,' he went on to say, 'his Herculean labours day and night from his first coming to the university till the time of his long sickness,...it must be concluded that he was a comprehensour of more than I can say or think of[2].'

It was a frequent practice with the preachers of this period, on similar occasions, to usher in any direct allusion to the character and merits of the departed, by a more detailed description of the heroic virtues and achievements of some eminent character in Scripture narrative,—a device that was not without its advantages, inasmuch as not a few of the audience, and more especially the less critical among their number, would thus be led to carry away with them a vague impression that the terms employed in describing some ancient prophet or leader of Israel were, to a certain extent, applicable to the individual whose obsequies they

from original letter by Worthington, in his possession, into copy of the *Select Discourses* (XXVIII) in St John's College Library, P. 9. 30.

[1] Worthington, 'To the Reader,' p. x.

[2] *Sermon* (u. s.), p. 505.

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had attended. It is thus that Worthington, in his 'Address to the Reader,' prefixed to Smith's *Discourses*, is led to descant on the virtues of Abraham and Moses as recognizable in the career of his author; Patrick, in his funeral Sermon, having already set the example by instituting a like comparison with the careers of Elijah and Elisha,—a parallel which he pursues to the extent of finding a resemblance between the mantle which Elijah let fall, to descend upon Elisha, and 'the college Gown in which this Holy man used for to walk[1].' It may, however, be observed, in partial extenuation of the unmeasured praise which pervades the whole of Patrick's discourse, that he seems, on this occasion, to have taken for his model such pulpit orators as the two Gregorys of Nyssa and Nazianzus, and Dion Chrysostom, in whose discourses the self-restraint of a Pericles or a Demosthenes was exchanged for the florid rhetoric which better suited the congregations that gathered in the early churches of Cappadocia, or the habits of thought of a Greek of the second century. 'The lines of the picture,' to quote Tulloch's expression, 'lose themselves in vagueness and generality'; and it is a relief to turn to the description,—also borrowed, it is true, but this time from Eunapius,—of John Smith as 'a living library,' and 'a walking study,' 'that carried his learning about with him.' 'I never,' said Patrick, 'got so much good among all my books by a whole day's plodding in a study, as by an houre's conversation I have got with him. For he was not a library lock'd up, nor a book clasped, but stood open for any to converse withall that had a mind to learn....And he was no less happy in expressing his mind, then in conceiving; wherein he seems to have excelled the famous philosopher, Plotin, of whom Porphyry tells us, that he was something careless of his words, *ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῦ νοῦ ἐχόμενος*, but was wholly taken up into his mind[2].' To the like effect writes Worthington: 'I can very

[1] '...methinks I see Elisha bowing down with some respect to the very mantle which fel from his Master, and taking it up as a precious relique of so holy a man. And I could very well pass some civility upon the gown in which this Holy man used for to walk, out of the great honour which I bear him.' *Sermon preached at the Author's Funeral*, pp. 500–1.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 500–7.

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well remember, when I have had private converse with him, how pertinently and freely he would speak to any matter proposed; how weighty, substantial and clearly expressive of his sense his private discourses would be, and both for matter and language much-what of the same importance and value with such exercises as he studied for and performed in publick[1].' Not less creditable to his good sense, is the testimony borne by his editor to the endeavour which he systematically made when preaching to a rural congregation, 'to accommodate his expressions to ordinary vulgar capacities, being studious to be understood, and not to be ignorantly wondered at by amusing the people either with high, unnecessary speculations, or with hard words and vain ostentations of scholastic learning[2].'

A careful study of John Smith's writings would seem, indeed, to suggest that, had his life been prolonged, he would have approved himself not inferior to More, in his command of literary expression, and his superior as regarded sound judgement in questions of philosophy; and on comparing these two writers, in their method of dealing with the same subject, that of the *Immortality of the Soul*, we have evidence which further points to such a conclusion, although the one composed his treatise, extending to only fifty-one quarto pages, when he was not yet thirty, the other, when he was in his fifty-fifth year, while his dissertation extends to 220 pages folio. This disparity in length is, however, partially explained by the fact that the younger writer directs his argument mainly against the ancient scepticism of Epicurus and Lucretius, while the elder and later writer, although concerning himself mainly with the philosophy of Hobbes (at that time assuming an alarming prominence), also brings forward for discussion certain other difficulties suggested by his own highly imaginative subjectivity. Notwithstanding, however, the ingenuity of More's speculations and the remarkable range of reading displayed throughout his pages, the majority of his readers can hardly fail to experience a certain disappointment at finding that, after a variety of

[1] Preface 'To the Reader,' p. x. [2] *Ibid.* pp. xxvi–xxvii.

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questions have been discussed, with somewhat vague conclusions, the author himself remains firmly convinced that a belief in the soul's immortality necessarily involves a recognition of the existence of ghosts, and that all that can with certainty be predicated respecting its condition in a future state, is that it will be an entity needing no food and casting no shadow[1].

Very different is the impression left upon the mind by John Smith's less discursive treatment of his subject and skilful compression of his well-reasoned generalizations. To him, it seems that no evidence that can be adduced in support of the soul's immortality carries with it more potent conviction than that afforded by the historic fact of the *universality* of the belief,—a certain *consensus gentium*, discernible throughout pagan times, fondly cherished by the multitude, firmly maintained by philosophers like Plotinus, Proclus and Aristotle; while he also finds it clearly involved in a yet grander conception, revealing itself to the sanctified human intellect[2], as an inevitable corollary from the belief in the Divine beneficence. 'The soul of every good man,' he says, 'knows that God will never forsake His own life which He hath quickened in it; He will never deny those ardent desires of a blissful fruition of Himself, which the lively sense of His own Goodness hath excited within it,—those breathings and gaspings after an eternal participation of Him are but the energy of His own breath within us; if He had had any mind to destroy it, He would never have shewn it such things as He has done; He would not raise it up to such Mounts of Vision, to shew it all the glory of that heavenly Canaan flowing with eternal and unbounded pleasures, and then tumble it down again into that deep

[1] *The Immortality of the Soul, so farre forth as it is demonstrable from the Knowledge of* Nature *and the Light of* Reason. By Henry More, D.D. Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge. London, 166⁰. Fol.

[2] To the understanding, that is to say, which, by habitually conforming to the dictates of the voice of reason, becomes, to quote the expression of Solomon, the true 'candle of the Lord' (*Proverbs*, xx 27), and acquires what Culverwel terms a 'directive force,' as 'the leading and guiding power' (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν) 'of the soul.' See Culverwel, *Light of Nature* (ed. 1669), p. 125; Culverwel-Brown, p. 125.

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and darkest abyss of Death and Non-entity[1].' He then proceeds to cite from Plotinus the well-known passage wherein that philosopher declares that it is precisely in proportion to the extent to which the soul departs from the path of rectitude that it grows cold to the belief in its own immortality; and that, when a man's life has been given to indulgence in 'base and earthly passions,' the wish begets the *disbelief*, and men are thus 'led to deny the immortality which they are unfitted to enjoy[2].' On the other hand, all vice being unnatural to the soul and essentially adventitious, the truly virtuous man gradually becomes conscious of being himself participant, like the Angels, in the Divine nature; and, if all were as he, 'there could be no such Infidels as would in any sort disbelieve the Soul's immortality[3].'

But the contrast between these two widely different modes of dealing with a great psychological problem is something more than what we should expect to find between a series of brief discourses, delivered in a college chapel by a young divine, as yet unknown to fame, and an elaborate treatise by a writer with an already established reputation which it was his aim still further to enhance; and the really original features in Smith's treatment of his subject will be more perceptible, and acquire additional illustration, on a comparison with another but not less remarkable production of the Platonist school, first given to the world in the year in which he died.

In order fully to realize the conditions under which the

[1] *A Discourse demonstrating the Immortality of the Soul*, c. vii; *Discourses*, pp. 102-3.

[2] Διὸ καὶ, εἰ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τοιοῦτος ἦν ἢ πλῆθός τι τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς κεχρημένον, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἂν ἦν ἄπιστος, ὡς μὴ πιστεύειν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς πάντη ἀθάνατον εἶναι. *Enneads*, IV vii 15, ed. Müller (H. F.), II 120. More, on the other hand, while ignoring this passage, prefers to cite another (*Enneads*, IV iv 45) wherein Plotinus discusses the comparative degrees of future *happiness*, which the good and the wicked are entitled to cherish,—a passage loftily pronounced by More himself to be 'not without some small truth in it, if rightly limited and understood' (*Philosophical Writings* (1662), p. 291). The first edition of More's *Immortality of the Soul* appeared in 1659, the year preceding that in which Worthington published John Smith's *Discourses*; while the second edition, that contained in the foregoing edition of More's *Philosophical Writings*, in which some reference to Smith's volume might have been looked for, is a mere bookseller's reprint.

[3] *Discourses*, p. 104: Campagnac, p. 142.

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Light of Nature was conceived, we must bear in mind that, although not published until 1652, it had been written six years before, when the author was probably under thirty years of age[1]. That he was greatly indebted to Whichcote, and echoed the doctrine and sentiments of his illustrious teacher with noteworthy fidelity, has been pointed out by his latest editor[2]; but it is not less certain that his treatise displays remarkable originality and that his ideas are as striking as they are admirably expressed. As regards general literary excellence, he may be said to divide with John Smith the claim to rank foremost among the Platonists, while in the skilful irony to which he occasionally resorts in the course of his argument, he is unrivalled among the number. If, again, Smith's premature end was hastened by his devotion to study, Culverwel's career was doubtless cut short by the ardour with which he pursued the end he had in view; and although what he actually accomplished was little more than a brilliant exposition of the conditions and assumptions essential to the prosecution of his main inquiry, the claim of an eminent critic,—that the *Light of Nature* 'must ever assert a prominent place in English speculation on the origin of knowledge and the foundation of certainty[3],'—can hardly be called in question.

It is evident, from his opening chapter, that the author did not conceal from himself the magnitude of the task upon which he had embarked,—that of 'giving to reason the things that are reason's, and unto faith the things that are faith's.' It requires, he says, 'our choicest thoughts, the *exactest discussion* that can be,' 'to give faith her full scope and latitude, and to give reason also her just bounds and limits.' 'This' [*i.e.* reason] 'is the first-born, but the other'

[1] 'The *Discourse of the Light of Nature* (which, though here it beare the torch before the rest, is younger brother to them all) was written above six years ago.' William Dillingham, 'To the Reader,' prefixed to *An Elegant and learned Discourse of the Light of Nature*, etc. (4th ed., Oxford, 1669) and dated 'Cambr. *Aug.* 10. 1652.'

[2] *The Cambridge Platonists, being Selections from the Writings of Benjamin Whichcote, John Smith and Nathaniel Culverwel, with* Introduction by E. T. Campagnac, M.A. Oxford, 1901. See *Introduction*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

[3] Cairns (Jo.), *Critical Essay* (prefixed to edition of *The Light of Nature* by Brown), p. xxxix.

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CH. V. [*i.e.* faith] 'has the blessing.' In the course of his treatise, he amplifies this celebrated *dictum*, and points out that the light of reason is 'derived.' 'All created excellency,' he says, 'shines with borrowed beams, so that reason is but "a spark of the Divine light," "a faint breathing of the Divine breeze" (*scintilla divinae lucis, divinae particula aurae*)[1].' Such is the assumption which underlies his whole treatment of his subject, namely that the function of Faith is superior to that of Reason. Reason discerns the existence of a God; the eye of Faith, a Trinity of Persons; the former recognizes the immortality of the soul, 'Faith spies out the resurrection of the body.' 'Revealed truths are never against reason; they will always be above reason[2].' 'It will be honour enough for reason to shew that faith does not oppose reason; and this it may, it must, shew; for else, "those that are within" the enclosure of the Church will never rest satisfied, nor "those that are without," Pagans, Mahometans, Jews, ever be convinced[3].'

While thus asserting what Cairns describes as 'the essential supra-naturalism of the Christian illumination,' it was the author's design to relegate to a subsequent treatise the evidence and the arguments whereby he intended to shew, *first*, that all the moral law is founded in natural and common light,—in the light of Reason; and, *secondly*, that there is nothing in the mysteries of the Gospel contrary to Reason, nothing repugnant to this light that shines from 'the candle of the Lord[4].' But Culverwel was never able to carry his great design into effect, and there is no evidence that, at the time of his death, he had even commenced to put his ideas on paper. In the mean time, his audience in

[1] Ed. 1669, p. 71; Culverwel-Brown, p. 121.

[2] Here, accordingly, he sides with the Schoolmen: 'There are some authors, of great worth and learning, that endeavour to maintain this opinion, that revealed truths, though they could not be found by reason, yet when they are once revealed, reason can then evince them and demonstrate them. But I much rather incline to the determinations of Aquinas, and multitudes of others that are of the same judgement, that human reason, when it has stretched itself to the uttermost, is not at all proportioned to them; but, at the best can give onely some faint illustrations, some weak adumbrations of them.' Edit. 1669, p. 142; Culverwel-Brown, p. 229.

[3] Ed. 1669, p. 142; Culverwel-Brown, pp. 229-230.

[4] Culverwel-Brown, p. 25.

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Emmanuel chapel were privileged to listen to a series of profound disquisitions designed to render more intelligible what is to be understood by 'Nature,' what by 'Law,' and what by the 'Light of Reason'; while, in the course of his argument, he appeals, like John Smith, to the Consent of Nations (a noteworthy chapter) with respect to the fundamental laws of nature herself, declaring it to be 'no disparagement to Jew nor Christian, to mix the light of their candle with that light which comes shining from the candle of a heathen[1].'

So far, however, as it is possible to discern the facts, it would appear that for at least five years before his death, Culverwel's labours were altogether suspended; while a singular mystery involves his life during that time. He became haughty and reserved in his bearing, and eventually fell into a deep melancholy from which he never rallied and the cause of which can only be conjectured. But it is not improbable that the marked favour shewn him by Whichcote, together with a justifiable confidence in his own powers but a possibly undue self-concentration in his cherished designs, may have caused others to regard with jealousy his rising reputation. Former stolid opponents of the statute *de Mora* at Emmanuel, occupied chiefly with the discharge of some college office, while waiting for the preferment which never came, eyed with sullen aversion the brilliant young fellow who was thus attracting to himself a popularity which they deemed altogether beyond his standing and proved attainments; while he, apparently, lacked that personal charm of manner with which More disarmed his critics, and although he had published nothing[2], sometimes retorted on his opponents with more courage than discretion. 'There were some,' he was heard to say in college chapel, 'so strangely prejudiced against Reason (and that upon sufficient reason too, as they think, *which yet involves a flat contradiction*), as that they look upon it not as the *Candle of the Lord*, but as on some blazing Comet, that portends present ruin to the Church and to the soul, and carries a fatal and venomous

[1] *Ibid.* p. 120.

[2] See *infra*, p. 641, n. 4.

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AP. V. influence along with it[1].' Considering, again, how much he and More had in common, it was hardly prudent for him to differ, so openly as he did, from one whose *Poems* were already well known and much admired,—first, by rejecting the theory of the prae-existence of the Soul, and then, just when the latter was in the first fever of his early admiration of the genius of Descartes, to brand the famous *Cogito ergo sum* as 'a mere reduplication of the evidence of consciousness which still left the intellect condemned to hopeless scepticism[2],' thus striking at a great reputation towards which the attitude of Christ's, and Cambridge generally, was at that time distinctly favourable. Cudworth, with whom he was intellectually far more in sympathy than with More, was engrossed in his duties as master of Clare; while Tuckney, as head of Emmanuel, was already gravitating towards those conclusions which impelled him, a few years later, to write his first letter to Whichcote[3]. Culverwel, not improbably, felt that his tenure of his fellowship was precarious, while at the same time he was conscious of the vast labours that still awaited him before he could bring his main project to accomplishment,—the 'porch,' indeed (to use his own metaphor), was already erected, and the ante-chapel fully designed[4], but the outlines of the chapel itself were still incomplete, and his work seemed only half begun. Despair supervened upon despondency; he discoursed no more, he wrote no more, but wandered forth from his study, shunning intercourse with his fellows, and early in the latter half of 1651 passed silently away, the object it would seem of general commiseration. This was in the interval, apparently, between the delivery of Whichcote's Commencement oration, upholding the claims of *recta Ratio*, and Tuckney's

[1] *The Light of Nature* (1669), p. 21. Culverwel-Brown, p. 18.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 124; Culverwel-Brown, p. 203. 'Descartes, the French philosopher, resolves all his assurances into thinking that he thinks,—why not into *thinking* that he sees, and why may he not be deceived in *that*, as in any other operations?' On which see Cairns, *Critical Essay*, pp. xxxviii, xxxix.

[3] See *supra*, p. 591.

[4] 'But indeed it' [the *Spiritual Opticks*] 'was intended only to bear the Mace into the world before that learned and elegant treatise which this ingenious Author hath left behind him concerning the *Light of Nature*.' Dillingham (W.), 'To the Reader,' prefixed to the *Spiritual Opticks*.

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angry letter,—the latter dictated, as the writer affirmed, 'by zeal for God's Glory and Truth,' and the desire that 'young ones may not be tainted[1].' Such being Tuckney's implied accusation, Whichcote's indignant retort was a skilful homethrust: 'If I have any way tainted the minds of young ones with error and falsehood,' he rejoined, 'blessed be the man, whosoever he be, that confutes that error[2],' while in reply to the imputation that he had sought to make the claims of Reason paramount: 'I have declared,' he writes in his third Letter, 'the qualitie and fittness of the principle, as from God, in the hand of God, "the candle of the Lord,—*res illuminata illuminans.*" With all my heart and soule I acknowledge and assert, the Holie Spirit's superintendencie, conduct, presence, influence, guidance, government of man's mind,—in the discerning of the things of God.' 'I oppose not rational to spiritual,' he subsequently writes, 'for spiritual is most rational. But I contra-distinguish rational to conceited, impotent, affected CANTING[3].'

It was probably in concert with Whichcote, that William Dillingham at Emmanuel, now determined, in order to vindicate the memory of his 'departed friend,' to publish one of his briefer discourses[4], and selected that entitled *Spiritual Opticks*, the burden of which is, the essential imperfection which,—despite of Ordinances, Schoolmen and Divines,—must ever envelope all human apprehension of revealed Truth. 'There remains,' Culverwel had written, in bringing his Discourse to its conclusion, 'the *visio recta*, a sight of God face to face, to know as we are known. But this hereafter.' 'READER,' subjoined Dillingham,

> 'What this *to know as we are known* should be,
> The Author could not tell, but's gone to see[5].'

[1] *Eight Letters*, p. 5. The reference, consequently, would be more probably to those whom Culverwel had inspired by his discourses, than (as Tulloch conjectures) to Culverwel himself. See *Rational Theology in England*, II 412.

[2] *Eight Letters*, p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 99-100, 108.

[4] *Spiritual Opticks: or a Glasse, discovering the weaknesse and imperfection of a Christian's Knowledg in this Life.* By Nathanael Culverwel, Master of Arts, and lately Fellow of Emmanuel Colledge in Cambridge. Oxford, 1668. Dillingham's 'To the Reader,' dated 'Emman. Dec. 1651,' clearly proves that, prior to that date, none of Culverwel's writings had been published or printed.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 196.

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We may infer that the *Spiritual Opticks* was favourably received, for, in the following August, Dillingham published the *Light of Nature*[1], with a Dedication to Tuckney and the Fellows of Emmanuel, as a collection of Discourses 'conceived in your College and delivered in your Chappel'; and also expressing the hope that 'you, who with much delight were sometimes *ear-witnesses* of it, will now become its Susceptours.' The volume, with its ample margins and typographical ornamentation, is, as Dillingham describes it, 'an elegant issue'; and he avails himself of the 'opportunity to let both yourselves and others understand, how deep an impression your kindnesse to him' [the author] 'hath left in the apprehensions and memories of those his friends whom God and Nature had given the advantage of being more peculiarly interested in his well-fare.' There is also reference made, at the commencement of the Dedication, to the 'many testimonies of your real affection towards this pious and learned Authour, especially while he lay under the discipline of so sad a Providence[2],' an allusion which is further explained by a *second* 'To the Reader[3],' from the pen of the author's brother Richard Culverwel, who, remote from the university, and being, as he describes himself, only 'the ruins of a crazie body,' had been unable to come to Cambridge, but now takes occasion, in turn, to point out how, 'in this treatise we may perceive how the Gentiles candle outwent us with our sunbeams; how they, guided only by the glimmering twilight of Nature, outstrip't us, who are surrounded with the rays of supernatural light of revealed Truth'; while he concludes by urging,—in extenuation, apparently, of any eccentricity of behaviour his brother may have manifested,—that 'it is hard for men to be under affliction, but they are liable to cen-

[1] *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature, with several other Treatises: viz. The Schisme. The Act of Oblivion. The Child's Returne. The Panting Soul. Mount Ebal. The White Stone. Spiritual Opticks. The Worth of Souls*[4]. By Nathanael Culverwel, Master of Arts, and lately Fellow of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge. Oxford, 1669. See also p. 637, n. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* A 2.

[3] Unpaged, immediately preceding the *Discourse*. The first 'To the Reader,' is that by Dillingham, quoted *supra*, p. 641, n. 4.

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sures[1]'; 'and so,' he goes on to say, 'it fared with him, who was looked upon by some, as one whose eyes were lofty and whose eyelids lifted up; who bare himself too high upon a conceit of his parts, although they that knew him intimately are most willing to be his compurgators in this particular[2].'

In reality, none of the Platonists, Cudworth perhaps excepted, appears to have possessed the same genuine philosophical discernment, while, as Cairns observes, he was 'free from the prejudice of all schools'; and, as that able critic proceeds to point out, 'while he defends "the immortal name of Aristotle" against Bacon's unfounded charge of neglecting his predecessors, he is himself just to "the great and noble Verulam"; though a zealous Protestant, is warm in his praise of the Jesuit Suarez; and his strong convictions, as a Christian and a Puritan, do not repress his cordial appreciation of Lord Herbert of Cherbury[3].' It was the same breadth of judgement that led him (a point of contrast, it is to be noted, when compared with John Smith[4]), to discern the value of the mental discipline resulting from syllogistic reasoning, and consequently to denounce those 'weak and staggering apprehensions which are afraid of understanding *anything*; and think that the very name of Reason, especially in a pulpit, in matters of religion, must needs have at least a thousand heresies couched in it. If you do but offer to make a syllogism,' he adds, 'they'l straightway cry it down for carnal reasoning[5].' Such language was little calculated to win for the writer the favour of that Calvinistic party to which he had at one time belonged, and whose influence, at the time that he delivered

[1] The writer is here evidently designing (as is shewn by his reference to *Luke* xiii 2-4) to rebut the notion that his brother's malady, whatever may have been its character, was to be interpreted as a manifestation of the Divine displeasure.

[2] 'To the Reader' (*u. s.*).

[3] Culverwel-Brown, p. xxxii.

[4] 'It is but a thin, aery knowledge that is got by meer speculation, which is usher'd in by Syllogisms and Demonstrations.'...'The reason why, notwithstanding all our acute reasonings and subtile disputes, Truth prevails no more in the world is, we so often disjoyn Truth and true Goodness, which in themselves can never be disunited,—they grow both from the same Root and live in one another.' *True Way or Method of attaining to Divine Knowledge, Discourses*, p. 4.

[5] *Discourse of the Light of Nature* (1669), p. 2; Culverwel-Brown, p. 18.

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P. V. his Discourse, was becoming predominant in the university; but a yet bolder assertion of his independence as a thinker, is that presented by his repudiation of what Tulloch goes so far as to stigmatize as 'the prevalent delusion of the Cambridge school,'—namely, the theory that all moral as well as spiritual knowledge may be ultimately traced back to Jewish sources, and that even Pythagoras and Plato, in common with 'the whole generality of the Heathen, went a gleaning in the Jewish fields.' Culverwel admits, indeed, that those two philosophers were 'especially notable gleaners,' 'so that they stole out of the very sheaves,'—'out of those Truths,' that is to say, 'that are bound up in the Sacred volume,'—referring, of course, to the Hebrew original or the Septuagint. 'Yet all this while,' he continues, 'they ne'er stole *first Principles* nor *Demonstrations*; but they had them οἰκοθεν, and needed not to take such a long journey for them. Give then unto the Jew the things of the Jews, and to the Gentile the things that are the Gentiles; and that which God has made common, call not thou peculiar. The Apostle Paul's question is here very seasonable: Ἢ Ἰουδαίων ὁ Θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναί, καὶ ἐθνῶν[1].' 'Nowhere,' in Tulloch's opinion, does Culverwel 'shew higher sense and penetration[2].'

It is with similarly cogent reasoning that he proceeds to combat a theory which, in less than two years after his death, was again advanced, with a great parade of learning, by Henry More, in his *Conjectura Cabbalistica*[3]. This eccentric treatise, which, as reprinted in his collected writings in 1662, extends to 184 folio pages, exhibits much of the author's habitual precipitancy, not to say recklessness, of assertion, of which indeed the *Dedication*, to Cudworth, might alone serve as an example, the latter, who had just been elected to

[1] *Ibid.* p. 55; Culverwel-Brown, p. 97.

[2] *Rational Theology*, II 424.

[3] *Conjectura Cabbalistica: or A Conjectural Essay of interpreting the Mind of Moses, in the Three first Chapters of Genesis, according to a threefold* CABBALA: *viz. Literal, Philosophical, Mystical, or Divinely Moral.* By Henry More, D.D. Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge. London, 1653 [also in his *Collections*: London, 1662. Fol.]

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the mastership of Christ's College, being singled out by More for even more than his customary adulation, to which he gives expression in terms only comparable, in this respect, to his first letter to Descartes[1]. 'Concerning the choice of my patron,' he writes at the outset, '*I shall say no more* than that the sole inducement thereto was his singular learning and piety. The former of which is so conspicuous to the world, that it is universally acknowledged of all; and for the latter, there is none that can be ignorant thereof, who has ever had the happiness, though but in a smaller measure, of his more free and intimate converse[2].' Forgetful, apparently, of what he has already said, he however returns to the same theme in his conclusion, where in like fulsome strain, he avers that he does 'not know where to meet with any so universally and fully accomplished as yourself, as well in the Oriental tongues and History, as in all the choicest Kindes of Philosophy; any one of which acquisitions is enough to fill, if not to swell, an ordinary man with great conceit and pride; whereas it is your sole privilege to have them all, and yet not to take upon you, nor to be anything more imperious, or censorious of others, then they ought to be that know the least[3].' A dedication thus negligently penned would hardly seem to have been the proper place for entering into particulars with respect to the subject-matter of the treatise itself; but, notwithstanding, we find interposed between the two quotations above given a description and partial vindication of the theories which he has sought in the subsequent pages to set forth, among them being those of the prae-existence of the soul, of the rotation of the Earth on its own axis, and of the doctrine of the Trinity, all of which he asserts to be distinctly traceable back to Moses, as their original author, adducing, in support of his conclusions, passages from a vast literature, both sacred and profane, of history, science and philosophy.

It was this assumption,—whereby, to quote the expression of Frederick Denison Maurice, 'the unspiritual Hebrew

[1] See *supra*, pp. 606–7. [2] 'Epistle Dedicatory,' p. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* Eee r.

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CHAP. V.

Criticism of his main theory by the late Professor Maurice.

becomes the necessary and inevitable medium of transmitting spiritual apprehensions to the equally unspiritual Gentile,'—that, when holding the chair of Moral Philosophy in the university in the nineteenth century, the same eminent writer found himself unable to characterize otherwise than as 'perplexing and unaccountable[1]'; while, taken in conjunction with Culverwel's unanswerable censure of the theory of the involved tradition, it goes far to deprive the whole movement with which we are now concerned of any claim to be regarded as that of a 'School.' We may, however, reasonably assume that, although some twelve months intervened between the publication of *The Light of Nature* and that of the *Conjectura Cabbalistica*, More had not read the former when he composed the latter; had he done so, he might have been able, in some measure, to retort upon the author with an effective criticism of the passage in which the latter had ventured to call in question the axiom of Descartes. But before very long, More had himself modified his opinions; and when, in 1671, he published his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*[2], we find his attitude towards the Cartesian philosophy completely changed. The work is dedicated to Sheldon, and in the prefatory pages we find the author again seeking to re-adjust his relations with the philosophers, which he does, with his customary dexterity, by professing his sympathy with the proceedings of the Royal Society and avowing his complete severance from the doctrines of Cartesianism. At Lambeth, the archbishop had intimated confidentially to More, that personally he was disposed to look upon the new 'free method of philosophizing' with far from unfriendly sentiments, but provided always, he added, 'that the faith, the peace, and the institutions of the Church were not thereby menaced'; and, in the pages

Absence in More's treatise of any reference to Culverwel.

His renunciation of Cartesianism in his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*; the *Dedication* to Archbishop Sheldon;

[1] Maurice (Rev. Fred. Denison), *Modern Philosophy* (1862), p. 349.

[2] *Enchiridion Metaphysicum: sive de Rebus incorporeis succincta & luculenta Dissertatio. Pars prima: de Existentia & Natura Rerum Incorporearum in Genere. In qua quamplurima Mundi Phaenomena ad Leges Cartesii Mechanicas obiter expenduntur, illiusque Philosophiae et aliorum omnino omnium qui Mundana Phaenomena in Causas purè Mechanicas solvi posse supponunt, Vanitas Falsitasque detegitur. Per H. M. Cantabrigiensem.* Londini, 1671.

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of his new treatise, More had taken occasion to point out how, in not a few instances, the experiments in natural science, carried on under the auspices of the Society, had seemed to strengthen rather than impair the presumptive evidence for the existence of the Supernatural[1]. The primate and the philosopher, accordingly, were on this point in full accord; but on turning from the *Dedication* to the 'Address to the Reader,' we find the author's sentiments with regard to Cartesianism altogether changed. Descartes himself is styled 'chief of the Nullibists'; and his theory of 'mechanical causes,' of which More had before expressed his unbounded admiration[2], is now denounced by him as involving a theory inimical, in the highest degree, to the principles of religious belief. Considering, however, that a quarter of a century had already passed since the time when Descartes first put forth, or ventilated (in letters to his friends) his hypothesis with respect to the *modus operandi* recognizable in various natural phenomena,—not a few of which were highly ingenious while all were creditable to the originality of their propounder,—and bearing in mind, at the same time, the advance made by philosophic observation and experiment during that eventful interval,—it would have called for the exercise of no great magnanimity,—while recording, where necessary, the disproof of any conjecture in relation to a particular phenomenon,—to criticize such efforts in the spirit of Bossuet and Leibniz, rather than that of bishop Parker of Oxford and John Sergeant. As it is, however, we find More simply exultant in the production of more than a dozen instances of misconceptions on the part of Descartes, with respect to the natural processes involved in certain phenomena,—as, for example, the action of the tides

[1] 'Verum et id praeter caetera me ad hoc propositum stimulabat, quod sperabam non injucundum tibi futurum spectaculum, quum videbis quam apposite nos, Deo aspirante, eximia quaedam Experimenta Philosophicae illius Societatis Londinensis, quam Serenissimus Rex ad aeternam sui Nominis memoriam tam auspicato instituit, ad res Facultatis nostrae, Theologicas utique, promovendas in hoc Opere adhibemus; et quam clare ex eorum Corporeorum Experimentorum lumine Rerum Incorporearum existentiam demonstramus. Quod certe praecipuum est omnis Religionis veraeque Theologiae fulcrum.' *Epist. Dedicat.*, sig. 3, sig. 3 r.

[2] See *supra*, p. 607.

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AP. V. and the attractive properties of the magnet,—and full of affected commiseration for their author. 'Alas!' he exclaims, 'for the mechanical philosophy, surpassing all other superstitions in credulity and folly[1]!'

Nor is this remarkable change of attitude,—a change very imperfectly accounted for by Tulloch's observation, that 'More was never a follower of Descartes, in the sense of having ceased to be a follower of Plato,'—to be looked upon merely as a further example of his wonted precipitancy and uncertainty of judgement, a feature in his writings, which was probably regarded by many of his contemporaries as more than excusable amid the widespread defection from former traditions which characterized the period between the years 1660 and 1685[2]. It is to be noted that, even before his correspondence with Descartes was at an end, his correspondent had probably incurred his displeasure, by declining, firmly though courteously, to embark with him in an enquiry as to the personality and attributes of Angels[3]; while it is not altogether satisfactory to find, that, on being informed of Clerselier's design of publishing the foregoing correspondence, More implored him not to print the originals of his own letters, and proceeded to devote more than a month to the preparation of revised copies, which were to appear, it is to be observed, when Descartes was no longer alive[4]. The causes of his complete change of tone, as above described, are to be sought, however, elsewhere.

Down to the Restoration, it had been More's chief claim and pride to have succeeded in reviving at the university

[1] 'O Mechanicam Philosophiam prae omni Superstitione credulam et fatuam!' *Ad Lectorem* PRAEFATIO B v.

[2] See Tulloch (*u. s.*), II 373-6. More's complete change of tone is somewhat severely commented on by Descartes' latest editors: 'M. Descartes avoit d'autres amis en Angleterre d'une plus grande importance, et moins capable de cette inconstance qui a paru dans la conduite de M. More.' Adam and Tannery, *Correspondance*, IV 583, n. 2; see also Ward (*u. s.*), pp. 63-4; More, *Divine Dialogues*, 'Publisher to the Reader,' sig. a_3 to a_4.

[3] '... nec me unquam de iis [*i.e.* angelis], de quibus nullam habeo certam rationem, quicquam determinare, et conjecturis locum dare.' Descartes to More. *Ibid.* V 402.

[4] '... si tibi visum fuerit, meas ad Cartesium litteras publicare, vehementer hoc abs te efflagito, ut ne fiat juxta illa exemplaria quae jam habes, quia multo correctiora tibi paro.' Letter of 14 May 1655. *Ibid.* V 236.

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the study of two great philosophers,—of whom the one had taught on the banks of the Ilissus, in the fourth century before Christ, the other, in Rome, in the third century after Christ,—and to have exhibited them, as in agreement not only with each other but also with Christian doctrine. In the endeavour so to do, it must be admitted that he ignored, or was ignorant of, much that philosophy had essayed or achieved during the six centuries that divide Plato from Plotinus; and in comparing the two, he seems equally unconscious that, what Creuzer terms the 'silent soliloquies' of the latter, are often little more than echoes of the *Dialogues* of the former. But from this tranquil atmosphere of philosophic enquiry, the recluse of Christ's College now found himself suddenly summoned to bear his part in the defence of those beliefs which he professed to hold most dear,—the considerations which made it especially imperative on him to do so having assumed a new importance at nearly the same time that his admiration of Cartesian doctrines was beginning thus perceptibly to wane, while the existence and gravity of these considerations had also recently been pointed out, with unmistakeable clearness and great force by a fellow of his own college.

George Rust, who, like Jeremy Taylor, was a native of Cambridge, had graduated in 1647 from St Catherine's, but two years later had succeeded in gaining a fellowship at Christ's. Here his abilities soon attracted the notice of Cudworth; and in 1657, we find him employed as bearer of an important letter to Thurloe, in which the master of Christ's, after commending some ten other members of the university as highly 'qualified for civill employments,' proceeds to describe Rust himself as 'an understanding, pious, discreet man' of 'exceeding good parts and a general scholar, but one that seemes not so willing to divert himselfe from preaching and divinity, which he hath of late intended[1].' At

[1] Cudworth-Birch, I viii. This letter is without date in Birch, but is assigned, on circumstantial evidence, by Tulloch (II 433) to the date given. The description of Rust by Glanvil, twenty-five years later, points to the same qualities: 'a man he was of a clear mind, a deep judgment, and searching wit; greatly learned in all the best sorts of know-

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CHAP. V. the time when this letter was written, Rust had already become well known throughout the university, by his memorable *Discourse of Truth*,—delivered in the first instance, in 1651, as a 'common-place' in Christ's College chapel, along with a 'Preface,'—his text, on that occasion, being *Proverbs* xx 27[1],—and again, four years later, from the pulpit of Great St Mary's, when, in a second prefatory exposition, he descanted on *John* xviii 38[2]. In the former Preface, he maintained it to be almost self-evident, that 'by "the Candle of the Lord" is meant nothing else but Truth,'—'for,' he urges, 'Truth is the Light of the Intellectual World, and the Soul of Man is so far the Candle of the Lord, as it is identified with Truth[3].' On this latter occasion, when his pregnant sentences were manifestly designed to call attention to the gravity of the crisis which had supervened upon the famous Proclamation of Cromwell[4], the orator roused himself to a notable effort to redeem, if possible, the conception of 'Truth' itself, from the reproach of being nothing more than an accepted form of belief in relation to religion and morality, which a nation, a community, a sect, might agree to recognize as embodying the temporary persuasions of a certain majority.

'The foundations that men have so long built their opinions and faith upon,' cried the preacher, 'are shaken and staggered in this sceptical age. Every one, upon a particular and several sect, is in quest of Truth; and so foolish and full of vain affectation is the mind of man, that each one confidently believes himself in the right, and, however others call themselves, that he and those of his party are the only Orthodox. Should we go abroad in the world, and ask as many as we meet, *What is* Truth?, we should find it a changeable and uncertain notion, which every one cloath's his own apprehensions with.

ledge, old and new, a diligent enquirer, of a free understanding and vast capacity, joined with singular modesty and sweetness of temper,' etc. *Letter* prefixed to *Discourse of Truth* (1682). Of the *Discourse* itself Tulloch says that, though 'clearly and well written,' 'it has no substance or originality of argument'; and, as regards vigour and method of treatment, it certainly stands in singular contrast to the two 'Prefaces' by which it was accompanied, and which Tulloch appears not to have seen. See Halliwell's *Preface* to his *Remains of Dr George Rust*. London, 1686.

[1] See *supra*, p. 639.

[2] 'Pilate saith unto him, "What is Truth?"'

[3] Halliwell (*u.s.*), p. 23.

[4] See *supra*, p. 472.

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Truth is in every sect and party, though they speak inconsistences among themselves and contradictions to one another. Truth is the Turkish Alcoran, the Jewish Talmud, the Papists' Councils, the Protestants' Catechisms and Models of divinity,—each of these in their proper place and region. Truth is a various uncertain thing, and changes with the air and the climate,—'tis Mahomet at Constantinople, the Pope at Rome, Luther at Wittemberg, Calvin at Geneva, Arminius at Oldwater, Socinus at Cracow; and each of these are sound and orthodox in the circuit of their own reign and dominion[1].'

'And as it is mutable according to places, so also according to the ages of the world: 'Twas one-while Arianism under several Emperors, in several Councils, among several Fathers. 'Twas, for some hundreds of years, a company of foppish and ridiculous superstitions and ceremonies, pardons and indulgences, redemptions from purgatory, and the like; and we know in our days into what new shapes this Proteus hath transformed itself[2].'

Not less poignant is the irony with which the preacher proceeds to characterize the professed reception of Truth, as dictated by sheer self-interest, by the love of singularity, or by uncontrolled enthusiasm:—

''Tis a State mould committed to the keeping of some Party that is in greatest favour, whereinto all Opinions are cast;...a piece of education, interest, humour, fancy and temper, an inveterate prejudice that is bred in our minds, which all arguments that can be brought to the contrary, do irritate, but not convince;...an Opinion first taken up, and then Reason sought out to maintain it. Truth is that which serves every man's turn or interest; 'tis the surest, strongest side, which secures a man's estate, liberty and outward advantages; that which saves a man the cost and expence of self-denial and patience under the reproach and persecution of a prevailing sect, which leads the way to applause and preferment and gives the pompous title "sound in the Faith,"—that is, in the opinion of the place and church where one lives.' Or else it is 'a piece of humourous singularity; the man is unwilling to go with a multitude, or trust himself in a crowd, lest he be lost, forgotten, and not taken notice of: 'tis a desire to appear *μέγας τις*, the authour of some new discoveries; the head and Father of a particular sect; 'tis a piece of over-weening pride, of fond self-flattery and conceit, that thinks itself wiser than the Church where it lives and all the world besides.' While, 'many times it is nothing else but the boilings of an unheated imagination and untamed Fancy *and hence spring most of the new lights of the present age*[3].'

[1] Halliwell's *Remains* (*u. s.*), p. 44. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* p. 45.

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Rarely had such a rendering of Church history, at once so charged with irony and yet so difficult to challenge, been set forth from the pulpit of Great St Mary's; and it is difficult to believe that either Cudworth or More, both of whom were probably among the audience, could have failed to be deeply moved, as they heard the watchword of their party thus decried from the point of view of the cynic and the sceptic, 'Truth' itself being exhibited as something purely relative, while the abstract object of their professed pursuit was passed by as non-existent! It is evident, however, that after upholding with so much cogent eloquence the claims of Reason in connexion with the interpretation of revealed Truth, the Platonists were now beginning to be confronted with the fact, that never since the Reformation, had such diversity of belief prevailed as was apparent in the year when Rust delivered the foregoing *Discourse*. Whichcote, in one of his most eloquent sermons, had already pronounced it to be the especial 'advantage' of Truth, that it possessed 'so much of self-evidence,' and was 'so satisfactory to the Reason of an ingenuous Mind,' that 'it could not fail to prevail, *unless there be an indisposition in the receiver*,'—'all things,' he added, 'being according to the disposition of the receiver[1].' 'How then,' men were beginning to ask, 'did it come to pass, that increased liberty of judgement appeared to be resulting only in increased disunion?' It was a question that none of Whichcote's followers, if we except Culverwel, had even sought to grapple with, but was now assuming a prominence that could not be ignored.

It is certain, however, that from about this time, More avoided, as far as possible, all controversy with respect to doctrine as held by the Anglican Church, preferring to divide his own speculations between mysticism and prophecy, to the wonderment of the uncritical and the edification of the devout. The more, indeed, we study his writings, the less do we seem to derive the impression of a genuinely philosophic mind, gradually, but steadily progressing from doubt and misgiving to clearer perceptions of truth and more

[1] Campagnac (E. T.), *The Cambridge Platonists*, p. 3.

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assured convictions. We are not unfrequently, it is true, edified by utterances that would seem to bespeak a clear and unprejudiced judgement, but, alternating with these, there are others not less suggestive of an intellect taking refuge, as it were, from perplexity, in beliefs which are little less than superstitions; and to such, apparently, with advancing years, he became increasingly inclined. If we admire the good sense which refuses to be trammelled in the expression of its ideas by the exigencies of a purely classical Latin diction[1], we can hardly commend his determination, in his *Poems*, to fetter his elaborate argument by adapting it to the metrical requirements of the Spenserian stanza. While there was much to justify his regard for the example and authority of Joseph Mede, his excessive admiration for that eminent teacher's *Clavis Apocalyptica* seems almost a craze[2],—bestowed, as it was, on labours of a kind which not only involved a vast misemployment of toil and ingenuity, but produced, in the case of More himself, in his attempt to follow up the researches of his teacher, an amount of mental excitement which resulted in a long period of nervous depression[3].

However cordially, again, we may concur in his enlightened repudiation of Hobbes's estimate of human nature, we cannot but remember that he himself firmly believed in ghosts, while that philosopher, whom he denounced as an atheist, was one of the few who had the moral courage, requisite in those days, to deny their existence. That his pen was well employed when it was wielded to expose the

[1] '...ille stylus optimus ac praestantissimus qui perfectissimus fidelissimusque mentis est interpres, quippe quum de essentia sermonis sit ut mentis sensus repraesentetur. Adeo ut quisquis nimio in sermonibus munditiarum studio incorruptamque servandi Latinae linguae integritatem, sensus conceptusque Animi minuat aut obscuret, illius profecto manca, deformis, imperfectaque necesse sit evadat oratio.' *Praefatio Generalissima* to *Opera Omnia* (ed. 1679), p. iv.

[2] 'The Doctor [*i.e.* More] hath observ'd, that Mr MEDE himself was not taken notice of suitably to his merits in his Apocalyptic elucubrations; which yet are certainly, as he somewhere speaks, his masterpiece and the peculiar excellency (amongst many other things) of that writer.' Ward, *Life*, pp. 237–8.

[3] See *Ibid.* pp. 145–6. Among the first who ventured to call in question Mede's interpretations, and more especially those contained in his *Apostasy of Later Times*, was Pearson. See Churton's *Memoir of* him. *Minor Theological Works*, 1 liv. lvii.

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He denounces astrology but believes in witchcraft.

falsities of the pretended science of astrology[1], will hardly be doubted, but it is equally undeniable that the writer himself went to his grave a firm believer in witchcraft[2]. And although our sympathy, and even assent, may be won by his subtle and ingenious arguments, alike in verse and in prose, to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, it must be admitted that the theory of its prae-existence, which after first advancing as 'worthy the canvass and discussion of sober and considerate men,' he ultimately affirmed to be 'a necessary result of the wisdom and goodness of God,' is one that has gained but few converts and from which many thoughtful minds have recoiled[3]. That his secluded habits, and the emotional raptures by which, as he himself asserted, his solitude was often irradiated, should have served to gain for him, as was the case with Plotinus, the awe-inspired reverence of those among whom his days were passed, is sufficiently intelligible; but, at the same time, the emphasis with which he enjoined upon others the practice of habitual humility, of submission under defamation, and active charity, as affording the surest prospect of attaining to true spiritual calm, shews that the observance of something more than the ascetic virtues entered into his conception of the philosophic life[4]; while the manner in which he blends with such advice

His theory of the prae-existence of the Soul.

His conception of the philosophic life and precepts with regard to the same.

[1] '... a fancifull study built upon very slight grounds, and indeed, I do not question, but a relique of the ancient superstitions and idolatry amongst the rude Heathens.' *Brief Discourse of Enthusiasm*, p. 30. See also his *Anti-Astrologica* in his *Great Mystery of Godliness*, afterwards as parately printed as *Tetrachys Anti-Astrologica* (1681).

[2] This may probably be referred to his early Presbyterian education. On the prevalence of the belief at the time, see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, II 104-5.

[3] ...καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ταύτην τὴν γένεσιν γενέσθαι ἦμεν ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι ἄλλοι ὄντες, καὶ τινες καὶ Θεοί, ψυχαὶ καθαραὶ καὶ νοῦς συνημμένος τῇ ἁπάσῃ οὐσίᾳ, μέρη ὄντες τοῦ νοητοῦ, οὐκ ἀφωρισμένα οὐδ' ἀποτετμημένα, ἀλλ' ὄντες τοῦ ὅλου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποτετμήμεθα, κ.τ.λ. Plotinus, *Enneads* VI iv 14, ed. Creuzer, p. 444. 'Nor is it harder to phansie, how these prae-existent souls insinuate into seed, embryos, or infants, than how created ones are insinuated....I do not contend that this opinion of the prae-existency of the soul is true, but that it is not such a self-condemned falsity but that I might, without incurring the censure of any vainnesse or levity, deem it worthy the discussion of sober and considerate men.' *To the Reader*, prefixed to *The Prae-existency of the Soul* in *Philosophicall Poems* (1647). See also *The Immortality of the Soul* (1662) in *Philosophical Writings*, p. 122. Compare the language of Kirke White, *Poems* (ed. Drinkwater), pp. 113–5.

[4] 'But if you will needs have me to add anything further, that may tend to the keeping a man in a perpetual calmness and peace of spirit, it is this: To do all the good we can, expecting nothing again, as from

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practical suggestions regarding diet, reminds us that the conception of the education of those who were designed for the service of the Church, as involving some knowledge of medicine, still lingered in the universities[1]. And, finally, while he denounced the 'sectaries,' on the one hand, as 'hugely for the interest of Antichrist[2],' and Popery, on the other, as 'favouring idolatry[3],' it is impossible to gainsay the deliberate verdict of Tulloch, that 'with all his enthusiasm of reason, he is an imperfect representative of the rational movement,' and 'is himself not merely inspired, but possessed by his favourite ideas[4].' As regarded theories of Church government, he took refuge in the admission that it was 'above his abilities to give judgement,' the right to do so depending upon studies which he dismisses as 'too tedious and voluminous for the strength of my body, as also very little gratefull to the rellishes of my mind.' He expresses, however, a decided approval of Thorndike's 'platform,' as 'very accommodate to the present state of things' and 'being such a mixture of episcopacy and presbytery together, as may justly, if they would be modest and ingenuous, satisfie the expectation of both parties[5].'

With the publication of his *Divine Dialogues*[6], in 1668,

men, but it may be evil language and as harsh deeds: and thus our expectation will never be disappointed, nor the peace and repose of our mind disturbed.' *Letter* ii to Reverend Dr J. D[avies], Jan. 28, 167⅝, in *Select Letters*, appended to *Life* by Ward, pp. 247–8. See also p. 361.

[1] 'I will only add, that a due temperance, and discreet devotion, will beget and maintain a more kindly and permanent warmth in the spirits and more constant cheerfulness, than any of those grosser helps in meats and drinks....Thus have I play'd both the Physician and the Divine before I was aware.' *Letter* ii (*u. s.*), p. 249.

[2] Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, II 336–7.

[3] The first part of his *Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity* (1664) is mainly concerned with Popery; and in his *Divine Dialogues* (II 384) the Popedom is asserted to be 'the Kingdome of Antichrist.'

[4] *Rational Theology*, II 404.

[5] 'To the Reader,' *The Grand Mystery of Godliness* (1660), pp. xvii, xix–xx. Similarly Simon Patrick, 'Our Latitudinarians therefore are by all means for a Liturgy, and do preferre that of our own Church before all others,—admiring the solemnity, gravity and primitive simplicity of it, its freedome from affective phrases, or mixture of vain and doubtful opinions; in a word they esteem it to be so good, that they would be loth to adventure the mending of it, for fear of marring it.' *Account of the new Sect of Latitude Men* (1662), p. 7.

[6] *Divine Dialogues, containing sundry Disquisitions and Instructions concerning the Attributes of God and his Providence in the World.*

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his reputation with the religious world at large appears to have culminated, and his biographer retails it as an assertion of Chiswell, the publisher[1], 'who told a friend of mine,' that, for twenty years after the Restoration, More's works 'ruled all the booksellers in London[2],'—an expression which, whatever it may imply, Peile inclines to regard as an 'exaggeration.' The remainder of his life, however, although chiefly occupied with further researches connected with the *Cabbala* and with enquiries into the significance of the prophecies shadowed forth in the mystic pages of St John the Divine, was also occupied with the task of translating his earlier works into Latin, in the confident but delusive anticipation of their being destined to a permanent place in European literature. The complacency with which he regarded these performances does not, indeed, tend to suggest that his judgement ripened with his declining years; and although he occasionally amused his leisure with experiments in natural philosophy, it is evident that speculation concerning the unknowable was still his ruling passion, as it was, undoubtedly, the most effective way of retaining his hold, as an author, on the attention of the religious world. Prophecy, and its application, alike to the past and to the future, were more and more becoming the medium through which those who assumed to be able to act as interpreters, found it most easy to gain the ear of the credulous. Of this phase of charlatanism a noteworthy example is afforded in the career of Israel Tonge, whose experiences as a fellow of University College, Oxford, somewhat resemble those of Lazarus Seaman at Peterhouse. Intruded into his fellowship

Collected and compiled by the Care and Industry of Franciscus Palaeopolitanus. London, Printed by James Flesher, 1668. The 'general character' of the interlocutors, it is to be observed, is that of being 'all free spirits, mutually permitting one another the liberty of philosophizing without any breach of friendship.' 1, sig. b 4 r.

[1] Richard Chiswell the elder, who carried on his business at the sign of the Rose and Crown in St Paul's Churchyard. See *D. N. B.* x 265; Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius*, 1 387.

[2] *Christ's College*, p. 186. Ward, *Life*, pp. 162-3. According to the same authority, there was a certain 'senior fellow' of one of the colleges in Oxford 'who would dwell continually on the praises of Dr H. More, and contend that they ought to turn out Aristotle, and embrace More in his room.' *Ibid.* p. 161.

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in 1648, Tonge served the college as bursar in the year 1650–1, but was immediately afterwards ejected. The reason of his ejection is not clear; but in his subsequent endeavours to make interest with the Protector for the appointment to the mastership, he became embroiled with the whole body of the fellows of University, and quitted Oxford somewhat under a cloud. From this time, unsettled in purpose as in occupation, he led a wandering life; now teaching Latin and Greek at Durham College[1], and then in London, or officiating as a chaplain at Dunkirk and at Tangier, and afterwards attracting public notoriety as the dupe and ally of Titus Oates in the notorious Popish Plot[2]. In his frequent leisure, Tonge turned his attention to the study of prophecy, and having made the acquaintance of Hartlib, appears to have so far insinuated himself into his good opinion, that in June 1660, we find the latter writing to Worthington,—at that time occupied with the laborious task of bringing to a completion his first edition of Mede's *Works*,—to the effect that 'Dr Tonge is making ready for the press his Apocalypticall Expositions, wch he is perswaded will go beyond all the light and discoveries that ever have been published[3].' This sanguine expectation, however, proved altogether illusive, from the simple fact that the treatise in question was never published; and More, accordingly, was able to carry on his own researches comparatively free from rivalry. In the last of his five *Dialogues*, we find him venturing to particularize the application of those 'six Trumpets' foretold in the *Book of Revelation*[4],—the successive sounding of which was to usher in the final chapter of the world's history,—to certain known historic epochs, in the

[1] His interest with the Protector was sufficient to obtain for him both a senior fellowship and a tutorship in Durham College. See Cromwell's *Charter for a Colledge at Durham* in Zachary Grey's *Impartial Examination*, iv 112.

[2] Carr (W.), *University College*, pp. 117, 118 120, 135; Wood-Clarke, *Life and Times*, ii 116.

[3] *Diary and Correspondence*, i 196-7. Worthington, writing to Hartlib (14 Nov. 1661), refers to the latter's correspondent as 'that Tongue who spoke to you about great things he had prepared upon the Apocalypse,' adding 'I did not think they were perfected, for then you would have written of them.' *Ibid.* ii 69.

[4] *The Book of Revelation*, c. viii 7-13, c. ix.

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In his literary experiences, as indeed in most other respects, the master of Christ's College presented a marked contrast to its distinguished fellow, and Cudworth's reputation as an author was almost entirely posthumous. In the same year, however, as that in which More published the

[1] *Divine Dialogues*, II 325. [2] *Ibid.* II 331-2.

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complete volume of his *Poems*, he had preached before Parliament a very remarkable sermon[1] which sufficiently indicated the direction of his sympathies and the extent to which he shared the views of both his personal friends, Whichcote and More. Although Regius professor of Hebrew and master of Clare Hall, Cudworth, in 1647, was only completing his thirtieth year; but his dissatisfaction with the prevailing dialectics, and his sense of the advantages to be derived from the study of Nature, were alike made evident in the above discourse, wherein he ventures, at the outset, to affirm that Christ was '*Vitae Magister*, not *Scholae*'; and that 'he is the best Christian whose heart beats with the truest pulse towards heaven, not he whose head spinneth out the finest cobwebs[2]'; and reverting, towards the close, to the same phase of his theme, declares that ''tis not wrangling disputes and syllogisticall reasonings that are the mighty pillars that underprop Truth in the world[3].' In the endeavour to arrive at a clearer understanding of natural laws, on the other hand, he urged that man was really only discharging a universal religious duty, the neglect of which was in itself a violation of the homage due from mankind to its Creator[4]; while, again, there were divine truths which, although transcending the power of the theologian to reduce to formal expression in his disquisitions, were nevertheless capable of entering into the soul and permeating man's entire spiritual nature, 'being able to dwell and lodge nowhere but in a spiritual being, in a living thing, because itselfe is nothing but Life and Spirit[5].'

[1] *A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster*, 31 *March*, 1647. By R. Cudworth, B.D., Cambridge, 1647.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 80.

[4] 'The noble and generous improvement of our understanding faculty in the true contemplation of the wisdome, goodnesse and other attributes of God in this great fabric of the Universe, cannot easily be disparaged without a blemish cast upon the Maker of it.' *Ibid.* Preface.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 41. A passage which is all the more remarkable as embodying what may be considered a fundamental (if not the most original) conception of our Platonists and one by which Scaliger's admiration was especially excited. It is referred to by More, fifteen years later, as Aristotelian in its origin: 'For is it not the saying of that so universally applauded Aristotle, Καὶ γὰρ νῶν νόησις τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν Θεῖον, λόγου δ' ἀρχὴ οὐ λόγος.

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CHAP. V.

Naturally disposed to weigh evidence and carefully ponder over each conclusion, Cudworth was as deliberate, as More was unquestionably precipitate, in his judgements; and at his death, a pile of unpublished manuscripts, mostly unfinished, gave evidence of a vast amount of patient toil, the results of which were not destined ever to be given to the world. Even his great masterpiece was not published until 1678, when the author was in his sixty-first year, and the majority of those who had watched most anxiously for its appearance were dead, while the general standard of religious sentiment and social morality had declined to an extent which More, in the following year, did not scruple to declare to be in itself a matter for the deepest concern[1]. When, accordingly, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* at last appeared, it was to meet with a reception that was for the most part unsympathetic, and in some quarters distinctly hostile, according as it ran counter to the prevailing scientific cynicism or to the growing religious formalism. To quote the language of an able critic, 'it conceded too much to the Pagan philosophers, recognizing among them the essence of Christian wisdom, to suit the assumptions of either the rising High Churchmen or the retiring Puritans. It placed too little value on the instituted observances of religion for the former, and on its niceties of dogma for the latter. It offended the current cynicism of Society and of the Schools, by finding a Divine element in human nature, which only the obtuse and the profane could miss. It contradicted the exclusive pretensions of both Church and Scripture, as *media* of sacred light, by planting in the natural Reason an inward apprehension of Duty and of God. It laid itself open, here and there, to the rebuke of scholars, for reading the author's favourite ideas, without adequate warrant, into the Greek text of Plato, Aristotle, and

His *True Intellectual System of the Universe*, 1678.

Apathy or hostility with which it was received.

Martineau's explanation of the same.

ἀλλὰ τι ἀρεῖττον? What Plato, nay what Chrysostome, what Augustine, could have used more heavenly language?' Pref. to *Philosophical Writings* (ed. 1662), p. viii. Prof. Jackson has pointed out to me the passage in the *Eudemian Ethics*, θ ii (otherwise called H xiv), 1248[a] 26, from whence this quotation is taken, and is consequently *not* now accepted as Aristotle.

[1] *Opera Omnia*, 2 vols. fol. 1679: *Praef. Generalissima*, p. xxii.

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Plotinus. It disappointed the demand, recently heightened by the vigour and precision of Hobbes, for logical neatness and compactness of structure, by diffuse repetitions and enormous digressions, and the heavy flow of overloaded sentences[1].'

It was not until another generation had passed away, and Le Clerc, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, had called the attention of Continental scholars to the high merits of Cudworth's treatise, by publishing analyses of its chief arguments together with translations of some of the more important passages, that the learning of Germany roused itself to the effort of bringing the 'splendid fragment' more adequately under the notice of students abroad as well as of English readers,—by whom its very object, as Hallam observes, had 'not been fully apprehended[2].' On Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, the chancellor and reformer of the university of Göttingen, and the disciple of Leibniz, whom his English contemporaries sometimes designated 'the Tillotson of Germany,' it devolved to set the vast research and profound historical insight of the English philosopher fully before his countrymen. Himself an accomplished Latin 'stylist,' Mosheim produced a translation of the *Intellectual System* which not only attracted readers by its elegant Latinity, but, by the incorporation of new illustrative material (largely from Cudworth's own unpublished manuscripts), together with a considerable apparatus of notes, and carefully verified references to the classical authorities cited by the author, resulted in the appearance of an edition which may be said to have, in no small measure, superseded that put forth by Cudworth himself[3].

How far the *Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable*

[1] Martineau (Jas.), *Types of Ethical Theory*, II 431–2.

[2] This object being 'to establish the liberty of human actions against the fatalists.' Hallam, *Introd. to English Literature* (1864), IV 64. Hallam's account of Cudworth, although superseded, in some respects, by that in Martineau (*u. s.*), is on the whole a good one. See article by Leslie Stephen, *D.N.B.* XIII 271–2.

[3] *Systema intellectuale hujus Universi, seu de veris Naturæ rerum originibus.* Jena, 1733; Leyden, 1773.

v. *Morality*, which was left in manuscript, may have been designed, as Chandler conjectures[1], to supplement the more extended enquiry which Cudworth was unable to prosecute to its completion, it is not easy to determine. So far as it goes, the *Intellectual System* serves only to confirm the belief in the existence of an over-ruling Power, leaving the question of the Divine attributes untouched; while the author's assumption, in common with Aristotle and Plato, of 'a plastic Nature,' restricts the enquiry into final causes within limits which are unrecognized by the orthodox theologian. 'These laws of nature,' he says, 'concerning motion are really nothing else but a plastic nature, acting upon the matter of the whole corporeal universe'; and, in pursuance of the theory enunciated by Plato, he finds Nature itself to be a 'distinct thing from the Deity,' but operating as a subordinate cause under the Divine reason and wisdom[2].

In the month of May 1667, the body of Matthew Wren was conveyed from Ely House, where he had died, to be interred in the chapel of Pembroke College, and the funeral procession in Cambridge was characterized by an almost unprecedented elaboration of ceremonial and observance[3]. During his tenure of the see of Norwich, his administration of the diocese, on the lines indicated by Laud, had excited unwonted opposition, and, according to Clarendon, his harsh dealing with schismatics in Norfolk and Suffolk had driven

[1] Edward Chandler of Emmanuel College, bishop of Durham, 1730–50. He edited Cudworth's treatise, with a *Preface*, in 1731. According to Professor J. E. B. Mayor, Mosheim was mainly indebted to Chandler for the materials in his account of Cudworth; see Camb. Antiq. Society's *Communications*, I, No. XXIX.

[2] 'Wherefore since neither all things are produced fortuitously, or by the unguided mechanism of matter, nor God himself may reasonably be thought to do all things immediately and miraculously; it may be well concluded, that there is a plastick nature under Him, which, as an inferior and subordinate instrument, doth drudgingly execute that part of his providence, which consists in the regular and orderly motion of matter; yet so far as that there is also, besides this, a higher Providence to be acknowledged, which presiding over it, doth often supply the defects of it, and sometimes over-rule it; for as much as, this plastic nature cannot act electively, nor with discretion.' Cudworth-Birch, I 150.

[3] See account, partly printed from Alderman Newton's *Diary* in Cooper, *Annals*, III 522–4; and in full in *Camb. Ant. Soc. Publications*, Octavo Series, No. XXIII.

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a large number of the 'foreign congregations' to quit the country, and had permanently depressed 'the wealthy manufacture' in those districts[1]. On his translation to Ely in 1638 he had pursued a like policy. And when, after eighteen years' imprisonment, he was liberated by an order of the Commons from the Tower, his resumption of his episcopate was unmarked by any attempt at conciliation. Reverting, with senile obstinacy, to what Worthington terms 'his old methods of severity and height[2],' he proceeded to purge his diocese of disaffected ministers; and in the exercise of his authority as Visitor of Peterhouse, ignored altogether two nominations of the fellows to the vacant headship (although one of these was that of Isaac Barrow[3]), peremptorily intruding Joseph Beaumont, master of Jesus College and the husband of his step-daughter, whom, three years later, we find giving formal expression to his antipathy to Henry More and the Platonists[4]. 'Personal and political considerations,' in the opinion of Mr Gray, equally determined Wren's choice of Edmund Boldero as Beaumont's successor at Jesus, where, again, the election of that eccentric hero was mainly the result of the bishop's influence[5]. The extent, indeed, to which the latter permitted his animosities, as regarded both parties and individuals, to govern his whole policy, was so manifest that Charles II himself, on one occasion, could not refrain from uttering a curt remonstrance. On the other hand, it was undeniable that selfishness and the love of money were altogether foreign to Wren's nature; and on his return to Cambridge, his most conspicuous act was the rebuilding of the chapel of Pembroke College at his own

[1] *Hist. of the Rebellion* (1888), vi 183. See also *supra*, p. 239, n. 3. It has, however, been maintained that these migrations were really caused by changed economic conditions, and that those who went over to the Low Countries were induced to do so by the prospect of higher wages. See Pearson Churton, ii 82-3.

[2] *Diary*, ii 378.

[3] The nephew, afterwards master of Trinity.

[4] For Beaumont see Index: also his tractate, *Some Observations upon the Apologie of Dr Henry More*. Cambridge, 1655.

[5] Boldero, who was Wren's chaplain, and had been educated at Pembroke, appears to have been rewarded with the mastership of Jesus College solely on account of his services in the Civil War. See Gray, *Jesus College*, pp. 126-7; also *supra*, p. 620, n. 2.

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personal cost, with an endowment for the future maintenance of the edifice in repair. And thus, accordingly, when over the bier itself, Pearson delivered his *Oration*, before an audience of mourners which included no less than twenty-four scholars of St John's, Peterhouse, and Pembroke (all of them relatives of the deceased), and recalled how the departed prelate, 'ever mindful of the home of his early education,' had reared anew the fane in which they were then assembled, 'had endowed it in perpetuity, consecrated it with his prayers, and built the vault wherein he was himself to be laid,'—this splendid benefaction, as the orator affirmed, 'being among the least of the acts which bore witness to his memory[1],'—a certain radiance seemed to gather round the close of a very chequered and troublous career.

In the course of another quarter of a century, the last of the Cambridge Platonists had passed away: Rust, at Dromore, within three years after the delivery of Pearson's *Oration*; More and Cudworth, within a year of each other, the former having outlived, to a great extent, his reputation; the latter, with his merits still unrecognized. It is, indeed, asserted by Birch, that the publication of Cudworth's masterpiece was purposely delayed for seven years, owing to the 'great opposition' of the royal courtiers, who endeavoured 'to destroy its reputation' when it eventually appeared[2]. By this time, in fact, as Tulloch observes, 'the higher philosophical inspiration of the movement had spent itself[3]'; while at Oxford, as represented by Fowler, Glanvil, and Norris, it assumed a more strictly controversial tone, as dealing with what was then commonly known simply as Latitudinarianism. But the influence of the convictions which these

[1] '... in memoriam primae Institutionis quam gratissimo animo quotidie recolebat, capellam hanc impendio maximo exstruxit, perpetuis reditibus dotavit, precibus suis rite consecravit, subhac dormitorium condidit, huic tandem corpus concredidit. *Illustre quidem hoc, sed minimum tamen ex monumentis quae reliquit.*' *Oratio*, etc. Pearson-Churton, II 94.

[2] Birch cites as his authority *Joannis Clerici Vita*, p. 129. Amstelod. 1711, 8vo.

[3] *Rational Theology*, II 439.

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thinkers represented long survived. In these ancient halls and by the silent river,—athwart which, six centuries before, the Saxon dwellers around St Bene't's Church had gazed on the rising walls of the Norman's stronghold,—throughout the long conflict between Latin ecclesiasticism and English patriotism, no utterances, at once so cogent and so persuasive, had been heard. And as a band of 'harpers harping with their harps,' although their strains grow fainter with the receding ages, they still recall the celestial song over the manger at Bethlehem, that told of peace on earth and goodwill to men.

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(A) **The Poll of the Election for the Chancellorship in 1626.**

(B) **The Manner of the Presentation of the Duke of Buckingham his Grace to the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge.**

(C) Ordinances established for a publique Lecture of Historie in the University of Cambridge.

(D) Order of the King at the Court at Whitehall the 30th of Aprill 1630, respecting the Nomination to Lord Brooke's History Lecture.

(E) Matriculations for the Years 1620-1669.

(F) Subscriptions on Admission to Holy Orders during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

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APPENDIX

(A)

Electio Cancellarii, 1 *Jun.* 1626

(Signed by J. Tabor
Henry Moody)

[*Note.* The original source for the following Lists, is the offici Return, signed by J. Tabor and Henry Moody, preserved in the Registry It was pointed out by the late A. W. Haddan (see *supra*, p. 56, n. 4), tha they required correction, and the version given by Cooper (*Annals*, m 186–7) contains serious inaccuracies[1], while he also gives all the Christia names in a contracted form,—*Drue* Rowd thus appearing as 'Dr Rowd, etc. Many years ago, accordingly, I had formed the design of comparing Cooper's lists with the originals, when my intention was forestalled by an offer on the part of the late Registrary (Mr J. W. Clark) to relieve me from the labour, by himself undertaking the work of verification, an offe which I gratefully accepted; and my transcripts from Cooper were shortly afterwards returned to me with an intimation that the process of correction had been carried as far as then seemed practicable. Since that time, however, the available sources at the Registry have been more carefully studied and also put in order, and Dr Venn has been able to subject the original document, above referred to, to a careful scrutiny, the results of which he has embodied in the Lists herewith printed. The great majority of the names have consequently now been identified; but, to quote his own words, 'in the case of at least a dozen, there is a difficulty, and it seems probable that the compiler of the Lists has misread the voting papers'; for, as every voter must, of course, have been of M.A. standing in 1626, whenever the lists of *Graduati* fail to furnish a name corresponding to one in the lists of the Election, it may fairly be presumed that there has been an error in the transcription,—a conclusion to which the laxity that prevailed in those days with regard to the spelling of names lends additional support. In those cases where the voter had been a migrant from one college to another, he appears as a member of the society from whence he had graduated as M.A.

[1] *E.g.* for 'Linge,' he prints 'Singe'; for 'Cobb,' 'Hob'; for 'Jardan,' 'Indey.'

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[The asterisk denotes a fellow of his College.]

Abraham Whelock	Cla.*	AM. 1620	
Tho. Watts	Cla.	AM. 1623	
Tho. Adams	Trin.*	AM. 1603	
Leonel (Leonard) Gatford	Jes.*	AM. 1625	
Daniel Ambrose	Joh.*	AM. 1619	
Aquila Cruso	Cai.*	AM. 1618	
Arthur Scott	Chr.*	AM. 1617	
George Heton	Trin.*	AM. 1620	
Will. Anfield	King's*	AM. 1625	
Simon Sumpter	Cla.*	AM. 1624	
Rob. Hitche	Trin.*	AM. 1619	
Rich. Merredeth	? Trin.* / King's*	AM. 1620 / AM. 1623	
Robert Wells	Cai.*	AM. 1592	
Tho. Gibbs	Trin.	AM. 1619	
Jacobus Bridgman	? C. C.	AM. 1593	
Willielus Hardwick	Trin.*	AM. 1614	
(Dr) Rogerus Andrews[a]	Pem.	AM. 1597	
Franciscus Keniston	Trin.*	AM. 1609	
Samuel Sackvile	? Trin.*	AM. 1611	
Johes. Allot	Joh.*	AM. 1621	
Tho. Buckley	Joh.*	AM. 1610	
(Dr) Johes. Gostlyn[b]	Cai.	AM. 1590	(Master)
Radulphus Carr	Joh.*	AM. 1625	
Stephanus Hall	Jes.*	AM. 1618	
Ambrose Acroyde	Trin.*	AM. 1600	
Harrington Butler	Pem.*	AM. 1624	
Franciscus Cooke	Chr.*	AM. 1623	
Thos. Gouldfinche	Trin.*	AM. 1614	
Silvius (Silvester) Elvis	Trin.	AM. 1600	
Tho. Whaley	Trin.*	AM. 1592	
Tho. Paske*	Cla.*	AM. 1606	
Dux Lenox		AM. 1612	
Johes. Hills	? Em.	AM. 1616	
Dr Robertus Lane	Joh.	AM. 1600	
Barnby Oley	Cla.*	AM. 1625	
Tho. Goode	King's*	AM. 1617	
Dr Tho. Bambridge[d]	Chr.*	AM. 1600	
Will. Bodurda	Joh.*	AM. 1615	
Johes. Pryse	Joh.*	AM. 1608	
Henricus Hopkins	Cla.*	AM. 1623	
? Simon (?) Smyth			
Dr Owen Gwynn*	Joh.*	AM. 1591	(Master)
Johes. Wodward	Cla.*	AM. 1624	
Anthonius Topham	Trin.*	AM. 1609	
(Dr) Leonardus Mawe[f]	Pet.*	AM. 1595	(Master of Trin.)
Tho. Harrison	? Sid.	AM. 1603	
Johes. Norton	King's*	AM. 1607	
Johes. Howard ?(Howorth)	[illegible]	AM. 1624	
Anthonius Sleepe	Trin.*	AM. 1609	
Thos. Wilson	Cath.*	AM. 1608	
Johes. Simpson	Chr.*	AM. 1623	
.....Love	? (Rich. Cla.* / (Joh. Chr.	AM. 1618 / AM. 1624	
Franciscus Gardiner	Trin.*	AM. 1601	
Ed. Quarles	Pem.*	AM. 1622	
Johes. Tennison	Pet.	AM. 1621	
(Dr) Johes. Mansel[g]	Qu.*	AM. 1601	
Paulus Wingfield	Trin.	AM. 1624	
Rob. Wimberley (? Gilbert,	Trin.*	AM. 1619)	
Will. Alcock	Trin.	AM. 1622	

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Ed. Loyde	Joh.[e]	AM. 1621
Will. Linge	Cai.[e]	AM. 1620
Caleb Dalecampe	Trin.	AM. 1624
(Dr) Matheus Wrenn[h]	Pem.[e]	AM. 1608 (Master of Pet.)
Tho. Vincent	Trin.[e]	AM. 1625
Ed. Merrywether	Cla.[e]	AM. 1622
(Dr) Samuel Walsall[i]	C. C.[e]	AM. 1596 (Master)
Tho. Medhop	Trin.[e]	AM. 1615
Henricus Mountlowe	King's[e]	AM. 1579
Johes. Smythson	King's[e]	AM. 1605
Xtoph. Rudston	Trin.[e]	AM. 1616
Tho. Smyth	? Joh.[e]	AM. 1609
Tho. Gostlyn	Cai.[e]	AM. 1612
Tho. Pell	Pet.[e]	AM. 1619
George Bancker	Pet.[e]	AM. 1601
(? Chr.) Cartwright	Pet.[e]	AM. 1624
.....Ward	?	
Henricus Smyth	? Mag.	AM. 1625
Will. Nelson	Joh.[e]	AM. 1587
Lucas Skipton	Pet.	AM. 1621
Tho. Boulde	Pem.[e]	AM. 1611
Rob. Mason	Joh.[e]	AM. 1613
Tho. Sherley	Trin.[e]	AM. 1619
[2]Charles Buckley ?		
Willelus. Vaughan	Joh.	AM. 1623
Edwardus Boyse	? Trin.	AM. 1623
Samuel Barron	Pet.[e]	AM. 1621
Will. Archer	Cla.[e]	AM. 1608
Tho. Adams	? {Trin.[e] {Jes.	AM. 1603 AM. 1610
Ludovicus Wemes	Qu.	AM. 1615
Cheny Rowe	Trin.[e]	AM. 1614
Petrus Harsnet (Hersent)	Trin.	AM. 1624
Edmundus Hakluit	Trin.[e]	AM. 1619
Johes. Alsop	Chr.[e]	AM. 1624
Franciscus Blechendine	Joh.[e]	AM. 1625
Edmundus Tyrrell	C. C.[e]	AM. 1623
Josephus Thurston	Joh.	AM. 1619
Johes. Browninge	Jes.[e]	AM. 1617
Henricus Downeholt	Joh.[e]	AM. 1615
Martinus Freeman	King's[e]	AM. 1621
Amias Redinge	Joh.[e]	AM. 1618
Matheus Stokys	Cai.[e]	AM. 1592
Thomas Wincop	Trin.[e]	AM. 1619
Arthurus Kempe	Pem.	AM. 1624
Georgius Hinton (? Sam.	Trin.[e]	AM. 1620)
Thos. Fowle	Cla.[e]	AM. 1621
Edmundus Stubbinge	Qu.[e]	AM. 1622
Druth (Drue) Bord (Bowde)	Chr.	AM. 1618
Robertus Proctor	Pet.[e]	AM. 1617

[1] No Simon Smyth: ? Samuel, Trin. AM. 1620.

[2] No Charles Buckley.

[e] Master of Jesus College, 1618–22.
[h] Master of Caius College, 1618–25.
[i] Master of Clare Hall, 1620–45.
[k] Master of Christ's College, 1622–46.
[l] Master of Peterhouse, 1617–25, of Trinity, 1625–6.
[m] President of Queens' College, 1622–31.
[n] Master of Peterhouse, 1625–34.
[o] Master of Corpus Christi College, 1618–26.

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[The asterisk denotes a fellow of his College.]

Daniel Dent	King's*	AM. 1621
Oliver Cobb	Trin.	AM. 1625
Tho. Ansel	Jes.	AM. 1625
Tho. Glover	Joh.*	AM. 1625
Andrew Perne	Cath.*	AM. 1621
Henricus Meriton	Qu.*	AM. 1618
Henricus Willis	Jes.	AM. 1623
Walterus Carter	King's*	AM. 1624
Ed. Stubbinge	Trin.*	AM. 1614
Jacobus Betton	Qu.*	AM. 1612
Rich. Dugard	Sid.*	AM. 1613
Will. Allistone	?Qu.	AM. 1594
Charolus Chauncey	Trin.*	AM. 1617
Rich. Iowlett	Sid.*	AM. 1611
Edwardus Brewster	Qu.	AM. 1625
Tho. Eallis	Qu.*	AM. 1624
Charolus Denny	King's*	AM. 1624
Rob. Chambers	Joh.*	AM. 1616
Stephanus Naylor		
Johes. Bayes	Cai.	AM. 1613
Johes. Cuffe	King's*	AM. 1622
Nathaniel Vincent	King's*	AM. 1619
Marmaduke Thompson	Jes.*	AM. 1618
Franciscus Ostler	Trin.*	AM. 1619
Bartram Go(o)dwin	Joh.	AM. 1625
Francis. Goade (Goode)	King's*	AM. 1623
Nathaniel Fowle	Em.*	AM. 1620
Johes. Symonds	Joh.*	AM. 1613
Johes. Garland	Joh.*	AM. 1625
?Samuel (*l*) Meade		

Gamaliel Capell	Qu.*	AM. 1623
Johes. Sayers	King's*	AM. 1623
Barnebe Barlow	King's*	AM. 1622
Charolus Harrison	Trin.	AM. 1625
Johes. Thorpe	Qu.*	AM. 1618
Radulphus Winterton	King's*	AM. 1624
Johes. Hume		AM. 1622 (Incorp. fr. St Andr.)
Willelus. Dillingham	Chr.	AM. 1624
Alexander Blackhall	Trin.	AM. 1623
George Porter	Qu.*	AM. 1599
Jacobus Whyte	Pem.*	AM. 1605
	Sid.	AM. 1621
Oliverus Leigh	King's*	AM. 1621
Robertus Austin	King's*	AM. 1619
?Johes. Howarth	Mag.*	AM. 1624
Tho. Woods	Sid.	AM. 1620
Willelus Ch(app)ell	Chr.*	AM. 1606
Sam		
Johes. Peckham	Em. ?	AM. 1619
Josephus Meade	Chr.*	AM. 1610
?Henricus Prime ?		
Tho. Goodwin	Cath.*	AM. 1620
Johes. Lande	Sid.*	AM. 1620
Will. Buckby	Qu.*	AM. 1616
Theophilus Hutchinson	Mag.*	AM. 1614
Rich. Clerk	Em.*	AM. 1624
Edwardus Yonge	Joh.*	AM. 1613
Tho. Boswell	Pem.*	AM. 1613
Nicholas Felton*	Pem.	AM. 1584
Edmundus Bell	Sid.*	AM. 1618

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Humphridus Tovey	Trin.*	AM. 1614	Tho. Darcey	Qu.	AM. 1625
Will. Andrews	Jes.	AM. 1625	Rich. Maydon	Mag.*	AM. 1618
Leonardus Kempe	King's*	AM. 1620	Edwardus Martyn	Qu.*	AM. 1612
[5]Johes. Gilpin			[3]Tho. Gibbs		
Anthonius Tuckney	Em.*	AM. 1620	[8]Georgius Chace †		
Mattheus Bennet	Jes.	AM. 1625	Rob. Kinge	Cai.*	AM. 1618
Cuthbertus Pierson	King's*	AM. 1617	Johes. Slegge	Chr.	AM. 1624
Rob. Palmer (*Rich.	C. C.*	AM. 1611)	Johes. Arrowsmith	Joh.	AM. 1623
Rob. Mann	Em.	AM. 1623	Phillip Clifford	King's*	AM. 1613
Rob. Killigrave	King's*	AM. 1623	Charles Eden	Tr. H.*	AM. 1625
Johes. Johnson †	Pem.*	AM. 1615	Johes. Smyth		
	Joh.*	AM. 1626	Will. Robynson	† Joh.	AM. 1618
Georgius Fawcet (Fasset)	Em.	AM. 1617	Tho. Claveringe	King's*	AM. 1623
[6]Will. Ladall †			Johes. Pleys	Qu.*	AM. 1617
Johes. Page	Em.	AM. 1625	Walterus Forster	Em.*	AM. 1621
[7]Tho. Batt			Edmundus Porter	Joh.*	AM. 1618
Rob. Payton	King's*	AM. 1616	Will Jurden	King's*	AM. 1621
Tho. Lock	Tr. H.*	AM. 1622	Will. Pinder	Qu.	AM. 1625
Will. Belke	Qu.*	AM. 1622	Humphridus Merridith	King's*	AM. 1621
Will. Cox	Qu.*	AM. 1618	Henricus Goche	Trin.	AM. 1604
Rob. Metcalfe	Joh. AM. 1606: Trin. STP. 1620		Henricus Hall (Halls)	Qu.*	AM. 1614
Will. Wake	Tr. H.	AM. 1625	Johes. Hanchet	Joh.*	AM. 1623

[1] No Ste. Naylor: ? Josias, Sid.* AM. 1618.
[2] No Sam. Meade: ? Sam. Warde.
[3] John Howorth and Tho. Gibbs assigned above to the D. of Buckingham.
[4] No Hen. Prime.
[5] No John Gilpin: ? Randall Gilpin, of King's, AM. 1618, fellow.
[6] No Will. Ladall.
[7] No Tho. Batt.
[8] No Geo. Chace: ? George Chambers of Qu.

* Master of Pembroke College, 1617-19; bishop of Ely at the time of voting.

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APPENDIX

(B)

THE MANNER OF THE PRESENTATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM HIS GRACE TO THE CHANCELLORSHIP OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Upon the 12th of July, 1626, the vice-chancellor, heads of colleges, and others appointed to attend in this service, set out to Ware the first night, and the next morning to London, where, about three or four of the clock in the afternoon, they all met at Durham House, and there put on their robes, hoods, habits, and caps; and the senior bedel and register were sent by Mr Vice-Chancellor to view the place appointed for the entertainment, and fit the same with a chair for the duke, if he pleased to sit, and a little table to stand before the vice-chancellor and orator right before the duke, for them to make their orations at. But the duke sat not in his chair, but stood behind it at both the orations, and whilst he delivered his own speech. When the bedel and register returned from York House, where the admission was to be, and had signified how things were ordered, the junior bedel went there before with the masters of arts first, two in rank, in their usual hoods and habits and caps, and then the non-regents and bachelors in divinity, in their gowns, hoods, and caps; then the taxers and proctors, in their hoods and habits, &c.; and then the proctors with their books; then the senior bedel, in his gold chain (given him by the duke), and in his velvet cap went directly before the vice-chancellor; the Bishop of Durham and three other bishops in their rochets; then all the doctors in their scarlets and caps; all these two in rank: and in this order they went until they came to York House forecourt; and then, near the door in the garden, the masters of arts and bachelors in divinity made a stand in care; and then the bedels came to the vice-chancellor, and went directly before them, through the masters of arts, bachelors in divinity, and non-regents; the bishops and doctors following him into the duke's garden, and all the aforesaid company after them, where they passed on almost in the midway that leadeth up into the duke's lodgings, and the duke, with other nobles, met the vice-chancellor, bishops, and doctors, and saluted them all in very kind manner; and after he had saluted them, he made a low *congé*, or courtesy, to all the rest of the University, and then went forward, and, with Mr Vice-Chancellor, went up the stairs into the room appointed for the entertainment and orations. Whither, being come, the vice-chancellor stayed at the aforesaid table,

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and the duke and the nobles went up to the place where his chair stood. Then the vice-chancellor, after some stay, until the company and crowd was seated, made low obeisance to him, and began his oration, the heads whereof, as I remember, were these: the sorrow of the University for the loss of the former, and the joy of his grace, with many thanks for the favours he had formerly showed, as before he bore office with us, and the great hopes the University had of his favour and protection hereafter.

Then the vice-chancellor beckoned to the register for the patent, which, received, he opened and read; and then, according to the contents of the same, he desired his grace to accept of the said office and patent, and, kissing it, delivered the same to him; and then the vice-chancellor, stooping, went forward from the table, and took the duke by the hand, and said to him thus, or this effect: '*Dubis fidem te observaturum leges, privilegia, et consuetudines Academiæ Cantabrigiensis.*'

Then the vice-chancellor, still holding the duke by the hand, the senior proctor also out of his book read as followeth: '*Dubis etiam fidem in verbo honoris, quod officium Cancellariatus Academiæ Cantabrigiensis bene et fideliter præstabis.*'

Then the vice-chancellor called to the bedel for the Book of Statutes, which he also kissed and delivered it to the duke, telling him that these were the laws and statutes which the University was governed by; and desired him to be pleased for his part to see them observed, and to protect the University in the execution of the same.

Then he signified that the whole senate of the University had sent their orator, who, in the name of the whole University, was to speak unto him, and desired his grace to be pleased to give him audience. The orator's oration ended, the duke made a speech to the whole assembly.

And then they all viewed the duke's lodgings, and walked in the gardens, where in one of the cloisters there was music. And when the tables were set, they went to supper. The vice-chancellor sat at the upper end of the table, by the duke, and nobles, and bishops, and the doctors sat, and the orator, proctors, taxers, and bedels, then the others in their seniority at another table, others at a table at the end of that table.

Note that no man was urged to pledge any health. Those that attended (if any health was to be pledged) gave him a greater or lesser glass, as he desired, and of what wine he called for.

Remember, that there were two chairs set, one for our chancellor to sit in at his admission, and another on the left side of it for the vice-chancellor to sit in, when he admitted the chancellor, and when the proctor readeth *Dubis fidem*, &c.

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APPENDIX

(C) pp. 83–84.

ORDINANCES ESTABLISHED FOR 'A PUBLIQUE LECTURE OF HISTORIE' IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE, FOUNDED BY FULKE LORD BROOKE, BARON BROOKE OF BEAUCHAMPES-COURT IN THE COUNTIE OF WARWICK.

1. The founder, and after him his next heire, shall have full power to nominate, and constitute a Reader of the said Lecture; either personally presentinge or by letters nominating him unto the Vice-Chancellor of the Universitie of Cambridge for the time being. And the person ere by him or after him by his next heire presented, or nominated, shall performe all the duties, undergo all the penalties, and enjoy all the profitts, and advauntages to the same Lecture any waies appertayninge, during his naturall life, or for such time, as the said ffounder, and after him, his next heire shall thinke fitt.

2. Provided notwithstanding that if the first ffounder, or after him, his next heire shall finde any fault in the Reader, ere as before presented or nominated, either for want of naturall judgement, levitie in manners, defect of reading, as being forced to learne, when hee should teach; remissnesse of present industrie through distraction, by frequenting idle, and riotous companie; or other just exception by meanes of which default or imperfection in the said Reader, such honour, and profitt as the founder intends shall not redound unto the Universitie, then the said ffounder, and his next heire successively, upon notice thereof taken, shall at pleasure dismiss the said Lecturer with a competent gratuitie, and appoint another.

3. Every yeare, in the great vacation, the Lecturer (if hee be required) shall attend upon the ffounder, and after the ffounder's decease, upon his next heire, so longe as hee shall live; *either duringe all the said vacation*, or soe much thereof as they shall thinke fitt, and at such place, as they shall appoint.

(*Subsequent elections.*)

1. After the decease of the ffounder and his next heire, whensoever the place shallbe voyd, the election thereof shall for ever devolve to the Universitie of Cambridge, and at the first vacancie the Election shallbe made presently but ever afterwards betweene the third and the fifteenth daie of June, a quinquennio, in quinquennium.

2. To which end the ffounder willeth, that whosoever shall be chosen by the Universitie, after the devolution before specified at anie other time of the year, shall enjoy the said Lecture, and benefitts thereof, from the day of his admission untill the third daie of June next followinge, and from the said third daie untill the end, and expiration of five yeares followinge, to impleat.

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3. Ffor the first and all subsequent elections after the said devolution, the ffounder's will and order is: ffirst that the Vice-Chancellor, within three daies inclusive, after notice of the Vacancie, calling an Assembly of Regents and Non-Regents in the usuall place and forme: shall then and there publishe the said Vacancie, and forthwith cause all these orders to be read openly by the Senior Proctor. Which being done, he shall appoint a time, after the sixt and before the tenth day next ensueing, after such publication, for a new election.

4. Wherein that equall and due proportion maie be observed betwene the colledges, least otherwise the greater, havinge most voyces, should joyne, and so exclude the lesser from any possibilitie to prefer anie of theirs, though perchance more worthy; The ffounder's will and order is, that everie Colledge in particular shall depute five persons, of whome the Master or head, and in his absence the Vice-Master or president shalle one; and twoe of the other foure shalbe Regents: all whose names shalle testified unto the Vice-Chancellor, twoe daies before the time appointed for the Election, under the handes of the Master or in his absence of the President, and two of the senior fellowes of everie severall colledge. And these persons only, together with the Vice-Chancellor, the twoe Proctors, the Senior Regent, and the Senior non-Regent, the Universitie Orator, and the Kinges Professors in Divinity, Lawe, and the Greeke tongue, shall have their suffrages in this Election.

5. Upon the daie, and time appointed for the Election, the Vice-Chancellor and heades of Colleges meeting in the Regent house shall cause all the Electors before specified, or as manie of them as shalbe there present, to be admitted into the house, and all others excluded. Where the Vice-Chancellor having first made oath in person, shall administer a like oath to all, and everie one of the rest, in haec verba: Juralitis quod vos, et unusquisque vestrum in locum Historici praelectoris juris vacantem unum aliquem nominabitis, quem in conscientiis vestris ad peragendum munia Loci, juxta Fundatoris statuta, maxime idoneum judicabitis: Sic vos Deus adjuvet in Jesu Christo. Afterwarde the said Vice-Chancellor sittinge in scrutinie with the twoe Proctors, the senior Regent, and senior non-Regent; everie one of the forementioned Electors (having first taken the oath before written) shall deliver unto the said Scrutator a ticket written with his own hand, conteyning his owne name, and the name of him whom hee electeth. This Scrutinie being ended; the Senior Proctor having openly read all the Nominations, shall pronounce him to be elected upon whome most voyces have concurred.

6. And in case the suffrages of the said Electors shall happen to be equall upon twoe or more competitors, whereby the Election can not be effected, the Vice-Chancellor shall presently pronounce, or cause to be pronounced, such one of those two or more competitors, soe having equall voyces, to be elected; as he upon his conscience, and corporall oath, shall think fittest for the place.

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How the Persons eligible must be qualified.

1. None shalbe eligible except hee be Master of Arts, of five yeares standing at the least, and thirty yeares of age.

2. None shalbe eligible that is in holie Orders. As well because this Realme affordeth manie preferements for divines, fewe or none for Professors of humane learning, the use and application whereof to the practise of life is the maine end, and scope of this foundation: and also because this Lecture must needs hinder a Divine from the studies and offices of his callinge, due to the church.

3. None shalbe eligible that hath anie charge of wife or children, or anie office and imployment necessarily distracting him from his studies.

4. None shalbe eligible that hath anie other publique Lecture in the Universitie of Cambridge, or elsewhere; except before his admission he acquitt himself of that Lecture.

5. None shalbe eligible that hath bin convicted, or publiquely famed for blasphemie, perjurie, incest, rape, adulterie, theft, common drunkennesse, writinge of infamous libells, or anie other notorious crime.

6. None shalbe eligible that hath procured letters of recommendation or sued directly, or indirectly for this place and profession.

7. None shalbe eligible, whoe hath not, before the time of election, either by workes published, or some publique exercise, given sufficient testimonie unto the Universitie of his abilities as well in the Latine and Greek tongues, and in cosmographie, chronologie, and the sciences requisite for this profession.

8. No man shalbe debarred in regard of his countrie, but as well forreigners, as free denizens and natives of this Kingdom shalbe eligible, havinge given (as before) sufficient testimonie of their worth.

9. Anie Maister, or fellowe of anie Colledge; anie doctor of the Lawes, anie Master of Arts though noe fellowe, whether livinge in anie Universitie, or elsewhere (if hee be not excluded by anie of the cautions before specified) shalbe eligible.

10. Such as have travelled beyond the seas, and soe have added to their learning, knowledge of the moderne languages, and experience in forraigne parts; and likewise such as have been brought upp, and exercised in publique affaires, shalbe accounted most eligible; if they be equall in the rest.

Of the Lecturer's Office, and Reading.

1. Least this Lecturer, being bound to anie certaine subject, methode or forme of Reading should be forced to spend his best powers upon some employment contrary to his nature, and farre differinge from those studies wh rewith he shall stand best furnished with greater toyle to himself, and lesse honour unto the Universitie. It is ordered that he shall not be tied to anie mans arbitrament for choice of the subject to be read upon, provided it be either of secular or Ecclesiastical Historie; nor to anie methode or forme of his lectures.

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2. The time of his Reading shalbe from twoe of the clock to three in the afternoone; the place the Greeke Schooles, except the Vice-Chancellor and Heades of Colledges shall appoint other time and place in the publique Schooles. Hee shall begin his Lectures within three daies after the first daie of everie term inclusive, and continue them twoe severall daies every weeke, reading either of those daies three quarters of one howre at the least; without anie intermission, or endinge, untill within twoe daies before the last daie of everie term.

3. Once every weeke, besides the Reading daies, during all the howres of his Readinge, hee shall attend in the Schoole appointed for his Lecture then and there (if he be asked) to aunswer, and confer with his Auditors or others, whosoever, touchinge any doubt or difficulty passed in his Lectures, or anie other matter touchinge Historie.

4. In the first Oration, or Lecture of everie terme, he shall signifie upon what daies he will read, and attend weekly; And in case he shall knowe of anie publique or just cause, whereby his reading, or attending upon anie of the daies, ere by him signified, will be hindered; then in the Lecture next foregoing the same, or by a Schedule affixed upon the publique Schoole doores, he shall declare what daie that week, or the next, hee will recompense the former hinderance and absence.

5. Once every yeare, instead of the first Lecture in Michaelmas Terme hee shall read all these Orders openly in the publique Schooles, and shall withall make some Commemoration of the founder, upon payne of fortie shillings sterling for every omission.

6. In the great Vacation, between Midsommer and Michaelmas, he shall yearly exhibit a copie of his whole yeares Readings unto the founder, and his next heyre, during their lives successively, and one other copie unto the Vice-chancellor, the twoe Proctors, and the Universitie Orator in Michaelmas tearme followinge, at tyme, and place by them appointed, to be layd upp, and kept in the University Library to be published, if they shall think them meet; upon paine of twenty pounds sterlinge totes quoties hee shall make default therein.

His stipend and Privileges.

1. His stipend shalbe one hundred poundes sterlinge per annum, to be paid quarterly by even portions unto himself, or his certaine Attorney, within foureteene daies after the foure most usuall feastes of the yeare, in the common hall of Jesus Colledge.

2. He shall be subject to the Statuts of the Universitie, as other Lecturers and Professors are, and shall enjoy all privileges and immunities which they doe. If he live in anie Colledge, he shalbe conformable to the orders thereof, as others of his ranke and qualitie are.

3. The auditors of this Lecture shalbe Batchellors of Arts, and Gentlemen fellowe Commoners, beside such as will voluntarily come, as the Vice-Chancellor and Heades of Colledges, in their wisdomes, shall appoint[1].

[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Charles I*, cxiv, no. 67.

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APPENDIX

(D) pp. 83–84.

ORDER OF THE KING 'AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL THE 30TH OF APRILL 1630' RESPECTING THE NOMINATION TO LORD BROOKE'S HISTORY LECTURESHIP.

Whereas his Matie hath bin informed that the late Lo. Brooke did bestow one hundred pound a yeare for euer to the maintenance of a Lecture for Historie in the Universitie of Cambridge, appointing further by his last will, that his heires and executors should hereafter haue the nomination of the Professor and paie the said Penion to him. Which course of establishemt. the heads of the said Universitie have considered to be soe unfitt as they choose rather to loose the benefitt of the said Lecture then to receive it upon such termes. His Matie being thereupon humbly besought by all parties interested to interpose his authoritie for accomodation of the businesse is gratiously pleased that the Lo: Keeper and the Lo: Archbishopp of Yorke assisted by such Iudges as they shall thinke good to call, shall upon some certaine day to be appointed by them, heare the said cause in the presence as well of the Lo: Brooke that now is, and the Executors of the Lo: Brooke deceased, as of some of the Heades of the said Universitie and indeauor soe to compose the difference, as the Universitie may not be deprived of the honor and benefitt of the said Lecture.

signed DORCHESTER.

Lo: Keeper.
Lo: Archbishopp of Yorke.
Lo: Chief Justice Hyde.
S[r] Thomas Richardson the chiefe Justice of the Comon Pleas.
Mr Justice Hatton[1].

[1] 'Original Letters in King's College Library, 4th Vol. No. 81.'

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APPENDIX

(E)

NUMBERS OF MATRICULATIONS, 1620–1669.

Date	Matriculations	M.B.	D.D.	Doctor of Civil Law	B.D.	M.D.	M.A.	B.A.
1620	425	...	9	3	19	1	176	293
1	453	...	9	2	20	2	213	282
2	424	...	11	...	18	...	201	235
3	454	...	9	...	26	...	210	239
4	449	...	...	...	19	1	199	331
5	350	...	4	...	16	3	213	293
6	413	...	7	...	19	2	221	305
7	472	...	16	...	30	2	237	220
8	354	...	11	2	26	3	216	351
9	433	...	4	2	17	2	226	245
1630	75	...	27	4	13	5	198	302
1	662	...	21	...	35	7	229	324
2	404	...	2	1	22	2	207	240
3	401	...	4	1	19	...	248	263
4	361	...	4	1	20	3	225	156
5	363	...	9	...	15	1	214	273
6	295	...	13	3	22	4	149	249
7	493	...	9	3	20	2	139	224
8	242	...	5	3	19	2	252	219
9	447	...	12	4	18	1	176	269
1640	317	...	4	2	18	4	182	264
1	299	...	3	...	8	...	191	212
2	222	...	3	...	7	4	106	...
3	45	...	1	...	9	2	111	...
4	183	...	1	...	2	1	72	...
5	311	...	...	...	1	5	78	190
6	417	...	1	2	7	6	121	143
7	331	...	...	2	4	5	105	130
8	272	...	2	1	7	1	92	171
9	276	...	6	...	2	3	86	217
1650	292	...	4	...	5	3	65	221
1	254	...	4	...	2	...	76	193
2	204	...	...	2	1	4	91	167
3	183	...	1	...	2	3	105	155
4	279	...	1	...	3	1	123	173
5	243	...	3	...	10	6	105	165
6	271	...	2	...	4	5	81	149
7	298	...	3	...	7	5	101	153
8	258	...	1	...	4	4	126	190
9	267	...						
1660	356	5	4	...	14	4	161	161
1	295	4	1	...	11	7	124	195
2	253	2	2	2	9	3	127	127
3	279	3	3	2	7	1	113	163
4	324	2	5	1	9	2	119	143
5	266	2	5	2	9	3	122	130
6	0	4	11	...	12	3	73	149
7	581	4	1	...	17	1	116	172

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Mandate Degrees pp. 557–8.

Date	M.B.	D.D.	LL.D.	B.D.	M.D.	M.A.	LL.B.
1660		71	9	6	5		1
1661		47		10	9	4	1
1662	2	13	3	5	1	5	2
1669		7			1	6	

APPENDIX

(F) pp. 542–5.

SUBSCRIPTIONS ON ADMISSION TO HOLY ORDERS: 1641-1662.

In connexion with the evidence afforded by the Subscription and Ordination Books, above described, Dr Venn cites the additional facts supplied by the *Consignation Books*, as they were termed, in the diocese of Norwich, being the records of the Visitations of Dioceses by their bishops,—occasions on which every incumbent and curate of a parish was cited to appear, and, after the Restoration, every schoolmaster and teacher. The different dioceses, however, differ materially as regards the amount of evidence thus afforded, that presented by Norwich being exceptionally full, a feature which may be at least partially referred to the vigilance with which Matthew Wren ruled the diocese. But, in any case, if we were to extend our researches throughout England, and include all the men educated at the Colleges of both Universities, the aggregate of the clergy thus obtaining episcopal ordination after Episcopacy had been legally suppressed would be found to be very considerable; sufficiently so, indeed, to warrant us in concluding that those who desired episcopal ordination had no difficulty in obtaining it during the entire period in question, down to the very eve of the Restoration; while it is not less evident, that certain of those who thus obtained ordination, did so before, in some cases, just before,—presentation to a living by the Parliamentary Committee. Others did so after they had been put in possession of a

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living. But in either case we may assume that, while not actually rejecting the new form of worship, they were at heart sufficiently in sympathy with the old to be anxious to satisfy their consciences by the acceptance of ordination at a bishop's hands. But that they were able to do so, was owing to the fact that such ordination was simply ignored by the civil authorities, in common with all that still went on of Anglican practice with respect to ritual or canonical observance,—a condition of affairs of which we have noteworthy evidence in the controversy which afterwards arose between Henry More, the Platonist, and Joseph Beaumont, the future master of Peterhouse. The recluse of Christ's College, whose studious existence was varied only by occasional visits to Ragley or Grantham, when he published, in 1660, his *Mystery of Godliness*, in referring to the condition of the Church 'of which he was a professed member), during the preceding years, implies that it was one of almost suspended existence,—to quote his own expression, 'she had disappeared, and was wholly under the hatches.' Such a description startled Beaumont,—who had been bishop Wren's domestic chaplain, and was himself the restorer of Jesus College chapel, and also one of Charles the Second's chaplains,—into an indignant disclaimer; and in his controversy with More in 1665, we find him calling this description in question, as unwarrantable. 'It is true,' he replied, that 'the free exercise of their religion was violently overborne...yet still it was well enough known, that the Religion was professed (*and that with more than ordinary zeal* in private congregations; that the Churches daily service was there solemnly used, and the Sacraments reverently administered; still many were *ordained by the Bishops*, still the Fasts and Feasts were observed by thousands, still some proselytes, much moved by the pious constancy of our Confessours, were gained to our religion[1].'

[1] *Some Observations upon the Apologia of Dr Henry More for his Mystery of Godliness.* By J. Beaumont, Master of St Peter's College and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Cambridge, 1665, p. 181.

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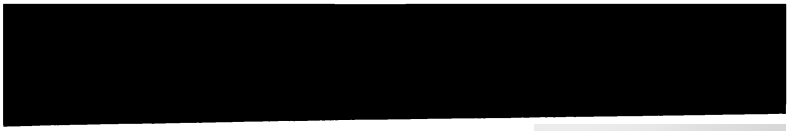

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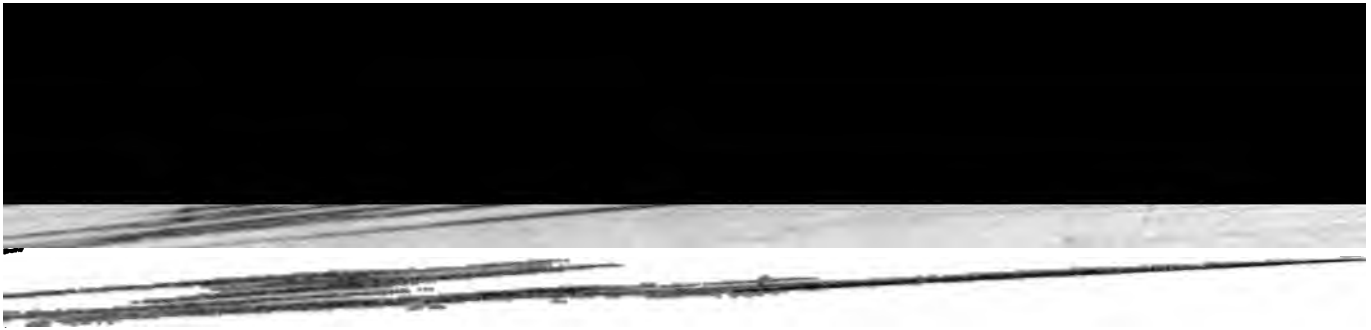

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